AN

Univerſal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

VOL. II.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ καλαιόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ευρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.
Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



DUBLIN:

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M.DCC.XLIV.

To his GRACE

The DUKE of BEDFORD.

WE do not prefix your GRACE's Name to this ſecond Volume from a vain Preſumption that your Knowledge in ancient Hiſtory can receive any Improvement, being very ſenſible that Your GRACE hath already gone through this and all other Branches of polite Learning, the inſeparable Companions of true Nobility; but Patrons of avowed Merit and Diſcernment are ſo neceſſary to Works of this immenſe Labour and Charge, that it would be an unpardonable Temerity in us to ſend ours abroad, without one of ſuch diſtinguiſhed Abilities.

THIS, My LORD, is the powerful Motive which has encouraged us to addreſs ourſelves to Your GRACE: For nothing can more effectually recommend our Labours to this or to thoſe other Nations into whoſe Language our former Volume has been tranſlated, than the Conſideration that the Authors would never have dared to have publiſhed them under the Protection of a Perſonage ſo eminent for his Quality and refined Taſte, but from a Conſciouſneſs of their having ſpared neither Pains nor Time to render the Performance worthy of Your GRACE's and the World's Acceptance.

IN this, My LORD, You will have the Pleaſure of promoting a Deſign which, we hope, will prove of the greateſt Advantage to this and future Generations, who will be furniſhed with a complete Body of Hiſtory without the irkſome Task of conſulting that vaſt Variety of Authors of all Ages and Countries out of which it is compiled; and the Reader at the ſame Time directed by the Marginal Notes where to recur to the Originals; ſo that to doubt of Your GRACE's approving of an Undertaking ſo univerſally uſeful, ſo long wiſhed for by the Learned of moſt Nations, and never till now attempted, at leaſt in this extenſive Way, were to call in Queſtion the moſt conſpicuous Part of Your GRACE's Character.

AND

AND here, My LORD, whilſt we ſhelter this Volume under your illuſtrious Name, how gladly ſhould we embrace this Opportunity of paying that Tribute, which is but a juſt Debt from every honeſt Heart, to a Nobleman whoſe exalted Birth and Merit ſhine with ſo equal a Luſtre. But this Subject, grateful as it would be to us, and indeed to all that know Your GRACE, we muſt be forced to decline, being convinced that Your GRACE's Actions will more infallibly tranſmit it to Poſterity, than the Pens of the ableſt Panegyriſts.

PERMIT us only to add. That it is from a true Senſe of this, we have taken the Liberty of inſcribing the following Sheets to Your GRACE; being, with the profoundeſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Grace's

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. X.

The Hiſtory of the MEDES.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of MEDIA.

a THE country before us, once the ſeat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madai* the third ſon of *Japhet*, as is plain from ſcripture, where the *Medes* are conſtantly called *Madai* [a] (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolomy*, on the north by part of the *Caſpian* ſea; on the ſouth by *Perſis*, *Suſiana*, and *Aſſyria*; on the eaſt by *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; and on the weſt by *Armenia Major*. It was in ancient times divided into ſeveral provinces, namely *Tropatene*, *Charomithrene*, *Darites*, *Marciane*, *Amariace*, and *Syro-Media*: All theſe were by a later diviſion reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or ſimply *Atropatene* [b]. *Name, ſituation, &c.*

b *Atropatene* was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caſpian* Sea, and is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from one *Atropatus*, who, being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the laſt *Perſian* monarch, withſtood *Alexander the Great*, and, upon the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy, ſeized on this part of *Media*, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who held it as ſovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [c]. This was a cold, barren, and unhoſpitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmaneſer* for the abode of many captive *Iſraelites* after the conqueſt of that kingdom.

Cities of note in this part of *Media* were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and ſituated, according to *Pliny*, in a ſpacious plain between *Echatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally diſtant from both. *Sanina*, ſeated between the *Araxes* and the *Cambyſes*; *Fazina*, between the *Cambyſes* and the *Cyrus*; and *Cyropolis*; between the *Cyrus*

[a] Dan. v. 28. ibid. vi. 8. 12. 15. ibid. viii. 20. Esth. i. 3. 14. 18, 19, ibid. x. 2. [b] Strab. l. 11. p. 360. & p. 363. [c] Strab. l. 11. p. 523.

(A) Among profane authors, ſome derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the ſon of *Medea* and *Jaſon*; others from a city here called *Media*, whence, ſay they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena* (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was alſo called *Aria*; but to enquire into the origin of theſe various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitleſs taſk.

(1) *Strab. l.* 11. *p.* 526. (2) *Ortel. Theſ. Geogr. ad vocem Media.* (3) *Ortel. ibid.*

Cyrus and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Caduſians* and *Caſpians*, a a barbarous and inhuman race, originally ſprung from the *Scythians*.

Media Magna was bounded by *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, the *Hyrcanian* Sea, and *Atropatene*. The moſt remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Rageia*, *Arſacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media* and the ſeat both of the *Median* and *Perſian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, the firſt that reigned in *Media*, after the inhabitants had ſhaken off the *Aſſyrian* yoke [d]. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely deſcribed by *Herodotus* [e]: they were ſeven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually riſing above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The ſituation of the ground, riſing by an eaſy aſcent, was very favourable to the deſign of building theſe b walls, and perhaps firſt ſuggeſted it. The royal palace and treaſury were within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven. The firſt of theſe walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, and had white battlements, the ſecond black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermoſt, as ſerving more immediately for a fence to the royal perſon of the king, were embelliſhed above the others, the one being done over with ſilver, and the other with gold [f]. This deſcription of *Herodotus* ſavours, we muſt own, ſomewhat of romance; but, nevertheleſs, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no-ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of *Judith* [g] we read, that the walls of this ſtately metropolis were ſeventy cubits c high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation ſixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and poliſhed ſtone, each ſtone being ſix cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the ancients conſtantly called *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to diſtinguiſh it from another in *Syria* bearing the ſame name [h], where the unfortunate *Cambyſes* died, as we read in *Herodotus* [i] (B).

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, ſo called either from the mother of *Nicator*, or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted by *Strabo* [k] among the cities of *Media*, and placed by *Pliny* * near the confines of *Perſia*. *Apamea* is by *Strabo* ſometimes adjudged to *Media*, and ſometimes to *Par-* d *thia* [l]. *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea* is called by *Iſidorus* [m] the greateſt city of *Media*; it was repaired by *Nicator*, who called it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but in the book of *Tobit* it retains the former. In proceſs of time it became the ſeat of the *Parthian* kings, who gave it the name of *Arſacia* or

[d] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 98. [e] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [f] HERODOT. ibid. [g] JUDITH. c. i. 2, 4. [h] HERODOT. l. 3. c. 64. DIODOR. l. 14. c. 23. PLIN. l. 6. c. 27. Plutarch in Alex. p. 704. TACIT. l. 15. c. 31. &c. [i] HERODOT. l. 3. [k] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. * l. 6. c. 26. [l] STRAB. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. [m] ISIDOR. p. 361

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Seleucus*; an unaccountable overſight, ſince he muſt have read an account of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewiſe in *Demoſthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary reſidence of the *Perſian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and ſpeaks of mountains levelled, vallies raiſed, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and other aſtoniſhing works performed by his heroine, for the embelliſhment of the city and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was ſituate on a riſing ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve ſtades diſtance from mount *Orontes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jaſanius* on the ſouthern confines of *Media* and *Perſia*, where *Ammianus Marcellinus* is pleaſed to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have built a ſtately palace, which afterwards ſerved as a mauſoleum of the kings of *Media*; ſome of the beams, ſays this author, were of ſilver, and the reſt of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Aſia* were wont to paſs their ſummer; nay, there is a great diſagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that ſtately metropolis ſtood. The opinion of *Molet*, who tranſlated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, ſeems to Sir *John Chardin* the moſt probable, *viz.* that *Tauris* is the ancient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Golnits*, *Teixera*, *Andrea della valle*, &c. *Joſephus* aſſures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was entire in his time; but at preſent not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be ſeen either at *Tauris* or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there the materials, as our traveller judiciouſly obſerves (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in ancient times were never uſed in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy*'s *Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes* near the river *Straton*.

(4) *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 14. (5) *Demoſth. Philip.* 4. *p.* 100. (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *c.* 12. (7) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* 23. *c.* 23. (8) *Chardin, voy. en Perſ. vol.* 1. *p.* 181. (9) *Joſeph. Antiquitat. l.* 10. (10) *Chardin ubi ſupra.*

or *Arſace*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Iſidorus*, viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazaca*, *Margaſis*, &c. but theſe were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore called by *Strabo* * *Greek* cities. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Carduchians*, *Marandæans*, *Gelians*, *Syro-Medians*, *Margaſians*, &c.

Mountains and rivers.

THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [o], *Choatra*, parting *Media* from *Aſſyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyean* mountains on the confines of *Aſſyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrus*, dividing it from the ſame *Aſſyria* on the eaſt, a mountain, if *Polybius* [p] is to be credited, one hundred ſtades high. *Parachoatra*, placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Perſia*, and by *Strabo* [q] on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. Theſe are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be ſaid as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the *Orontes*, the *Janſonius*, and the *Coronus* are in the ſtricteſt ſenſe mountains of *Media*, as ariſing in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Cambyſes*. But theſe rivers, as they are repreſented to diſembogue themſelves into the moſt ſouthern part of the *Caſpian*, muſt by their poſition have belonged to the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Mazandaran*, as they are now called, and conſequently could not belong to *Media proper*, as it is deſcribed to us by the ancients.

WE cannot help taking notice here of a conſiderable miſtake, which many of the ancients have been guilty of, with reſpect to the ſituation of the *Caſpian Straits*, called by the *Latins Portæ Caſpiæ*, *Clauſtra Caſpia*, and *Pylæ Caſpiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Iſidorus*, *Characenus*, and *Dionyſius Periegeta* [r] place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eaſtern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this Situation, carries them quite croſs the country, and after having been ſome time at a loſs how to diſpoſe of ſo heavy a load, drops it at laſt on the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the moſt weſtern borders of *Media* [s]. *Suetonius* [t] and *Tacitus* [u] confound them with the *Iberian ſtraits*, which are a narrow paſſage through the mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caſpian* mountains and the *Caſpian* ſea, confounding them with what the preſent inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow paſſage out of *Tartary* into *Perſia*.

Soil.

THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caſpian* mountains and the ſea, are very cold and barren; the preſent inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the ſnow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year [w]. But the ſouthern parts are productive of all ſorts of grain and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*, probably the ancient *Ecbatan*, is called the garden of *Perſia*. There are here large plains, among which that of *Nyſa* is famous for the numerous ſtuds of horſes that were kept in it for the uſe of the *Perſian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the ancients. Where this plain of *Nyſa* was ſituated, is no eaſy matter to determine (C).

THE

[n] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. [o] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [p] POLYB. l. v. c. 44. [q] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [r] STRABO. l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. 3. ISIDOR. Characenus. p. 6. DIONYS. Perieget. verſu. 1039. [s] PLIN. l. 6. c. 15. [t] SUETON. c. 19. [u] TACIT. l. 1. Hiſt. c. 6. [w] CHARDIN. voy. en Perſ. vol. I. p. 524.

(C) The ancients place the *Nſyean* plain in the eaſtermoſt parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now ſuppoſed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has ſeen this fertile paſture; but if he did, we muſt place it quite differently from what the ancients ſeem to inſinuate it ought to be, and ſeveral degrees nearer us. His words are, "We "continued our way (from *Tauris* towards *Perſia*) "upon the moſt beautiful and fertile plains covered "with villages. Theſe plains afford the moſt ex"cellent paſture of all *Media*, and, I dare ſay, of "the whole world, and the beſt horſes of the coun"try were there at graſs.—I aſked a young noble"man in company with us, *If there were any other* "*plains in* Media *ſo fine and ſo extenſive?* He told "me, *He had ſeen ſome as fine about* Derbent, *but* "*none more extenſive*; ſo that 'tis reaſonable enough "to believe, that theſe plains are the *Hippobaton* of "the ancients, and where they ſay the kings of "*Media* had a ſtud of fifty thouſand horſes, and "that here it is alſo, we muſt look for the *Nyſean* "plain ſo famous for the horſes of that name. "*Stephanus* the geographer ſays, that *Nyſa* was in "the country of the *Medes*. I told this ſame no"bleman ſome particulars which hiſtorians relate "concerning theſe horſes, namely *Phavorinus*, who "ſays, all the *Nyſean* horſes were light duns; he "anſwered, that *he had never read or heard any* "*thing of the kind*. I afterwards enquired of ſeve"ral gentlemen of learning, but could never under"ſtand, that there was any place, either in *Perſia* "or *Media*, that produced horſes of that colour (11)".

(11) *Chardin. ubi ſupra, p.* 185.

Climate. THE climate is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the ſea is exceeding cold, and the earth ſwampy, and full of marſhes, where innumerable ſwarms of venemous inſects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours riſing from the *Caſpian* ſea, render that part very unhoſpitable. The provinces that are more remote from the ſea enjoy a very wholeſome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent ſtorms, eſpecially in the ſpring and autumn [x]. Beſides the cattle and game of all ſorts, which the *Mediterranean* provinces abound with, ſome of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various ſorts of excellent wines they produce, eſpecially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than ſixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquiſite flavour, are to be taſted at this day [y]. From its productions in the preſent ſtate we may judge, what it muſt have been in better times. a b

The Caſpian *ſea.* WE cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without ſome obſervations on the *Caſpian ſea*, which is the northern boundary of *Media*. This large body of waters was by the ancients called indifferently the *Caſpian* and the *Hyrcanian* Sea, from the *Caſpians* and *Hyrcanians* whoſe ſhores it waſhed [z]. However, *Pliny* [a] makes ſome difference between thoſe two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caſpian* coaſts it bears the former denomination, and on thoſe of *Hyrcania* the latter. The ancient, and likewiſe the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true ſituation, extent, coaſts, and bays of this ſea, before the diſcoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been ſaid by others is only to be relied on, ſo far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew, that the *Caſpian* was ſurrounded on all ſides by land, without any communication with other ſeas or viſible efflux; whence ſome thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a ſea. However, *Strabo* [b], *Pliny* [c], *Pomponius Mela* [d], and *Arrian* [e] wrote, that it was joined either to the *Indian* or northern ocean; but we are well aſſured by experience, that they were miſtaken. They were perhaps led into this error by ſuch as had made their obſervations when the *Wolga* had overflown its banks, at which time it appears more like a ſea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us [f], the whole country to the extent of ſixty miles: This they might eaſily have miſtaken for a ſtrait joining the *Caſpian* to the ocean. *Ptolemy*, though here in the right, was greatly miſtaken as to its extent from eaſt to weſt, for which he allows twenty three degrees and a half; whereas it does not exceed, where wideſt, three degrees forty-two minutes, and, where narroweſt, one degree twenty-two minutes. He likewiſe places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. Theſe miſtakes were obſerved, and in ſome degree redreſſed, by *Abu'lfeda*, an *Arabian* prince and able geographer, who in 1320. diſcovered the ſituation of the *Caſpian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Abu'lfeda*'s obſervations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinſon*; but the true dimenſions of this ſea were not aſcertained till the late obſervations, by which we are aſſured, that it lies between the thirty-ſeventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greateſt longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is repreſented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of other ancient geographers. c d e

THE *Perſians* call this ſea *Kulſum*, or the ſea of *Aſtracan*; the *Ruſſians* the ſea of *Gualenſkoi*; the *Georgians Sowa*; the *Armenians Soof*. It receives the river *Wolga*, which itſelf is like a ſea, and near two hundred others into its boſom, and yet is never increaſed

[x] CHARDIN. ubi ſupra. [y] CHARDIN. vol. I. p. 185. [z] STRABO. l. xi. p. 83. DIODOR. l. 7. c. 75. [a] PLIN. l. 6. c. 13. & 16. [b] STRABO l. x. p. 83. [c] PLIN. l. 6. c. 13. [d] POMPON. MEL. l. 3. b. 5. [e] ARRIAN. l. 7. p. 477. [f] Le Bruyn voy. par. la. Moſcov. Tom. 3. p. 465.

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that theſe parts of *Media* were greatly infeſted by ſcorpions, and that, while the king of *Perſia* was on his progreſs into *Media*, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of theſe venemous inſects.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who, by orders of the late *Czar*, formed a very exact chart of the *Caſpian* from obſervations made by him on the ſpot in 1720, 1721, 1722. Theſe obſervations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were by the *Czar*'s orders communicated to the royal academy of ſciences at *Paris*.

(12) *Ælian de Animal. l.* 15. *c.* 26.

a increaſed or diminiſhed, nor obſerved to ebb or flow. This conſtant plenitude has given riſe to many ſpeculations, and ſome have imagined, that it muſt neceſſarily have ſome ſubterraneous communication either with the *Black* ſea, though a hundred leagues diſtant, or with the *Perſian* gulf, which is near two hundred leagues diſtance from it. Father *Avril*, a modern traveller, ſeems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, *viz.* that over-againſt the province of *Xilan* in *Perſia* there are two immenſe whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noiſe ſuck in and ſwallow whatever comes near them, and conſequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are obſerved floating on the water by thoſe who in-
b habit the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the *Perſian* gulf, and on the other hand the coaſts of the *Caſpian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, there muſt be ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe between theſe two ſeas. This obſervation, if true, is a ſtrong proof of ſome ſecret communication between theſe two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through ſubterraneous fiſſures from the one to the other. But ſince the opinion, aſſerting a communication between the *Caſpian* and other ſeas, has been taken up chiefly on this conſideration, that as ſo many and ſo large rivers diſembogue themſelves into it, and are conſtantly pouring in their waters, in proceſs of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unleſs there were ſubterraneous fiſſures and meatuſes, through which
c it might evacuate its ſuperfluous waters into the *Ocean*; as the opinion, I ſay, of the *Caſpian*'s being joined, either immediately, or by means of ſome other ſea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to conſider how the *Caſpian* or any other ſea comes to loſe ſo much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this ſea is ſalt as the waters of other ſeas, notwithſtanding the

(F) There are two hypotheſes among philoſophers, one is, that the waters of the ſea are conveyed by ſubterraneous conduits to the ſprings of rivers, and that in draining through the fiſſures they loſe their ſaltneſs: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its ſurface. The former is now rejected by moſt, it being next to impoſſible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depreſſed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their ſprings, which are moſtly on high mountains. But in the latter hypotheſis we have no occaſion to explain this, nor to prevent the increaſe of the ſeas, by ſupplying the ſprings with their waters.

The quantity of vapours drawn up from the ſea was tried by Dr. *Halley*, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, ſalted to the ſame degree as common ſea-water, and heated to the ſame degree of the air in our hotteſt ſummers, exhales the thickneſs of a ſixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the ſuperficies of the whole ocean, or a part of it, be known, it may alſo be known, how much water ariſes from it in vapours every day, ſuppoſing the water to be equally hot with the air in ſummer. According to what has been laid down, a ſuperficies of ten ſquare inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one ſquare foot, half a pint; a ſquare, whoſe ſides are four feet, one gallon; a ſquare mile 6914 tuns; and one degree ſquare (conſiſting, as we may ſuppoſe, of 69 *Engliſh* miles) 33 millions of tuns. The ſame author ſuppoſes the *Mediterranean* to be about forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by thoſe where it is narrower, ſo that its whole ſuperficies may be accounted 160 ſquare degrees; and conſequently the whole *Mediterranean* muſt loſe in vapours, according to the foreſtated proportion, in a ſummer's day, at leaſt 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of water is dried off the ſurface by the winds cannot poſſibly be reduced to any rule; but we may venture to ſay, that it ſometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the ſun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the ſea, the above-mentioned writer obſerves, that the *Mediterranean*, for inſtance, receives theſe nine conſiderable rivers, the *Iberus*, the *Rhone*, the *Tiber*, the *Po*, the *Danube*, the *Neiſter*, the *Boryſthenes*, the *Tanais*, and the *Nile*, all the reſt being of no great note. Each of theſe rivers he ſuppoſes to be ten times greater than the *Thames*, not that any of them is near ſo great, but to comprehend with them all the ſmall rivulets that fall into the ſame ſea.

He likewiſe ſuppoſes the river *Thames* at *Kingſton-bridge*, where the tide ſeldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards, and in depth three; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water, a hundred yards, be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred ſquare-yards by forty eight miles, or 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 20300000 tuns, that are carried every day into the ſea.

Now, if each of the aforeſaid rivers yield ten times as much water as the *Thames*, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the ſea 303 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1827 millions of tuns in a day.

However, this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raiſed in vapours out of the *Mediterranean* in twelve hours time. Hence it appears, that the *Mediterranean*, the *Caſpian*, or any other ſea, is ſo far from increaſing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a ſhort time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unleſs the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

Scaliger and others were of opinion, that the *Caſpian* is joined by ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe with

(13) *Philoſ. Tranſact.* No. 189. *p.* 366.

the opinion of the ancients to the contrary; its freſhneſs in ſome parts near the ſhore is owing to the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other ſeas, nor without various ſorts of fiſh, as *Olearius*, an eye-witneſs, aſſures us, and thereby diſproves the opinion of the ancients, who believed it to be of a blackiſh colour, and to have but one kind of fiſh and that of a monſtrous form. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving, that the ignorance of the ancients with relation to this ſea, or lake, as ſome are pleaſed to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of theſe northern parts of the *Perſian* empire, and at the ſame time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unleſs vouched by the teſtimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better ſucceſs ſurveyed thoſe remote regions.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the Medes.

Their origin. WE have already derived the *Medes* [g] from *Madai*, the third ſon of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the level with the moſt ancient nations (G). In proceſs of time ſeveral colonies from the adjacent countries ſettled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, which gave riſe to the various tribes into which that people was anciently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Perſians* [h], and *Herodotus* tells us, that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus* the ſon of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians*. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the ancient interpreters, who by *Madai* in ſcripture conſtantly underſtand the *Medes* [i].

Government. THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they ſeem to have had kings of their own in the earlieſt times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of *Abraham* invaded the ſouthern coaſts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaſpes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were conquered by the *Aſſyrians*; and *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus* king of the *Medes* was with his ſeven ſons defeated and taken priſoner by *Ninus*, in the very beginning of the *Aſſyrian* empire [k]. But his accounts of thoſe early times are no-ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from ſcripture and from the authority of the moſt judicious among

[g] Vide ſupra, p. 1. [h] Cedren. p. 18. [i] Vide Hieronym. in cap. 13. Eſaiæ, & in quæſtion. Hebraic. [k] Diodor. Sic. l. 2. c. 5.

with the *Euxine*, but he alledges no reaſon to prove his opinion; however, this may be urged for it, that the *Euxine* ſea, as Mr. *Dugdale* obſerves (14), is continually diſgorging a large quantity of water through the *Boſphorus*, and ſome think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it; wherefore it may, for ought we know, be ſupplied from the *Caſpian*.

(G) Some will have *Madai* to have been the progenitor of the *Macedonians*, and not of the *Medes*, grounding their opinion upon the two following reaſons: 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in ſcripture till the latter ages. 2. That this ſituation removes *Madai* too far from the reſt of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the iſles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But to the firſt it may be anſwered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain they made uſe of it as ſoon as they had occaſion: to the ſecond, that, according to our hypotheſis, the plantations of the ſons of *Japhet* were contiguous; for the weſtern *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros* or *Aras*, to which, as we have elſewhere obſerved (15), the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps thoſe words, *by theſe were the iſles of the* Gentiles *divided* (16), relate only to *Javan* and his ſons, and not to *Gomer* and his poſterity, the paſſages in ſcripture where theſe laſt are mentioned requiring a ſenſe which places them on the continent. A modern writer (17) produces ſeveral authorities to ſhew, that there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi*. or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* regions in the borders of *Pæonia*; but this can only prove the *Macedonians* to be a later colony of *Madai*. To ſay, that the *Macedonians* are the offſpring of *Madai*, becauſe the word *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai* and *Cettim*, is relying too much, as every one muſt allow, on the authority of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of thoſe who derive the *Tartars* from an ancient tribe among the *Medes* called *Tapuri*, which they change into *Taturi*, and that into *Tartari* (18).

(14) *Dugdale's compleat ſyſtem of Gen. Geography*, p. 290. (15) *Vol. I. p.* 167. *d. e.* (16) *Gen.* x. 5. (17) *See Mede's works.* (18) *Vide Reinecc. hiſt. jul. par ſecund. p.* 2.

a among the ancient and modern chronologers, that the *Aſſyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*; whereas *Cteſias* and his copiſt *Diodorus* have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Aſſyrian* kings from *Belus* and his feigned ſon *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*. According to the ſucceſſion of *Aſſyrian* kings, as ſtated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas *Herodotus* tells us, that it laſted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were firſt brought under the *Aſſyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate ſucceſſor *Tiglath-Pilaſer*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they ſhook
b off the *Aſſyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which laſted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite abſolute, and controuled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal reſpect with the gods themſelves, the cuſtom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in *Perſia*, having firſt taken riſe among the *Medes* [l].

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their hiſtory; but in proceſs of time became one of the moſt effeminate nations of *Aſia*, eſpecially after they were reduced by *Cyrus*. In war they uſed the ſame armour as the *Perſians*, whom they are ſaid to have taught the art of war, eſpecially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewiſe to have been the firſt that introduced luxury into *Perſia*, which
c at laſt occaſioned the downfal of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* [m]. *Polygamy* was ſo far from being diſreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at leaſt ſeven wives, and thoſe women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five huſbands [n]. In war they poiſoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *Naphta*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Perſia*, and *Aſſyria*. The arrow being ſteeped in it, and ſhot from a ſlack bow (for a ſwift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the fleſh with ſuch violence, that water rather encreaſed than extinguiſhed the malignant flame; duſt alone could put a ſtop to it, and in ſome degree allay the unſpeakable pain it occaſioned. They are likewiſe ſaid to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom
d they uſed to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as diſhonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground [o].

Manners and cuſtoms.

SOME writers charge the *Medes* with being the firſt authors of making eunuchs [p]; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Perſians*, and even name the place where it firſt took riſe [q] (I). The cuſtom of confirming alliances with the blood of the

[l] ÆLIAN. var. hiſtor. l. x. p. 525. [m] STRABO l. xi. XENOPH. cyropæd. l. 1. p. 7. [n] STRABO l. xi. p. 526. [o] BARDESAN. apud Euſeb. præpar. Evang. l. 6. c. 8. [p] ATHÆNEUS, l. 12. [q] STEPHAN. de urbib.

(H) In the time of the judges of *Iſrael*, *Meſopotamia* was under its own king (19); the king of *Zobah* reigned on both ſides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philiſtia*, *Zidon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes and ſo were thoſe of *Haran*, or *Carrhæ*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Meſopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As theſe petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, ſo was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who ſubdued moſt of the abovementioned nations. *Media* may have been ſubdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of ſhort continuance, it being the cuſtom in thoſe early times for every father to divide his territories amongſt his ſons.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this cuſtom was firſt introduced in a city of *Perſia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* word *Spado*, ſignifying an eunuch. But both he and thoſe who charge the *Medes* with introducing ſuch an unnatural practice are certainly miſtaken, ſince we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, long before ſuch a piece of wanton luxury can be ſuppoſed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Perſians*. *Joſephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchadonoſor* commanded the moſt comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs; and *Hierom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to be the firſt contriver of eunuchiſm (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tells us:

Perſarum ritu male pubeſcentibus annis
Subripuere viros; exſectaque viſcera ferro
In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,
Circumſcripta mora, properantes differat annos (24).

And *Claudian*,

Seu Perſica ferro
Luxuries vetuit naſci lanuginis umbram (25).

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eaſtern princes, and were anciently employed in the moſt momentous affairs; all the places of greateſt truſt

(19) *Jud.* iii. 8. (20) 2 *Samuel* viii. *and* x. (21) *Joſeph. antiquit. l. x. c.* 16. (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* 14. (24) *Petron. Arb. ſatyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l.* 1.

the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eaſtern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes* [r], When they were to ſtrike alliances they uſed to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, ſtarting to the extremities, was by a ſlight cut diſcharged. This they mutually ſucked, and a league thus confirmed was eſteemed moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemnized with the blood of the parties [s]. a

Laws, religion, &c.

The laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Perſians*: wherefore, we ſhall defer what may be ſaid of them, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Perſians* from the oriental writers. We ſhall only obſerve here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverſe a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are in holy writ called unchangeable [t]. A modern writer tells us, that thoſe only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their ſtrength or ſtature [u]. But that there was no ſuch law is plain from the regular ſucceſſion of father and ſon, without regard to any perſonal quality whatſoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Aſſyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the ſtate of *Media* in thoſe early times. b

They paid their kings the greateſt reſpect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to ſpit or laugh in their preſence [w]. They honoured their ſovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*, which ſtile was afterwards adopted by the *Perſian* monarchs and their proud ſucceſſors the *Parthians*, whoſe king, even in the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, retained that title, writing himſelf in a letter to that prince, *Sapor king of kings, allied to the ſtars, brother to the ſun and moon*, &c. [x]. When they appeared in public, which ſeldom happened, they were always attended by muſick, and numerous guards conſiſting of the prime nobility, their wives, children, and concubines being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field. c

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the uſe of the inhabitants themſelves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themſelves to trade, is what we find no-where recorded: neither do we find any mention made by the ancients of their arts or ſciences. During the ſhort time of their monarchy, they ſeem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exerciſes, namely to the arts of managing a horſe and handling the bow, in which they ſurpaſſed all other nations, the *Median* horſe being no leſs celebrated by the ancients, than were in after ages the *Perſian* foot [y]. Thus much we have thought neceſſary to ſay apart of the *Medes* and their country: what elſe may be added thereto we defer to the ſections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this. d

[r] Herodot. l. 1. c. 74. [s] Tacit. annal. 12. [t] Dan. vi. 8. [u] Alexand. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 23. [w] Herodot. l. 1. c. 99. [x] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 17. [y] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. 1. c. 7.

truſt being filled by men, if men we may call them, of their ſpecies. To them the *Perſian* kings committed, not only the guard of their own perſons (26), but likewiſe the education of their children, it being a cuſtom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as ſoon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whoſe tuition he remained, till he attained the ſeventh year of his age (27).

(26) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7.* (27) *Plato in Alcibiad. 1.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the MEDES *to the tranſlation of their empire to the* PERSIANS.

a CTESIAS and his followers have darkened the chronology of the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Medes* with ſuch enormous anachroniſms, that 'tis no eaſy matter to aſcertain the riſe or fall of thoſe potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearneſs and perſpicuity ſo perplexed a ſubject will allow, we ſhall diſtinguiſh in the chronology of the *Medes* three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras, namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been ſubdued by the *Aſſyrians*, the riſe of their kingdom after ſome years of anarchy, and the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, roſe on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. The firſt king of the *Aſſyrians*, who brought the *Medes* under ſubjection, was either *Pul*, according to us the founder of the *Aſſyrian* empire [z], or his immediate ſucceſſor *Tiglath-pileſer*. For this prince having, at the b prayers of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, made war upon *Rezin* king of *Damaſcus*, and reduced that city, tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Kir* in *Media* [a]. Whence it is plain, that the *Medes* were then ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*; and conſequently, that they muſt have been ſubdued either in the reign of *Pul*, or ſoon after the acceſſion of *Tiglath-pileſer* to the crown; for the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was already grown great, and *the God of* Iſrael *ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Pul *king of* Aſſyria, *and the ſpirit of* Tiglath-pileſer *king of* Aſſyria [b] to make war. *Pul* makes his firſt appearance in ſcripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Iſrael*, in the year of the flood 2228, before *Chriſt* 771. *Tiglath-pileſer*, who is ſuppoſed to have been his ſon, ſucceeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before *Chriſt* 740. That there was no *Aſſyrian* c empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain, both from ſcripture (K) and from the particular hiſtories of each kingdom, ſo that the *Medes* could not be ſubdued by them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of *Pul* or *Tiglath-pileſer* they continued in ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before *Chriſt* 713, while *Hezekiah* was king of *Judah* (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or of

[z] Vol. 1. p. 888. [a] 11 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5. 9. [b] 1 Chron. xxvi.

(K) None of the prophets, who preceded *Pul*, and foretold the calamities which the people of *Iſrael* afterwards ſuffered from the *Aſſyrians*, ever name that nation, but only ſpeak of a people that is to be raiſed up againſt *Iſrael*. Thus *Jonah*, who propheſied about ſixty years before the reign of *Pul*, mentions indeed the king of *Niniveh*, but no where that of *Aſſyria*. The city of *Niniveh* had ſome time before ſhaken off the *Egyptian* yoke, and was governed by a king of its own; but his territories were of (28) no great extent, as is plain from the ſaid prophecies; neither was he called king of *Aſſyria*, but only of *Niniveh*. *Amos* propheſied about ten or twenty years before *Pul* began his conqueſts, and foretold, that God would raiſe up a nation that ſhould humble the houſe of *Iſrael*, at that time elated with their ſucceſs againſt *Damaſcus* and *Hamath*; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of *Iſaiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hoſea*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Zephaniah*, and *Zachariah*, which were written after the *Aſſyrian* monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly named on all occaſions. Therefore, as *Jonah* and *Amos*, who propheſied before the reign of *Pul*, never mention the *Aſſyrians*, and thoſe who flouriſhed after his reign, frequently do; it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the *Aſſyrians* made no great figure in the world, but were to be raiſed up againſt *Iſrael*; and by conſequence roſe in the days of *Pul*, who is the firſt upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of *Amos*, threatening *Syria* and *Iſrael* with captivity. Beſides, we know from ſcripture, that till *Pul* made his appearance on this ſide of the *Euphrates*, not only *Syria* and *Egypt*, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. *Seſac* and *Memnon* were great conquerors, and ſubdued *Chaldea*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Bactria*, &c. but in their hiſtories no mention is made of any oppoſition made to them by an *Aſſyrian* empire then ſtanding. *Homer* mentions *Bacchus* and *Memnon* kings of *Egypt* and *Perſia*, but knew nothing of an *Aſſyrian* empire (29). Whence it is manifeſt, that the *Aſſyrian* empire, which *Cteſias* makes as ancient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of *Pul*, who reduced all the abovementioned nations.

(L) That in the time of *Shalmaneſer* they were ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*, is plain from ſcripture, where that prince is ſaid to have tranſplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halah* and *Habor*, and the other cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thiſbe*, in the tribe of *Nepthali*, with *Anna* his wife and *Tobias* his ſon, into *Aſſyria*; but the reſt of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31), which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Shalmaneſer* ſubject to the king of *Aſſyria*.

(28) *Jonah* iii. 6. 7. (29) *See Sir* Iſaac Newton's *Chronol. of ancient kingdoms*, *p.* 265. *&c ſeq.* (30) 2 *Kings* xvii. (31) *Tobit*, *c.* 1.

of the ſudden ſlaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and ſhaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms againſt the power of the *Aſſyrians*, which was now in its decline. Theſe are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his cuſtom [c]; and they muſt have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before *Chriſt* 710. The *Medes*, having thus reſcued their country from the *Aſſyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us [d], which gave *Eſar-haddon* or *Aſſar-haddon*, who ſucceeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under ſubjection. How long the anarchy may have laſted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three which *Dejoces*, their firſt king, is ſaid to have reigned. It cannot have laſted above twenty or thirty years; for *Phraortes*, who ſucceeded *Dejoces*, and reigned, according to *Herodotus* [e], twenty-two years, was ſlain by *Chyniladan*, or *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the twelfth year of his reign. *Nabuchodonoſor* came to the crown in the year of the flood 2351, before *Chriſt* 648; ſo that *Phraortes* was killed eighty-ſix years after the *Medes* had revolted from the *Aſſyrians*; from which number, if we ſubtract the fifty-three of *Dejoces* and twenty-two of *Phraortes*, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [f], had ſome time exerciſed the office of judge before he was choſen king, is evidently too long, and we may ſafely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces* to the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, which happened in the ſecond year of the reign of *Jehoiakim* (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before *Chriſt* 609, *Media* may be properly ſtiled a kingdom. From the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, we may date the riſe of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having ſhared the *Aſſyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced moſt of the neighbouring nations, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Their empire laſted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon* [g] tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to ſcripture. *Babylon* was taken ſeventy-three years after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius the Mede* reigned over that city, ſo that the empire of the *Medes* laſted ſeventy-five years, at the period of which the *Perſian* empire took riſe in *Cyrus*. That *Darius the Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unqueſtionable; for he is ſaid in ſcripture [h], to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In his reign the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Perſians* [i], as the *Perſians* in the reign of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors are always ſet before the *Medes* [k].

a b c d

Before we proceed to the hiſtory of the *Medes*, we ſhall exhibit the ſeries of their kings according to ſeveral authors.

A Table

[c] Tobit i. 15. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 71. [e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [f] Ubi ſupra. [g] Xenoph. cyrop. l. 8 [h] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [i] Dan. ubi ſupra. & v. 28. viii. 20. [k] Esth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20. & xi. 2.

(M) In the reign of *Joſiah*, when *Zephaniah* propheſied, *Niniveh* and the kingdom of *Aſſyria* were ſtanding, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after *Pharaoh Nechoh* led his army to the *Euphrates* againſt the king of *Aſſyria*, and on his march ſlew *Joſiah* (33); whence it is manifeſt, that the laſt king of *Aſſyria* was ſtill alive. But in the third and fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, the ſucceſſor of *Joſiah*, we find *Aſſuerus* king of the *Medes* and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, leading their armies againſt the king of *Egypt*, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the *Aſſyrians*. Whence we may conclude, that *Niniveh* was already reduced, and the conqueſt of *Aſſyria* compleated. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the deſtruction of *Niniveh* and fall of the *Aſſyrian* empire, in the ſecond year of *Jehoiakim*.

(32) *Zeph.* i. 1. *and* ii. 13. (33) 2 *Kings* xxiii. 29. 2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20.

A Table of the Kings of the MEDES, *according to* HERODOTUS, DIODORUS SICULUS, EUSEBIUS, *and* SYNCELLUS.

	Acc. to *Herodot.*		Acc. to *Diod.*		Acc. to *Euſeb.*		Acc. to *Syncel.*	
a	* * * * * * *		1 *Arbaces*	28	1 *Arbaces*	28	1 *Arbaces*	28
	* * * * * * *		2 *Mandauces*	50	2 *Soſarmus*	30	2 *Mandauces*	20
	* * * * * * *		3 *Soſarmus*	30	3 *Medidus*	40	3 *Soſarmus*	30
	* * * * * * *		4 *Articas*	50	4 *Cardiccas*	13	4 *Artycas*	30
	* * * * * * *		5 *Arbacines*	22	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
	* * * * * * *		6 *Artæus*	40	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
	* * * * * * *		7 *Artynes*	22	5 *Dejoces*	54	5 *Diæces*	54
	1 *Dejoces*	53	8 *Antibarnes*	40	6 *Phraortes*	24	6 *Aphraartes*	51
	2 *Phraortes*	22	9 *Aſtibares*	**	7 *Cyaxares*	32	7 *Cyaxares*	32
	3 *Cyaxares*	40	10 *Apandas* or *Aſtyages*	**	8 *Aſtyas*	38	8 *Aſtyages* or *Darius*	38
	4 *Aſtyages*	35						
b	Total	150		282		259		283

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, thoſe of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Cteſias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that *Herodotus* is not greatly miſtaken in his numbers. *Cteſias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*, whoſe names are different from thoſe mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the
c laſt whom he calls *Aſtyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight firſt amount to 282 years, and thoſe of the two laſt are omitted; but if they be ſupplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Juſtin*'s account, who ſuppoſes the kings of *Media* to have reigned 350 years. *Euſebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Cteſias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the firſt king *Arbaces*, and beſides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at leaſt with regard to his names, tho' they vary ſometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitleſs taſk to enquire into them, eſpecially, as it muſt appear, from what we have ſaid already, that they are both
d groſly miſtaken (N).

SECT.

(N) *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus*, with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Aſſyrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not laſt 900 years. The *Perſian* empire continued 230 years, from the firſt year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad to the ſecond of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* laſted according to *Herodotus*, the ſum will be but 900 years. Theſe are the ſentiments of the moſt judicious among the profane hiſtorians, concerning the duration of the empires of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes*. But, on the other ſide, *Cephaleon*, *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Caſtor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Juſtin*, with *Velleius Paterculus*, have followed *Cteſias* in his catalogue of the *Aſſyrian* kings. Among chriſtian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus* have inſerted in their catalogues the kings of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Cteſias*; though, in order to adjuſt their chronologies, they have ſometimes abridged, and ſometimes encreaſed, their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it muſt have done according to *Cteſias*, if we ſupply the reigns of the two laſt kings in his catalogue from *Euſebius* or *Syncellus*, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that after the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was deſtroyed by *Arbaces*, there were no *Aſſyrian* kings either at *Niniveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were ſole maſters of *Aſia*. But this ſuppoſition is evidently repugnant both to ſacred and profane hiſtory. If we conſult the ſcripture, we ſhall find, that the *Aſſyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended deſtruction of *Niniveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flouriſhed in the reigns of *Azariah* king of *Judah* and *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*, was ſent to preach repentance to *Niniveh*, about eighty years after the ſuppoſed reign of *Arbaces*, and *Niniveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was ſo populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the uſe of reaſon (36). Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbiſh but eighty years before, grow to ſuch a pitch of grandeur in ſo ſhort a time? For, according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its ſplendor. Thoſe who follow *Cteſias* have been forced

(34) *Dionyſ. Halicar. l.* 1. *Hiſt. Rom.* (35) *Appian. in præfat.* (36) *Jonah.* iii. 3. & iv. 2.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Medes.

WE ſhall begin with what we may call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, being extracted from *Cteſias*, his tranſcriber *Diodorus*, and their followers. According to theſe, the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. For when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who, being worſted by that mighty warrior, was taken priſoner, and crucified with his wife and ſeven children [l]. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and remained ſubject to the ſucceſſors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However, they made ſome attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of *Semiramis* and minority of her ſon *Ninyas*; for ſhe is ſaid to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called *Bagiſtan*, to have made a pleaſant garden twelve furlongs in compaſs. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had on one ſide craggy rocks ſeventeen furlongs high, which ſhe aſcended on the packs and loads carried by the beaſts of burthen that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock ſhe cauſed her ſtatue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence ſhe marched to *Chaon* a city of *Media*, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, ſhe formed another pleaſant garden with ſtately edifices, whence ſhe might behold the beauties of the ſpot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chaon* ſhe advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and on her march levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in ſpite of nature opened a plain and eaſy way to *Ecbatan*, which to our author's time was called *Semiramis's road* [m]. Theſe extraordinary works, as they were laſting monuments of her conqueſts, not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itſelf, kept that nation in a ſervile ſubjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the ſpace of near 1400 years (O), when *Arbaces* governor of *Media* and *Beleſis* governor of *Babylon* put an end to the *Aſſyrian* empire, in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of *Aſſyria* [n].

Arbaces. *Arbaces*, the firſt king of the *Medes* after their revolt, is repreſented as a prince of great generoſity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-ſpirited *Babylonian Beleſis*, who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immenſe treaſures, that were concealed in the aſhes and ruins of the *Aſſyrian* palace, as we have elſewhere related at length [o]. He is ſaid to have ſubdued all *Aſia*, and to have reigned twenty-eight years.

He

l Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. m Diodor Sicul. l. 2. c. 1, n Vol. I. p. 886. o Vol. I. p. 938.

ced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and deſtroyed, *viz.* in the time of king *Jehoſaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after in the reign of *Joſiah*. But the ſcripture, *Joſephus*, and all profane writers, allow only one deſolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polyhiſtor* does not much differ from him. *Cteſias* and his followers refer it to the reign of *Arbaces* three hundred years earlier. That the latter are miſtaken is manifeſt from holy writ, as we have already ſhewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, muſt ſoon have decayed, which is inconſiſtent with the ſyſtem of *Cteſias* and the authors that follow him. The *Aſſyrian* empire muſt have raiſed itſelf again, *Nineveh* muſt have been rebuilt, and have paſt from an heap of rubbiſh to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the ſpace of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended deſtruction of *Niniveh* and the *Aſſyrian* empire, we find in ſcripture a ſeries of *Aſſyrian* kings and a potent empire not ſubject to the *Medes*. Beſides, if we compare the deſtruction of *Nineveh* deſcribed by *Cteſias* with that we read in ſcripture and *Polyhiſtor*, they will plainly appear to be the ſame. *Cteſias* ſays, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himſelf, his concubines, and treaſures; *Polyhiſtor* writes the ſame of *Sarac*. *Cteſias* tells us, that the *Medes* in conjunction with the *Babylonians* deſtroyed *Niniveh*; and the ſame is confirmed by *Polyhiſtor* and the ſacred penmen. *Cteſias* writes, that the city was laid in aſhes, and the citizens diſperſed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amount to a full conviction, that there was but one deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and one deſolation of *Niniveh*.

(O) Theſe ſtories are of a piece with what the ſame author relates elſewhere, *viz.* that the army of *Ninus* conſiſted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that ſhe diſpoſed in the ſhape of elephants the hides of three hundred thouſand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by *Cteſias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

Mandauces.

a HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mandauces*, who reigned fifty years, but did nothing worthy of notice, being himſelf, as he is repreſented, a prince of a peaceable diſpoſition, and his ſubjects deſirous of ſome reſpite, after the violent ſtruggles for liberty and empire in the laſt reign.

Soſarmus.

Soſarmus appears next, by ſome called *Medidus*; he reigned thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record.

Artias.

Artias, by ſome called *Artycas*, by others *Cardiccas*, reigned next. From his name ſome, who indulge conjectures, argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *Arti* or *Arta* in the compoſition of his name denoting *greatneſs*, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Perſian Arta-*

b *xerxes*. All we can ſay is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long ſince buried in oblivion. There is a great diſagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, ſome allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and ſome only thirteen.

Arbianes.

AFTER him came *Arbianes*, in whoſe reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Caduſians*, who, at the inſtigation of one *Parſodes* riſing up in arms, ſhook off the yoke which they had for ſome time groaned under. *Parſodes* was by birth a *Per-ſian*, but the chief favourite and prime miniſter of *Arbianes* king of the *Medes*, whom he ſerved with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a ſentence pronounced againſt him by that prince, he fled with three thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe

c to the *Caduſians*, where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianes*, but ſtirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Caduſians*, being thus encouraged to ſtand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parſodes*, as the moſt proper perſon on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field *Arbianes* died after a reign of twenty years. If this *Parſodes* be the *Parſondas* mentioned by *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, we have already related what induced him to revolt [p].

Artæus.

Artæus came to the crown, while the *Caduſians* were making vaſt preparations to invade his kingdom, and underſtanding, that *Parſodes* was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the inſolence

d of the rebels. And accordingly having raiſed an army of 800,000 men, marched out with this mighty hoſt, and engaged the rebels; but was moſt ſhamefully routed and forced to ſave himſelf by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the *Caduſians* proclaimed *Parſodes* their king, who accepting the crown inſpired his new ſubjects with that irreconcileable hatred which he had conceived againſt the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is ſaid to have ſolemnly conjured the *Caduſians*, even on his death-bed, to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly aboliſhed, loading at the ſame time with curſes and imprecations ſuch of his ſucceſſors, as ever ſhould upon any terms whatſo-

e ever be reconciled with them. In purſuance of this, as we may call it, his laſt will, the *Caduſians* watched all opportunities of harraſſing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what miſchief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the *Perſians* [q].

Artynes.
Artibarnas.

AFTER *Artæus* reigned *Artynes* twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*, in whoſe reign the *Parthians* revolting put themſelves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which ſeparates *India* from *Scythia*. This occaſioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by queen *Zanara*, a heroin of great proweſs. That princeſs is no leſs celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, reſcued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her ſub-

f jects, and inured them to military diſcipline and the toils of war. After ſhe had for many years haraſſed the *Medes*, a peace was at laſt concluded between her and *Artynes* on the following conditions; that the *Parthians* ſhould ſubmit to the *Medes*, and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they poſſeſſed at the beginning of the war [r] (P).

HITHERTO

[p] Vol. I. p. 938. d. e. f. & ſeqq. [q] DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. [r] DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own ſex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wiſdom; ſhe built many cities, made conſiderable

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may ſafely call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, theſe kings, or moſt of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in the imagination, of *Cteſias*, which was very fertile in the production of monſters. We now come to the genuine hiſtory of *Media*, as it has been tranſmitted to us by authors of a quite different character. a

The genuine hiſtory of the Medes.

THE *Medes*, having thrown off the *Aſſyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived ſome time without a king, but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their own country, whoſe name was *Dejoces*. He is repreſented as a ſubtle crafty man, and aiming at abſolute power, and is ſaid to have compaſſed his deſign in the following manner. The *Medes* were at that time divided into ſeveral diſtricts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who, ſeeing all kind of licentiouſneſs prevail over the whole country, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice with great zeal and diligence. The *Medes* of the ſame diſtrict, obſerving the equity of his conduct, choſe him for their judge; and he, aſpiring to the ſovereign power, performed that office with all poſſible regard to juſtice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own diſtrict, but among thoſe alſo of the other diviſions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence ſuch as thought themſelves injured by unjuſt ſentences reſorted from all parts to him in order to obtain juſtice; till at laſt no one would commit the deciſion of a difference to any other perſon. At laſt the numbers of thoſe, who applied to him for redreſs, increaſing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of adminiſtering juſtice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly abſented himſelf from the place where he uſed to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and ſubmitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reaſonable, that he ſhould neglect his private affairs to attend thoſe of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedneſs prevailing to ſuch a degree, that it was not ſafe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general aſſembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuſes that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occaſion thoſe who were in the intereſt of *Dejoces* obſerved, that if a ſtop was not put to the growth of the diſorders that had already overſpread the whole land, they ſhould ſoon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They adviſed therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could reſcue their country from impending ruin. Their diſcourſe was received with general approbation, and a king was reſolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the perſon whom they ſhould prefer to the crown, when *Dejoces* was named to the ſovereignty, and with univerſal applauſe placed on the throne [s]. b c d

The Medes *reſolve to create a king.*

Dejoces *choſen*

Year of the flood 2300. *Before* Chriſt 699.

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and being veſted with ſupreme power he threw off the maſk, and commenced tyrant; though the rigour he practiſed may perhaps have been abſolutely neceſſary to bring the nation, after ſome years of anarchy, into any order or diſcipline.

THE firſt thing he did after his promotion was to command his new ſubjects to build him a palace ſuitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the ſafety of his perſon. He was obeyed, and on the ground which he choſe a ſtrong and ſtately fabrick was erected for his ordinary reſidence. At the ſame time he was allowed to chuſe for his guard out of the whole nation ſuch as he thought moſt proper for that truſt. Thus ſettled on the throne, he united the ſeveral diſtricts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a ſtrong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this alſo his ſubjects ſubmitted, and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built, purſuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in proceſs of time became very famous in thoſe parts (Q). e

Dejoces

[s] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 95.

ſiderable conqueſts, and raiſed the obſcure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her ſubjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vaſt dimenſions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid ſhe was repreſented by a golden coloſſus, and adored by her ſubjects as a goddeſs (37).

(Q) *Ecbatan* in ſcripture (38) is called *Achmetha*; by *Cteſias* and *Stephanus Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith* it is ſaid to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*; but whether *Arphaxad* and *Dejoces* be but two names of one and the ſame perſon

(37) DIODOR. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3. (38) ERZA. vi. 2.

Dejoces, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be obſerved by all his ſubjects of what rank ſoever. That no one ſhould
a be admitted to his preſence, but tranſact all things by his ſervants and miniſters; that none ſhould be allowed even to ſee him, that were not immediately of his houſehold, and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or ſpit in his preſence ſhould be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the reſpect which is due to a ſovereign. Theſe laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil deſign againſt his perſon, not doubting, but thoſe, who were debarred from ſeeing him, would be eaſily induced to think him of a ſuperior nature to themſelves. Though he kept himſelf thus concealed from the eyes of the people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to
b that end many emiſſaries in his provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every tranſaction. By this means no crime eſcaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the puniſhment, thus treading upon the heals of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and ſtemmed the courſe of violence and injuſtice.

Dejoces was ſo intirely taken up in civilizing his unpoliſhed ſubjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize againſt his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is ſaid to have ruled over the whole nation of the *Medes* fifty three years[t].

Phraortes. *Year of the flood* 2353. *Before* Chriſt 646.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Phraortes*, who being of a warlike temper, and not
c ſatisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Perſia*, and is ſaid to have brought that nation under ſubjection to the *Medes*[u]. But we are inclined to diſagree with our author in this particular, and aſcribe the conqueſt of *Perſia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his ſon and ſucceſſor *Cyaxares* (P). However, he ſubdued ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the upper *Aſia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good ſucceſs, that attended his army, at length he invaded *Aſſyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakended by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the *Medes*, had withdrawn their obedience from the *Aſſyrians*. *Nebuchadonoſor*, or *Chyniladan*, at that time king of *Aſſyria*,
d raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe the conqueror, ſummoning the whole force of his wide-ſpreading dominions, and inviting other nations of the eaſt to his aſſiſtance. His embaſſadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the ſummons. However, *Nebuchadonoſor* took the field with what forces he had, and he, joining battle with *Phraortes* in the great plain of *Ragau*, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and purſuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him priſoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered

[t] Herodot. l. 1. c. 96. 201.

perſon is what we ſhall examine hereafter. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will perhaps have *Arbaces*, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with *Tiglath-pileſer*, to be the founder of it. *Joſephus* (40) acquaints us, that the decree of *Cyrus*, about rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was found at *Ecbatan*, which plainly proves it to be the ſame with the *Achmetha* of ſcripture, where according to *Ezra* (41) the ſaid decree was lodged.

(P) It ſeems plain from ſcripture, that the *Perſians* were not ſubdued by the *Medes*, till after the taking of *Niniveh*, by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*, God threatened by his prophet (42), that *he would take all the families of the north and* Nebuchadnezzar *the king of* Babylon, *and bring them againſt* Judea, *and againſt the nations round about, and utterly deſtroy thoſe nations, and make them an aſtoniſhment and laſting deſolation, and cauſe them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and thoſe of *Edom*, and *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where

[u] Herodot. l. 1. c. 102.

it is to be obſerved, that, in numbering the nations which were to be ſubdued, he omits the *Aſſyrians* who muſt conſequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Perſia*, as diſtinct from thoſe of the *Medes*, whence we may conclude, that the *Perſians* were not yet ſubdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is in the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the ſame prophet foretold the approaching conqueſt of *Perſia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, ſays he, *I will break the bow of* Elam—*upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven—and there ſhall be no nation where the outcaſts of* Elam *ſhall not come—I will ſet my throne in* Elam, *and will deſtroy from thence the king and the princes, ſaith the Lord; but it ſhall come to paſs in the latter days*, (that is in the reign of *Cyrus*) *that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *ſaith the Lord* (43).

From theſe words of the prophet it is manifeſt, that in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, the *Perſians* had kings of their own, and conſequently could not be ſubdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (44).

(39) *Connect. of the old and new teſtament, p.* 26. (40) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 4. (41) *Erza, ubi ſupra.* (42) *Jerem.* xxv. (43) *Jer.* xlix 35. &c. (44) *See Sir Iſaac Newton Chron. of anc. kingd. amend. p.* 313. *& ſeqq.*

entered *Media*, took many ſtrong holds without oppoſition, and puſhing on his conqueſts ſtormed the famous city of *Ecbatan*, and levelled it with the ground. Fluſhed beyond meaſure by this, perhaps more than expected, ſucceſs, he returned to *Niniveh*, where he feaſted and revelled with thoſe who had attended him in this expedition, for the ſpace of 120 days [w]. *Phraortes* reigned twenty-two years, and was ſlain near the beginning of the reign of *Joſiah*; for this war was made after *Phœnice*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt* had been conquered by *Aſſarhadon*, and when the *Jews* were newly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of *Judith* [x] (Q). * a

Upon the death of *Phraortes* his ſon *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed ſuch a man was, then more than ever, wanting to ſave the nation from impending ſlavery, moſt part of the kingdom being already poſſeſſed by the *Aſſyrians*. Having ſettled himſelf well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good diſcipline (R), he ſoon recovered what the *Aſſyrians* had taken after their victory in the plains of *Ragau*. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the deſtruction of *Niniveh*. And accordingly, having aſſembled all his forces, he marched out with a deſign to treat that city, as *Nabuchadonoſor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*. The *Aſſyrians* meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been deſtroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement enſued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into *Niniveh*. *Cyaxares*, purſuing his victory, laid cloſe ſiege to the city; but was ſoon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom [y]. b c

Cyaxares 1. *Year of the flood* 2375. *Before* Chriſt 624.

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in purſuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes* the ſon of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrſus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Aſia*, as *Strabo* informs us [z], and, having laid waſte great part of that country, advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no ſooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the ſiege of *Niniveh*, he advanced with all his forces againſt them. The two armies engaged, and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occaſion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, ver-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of upper *Aſia* (S). From thence d

[w] Judith. iv. 3. &c. Herodot. l. 1. c. 102. [x] Judith. i. 7, 8, 9. [y] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [z] Strab. l. 1. prope initium.

(Q) As *Arphaxad* is ſaid, in the firſt book of *Judith* (45), to have been killed by *Nabuchadonoſor*, and likewiſe to have built *Ecbatan*, moſt writers will have *Dejoces*, the founder of *Ecbatan*, and not *Phraortes*, to have carried on this unſucceſsful war, and loſt his life in the mountains of *Ragau* (46). The paſſage in *Judith*, that *Arphaxad built a very ſtrong city, and called it Ecbatan*, has led them aſtray, and made them conclude, that *Arphaxad* muſt be *Dejoces* who was certainly the founder of that city. But the *Greek* text of *Judith*, which the vulgate tranſlates *ædificavit, built*, ſays only, that *Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatan*, Επῳκοδόμησε επὶ Ἐκβατάνοις. And what can be more natural, than that the ſon ſhould finiſh ſo great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

* The authors, in the hiſtory of *Aſſyria*, volume the firſt, page 898, place the defeat and death of *Phraortes* twelve years earlier, *viz.* in the year of the Flood, 2363. before Chriſt, 636. The cauſe of this variation ſeems to be this, in the firſt volume they compute the reign of *Dejoces* from the revolt of the *Medes*, including the twelve years of anarchy, but in this ſecond volume, they allow the fifty one years reign to *Dejoces*, excluſive of the anarchy.

(R) He was the firſt, according to *Herodotus* (47), that marſhalled the people of *Aſia* into diſtinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horſe, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiſcuouſly. But this we can hardly believe, when we conſider, that the nations of this part of *Aſia* were engaged in continual wars, and conſequently muſt have been more experienced in the military art.

(S) *Euſebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Niniveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus* and all the profane hiſtorians, without exception, unanimouſly agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was beſieging *Niniveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have choſe to follow them, rather than *Euſebius*, whoſe authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out by the *Scythians*, invaded and laid waſte part of *Aſia*, and that the *Scythians*, not ſatisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far diſtant countries, and in this purſuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia*. As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were all of the ſame race and nation, which *Goropius Becanus* learnedly proves in his *Amazonica*, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulſion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing elſe but the ſending of a colony into *Aſia*, with an army of *Scythians* to aſſiſt them in acquiring new ſettlements, and eſtabliſhing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Sarmatians* were but one people,

(45) *Judith.* i. 1. (46) *See Uſher's Annal. at the year of the world* 3347. (47) *Herodot. l.* 1. *c.* 103.

a thence they extended their conqueſts into *Syria* as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Pſammiticus* king of that country, meeting them in perſon, prevailed upon the barbarians, what by entreaties, what by preſents, to proceed no farther, and thereby ſaved his country from the heavy oppreſſion which his neighbours groaned under [a]. In this expedition the *Scythians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of *Bethſheam*, in the territories of the tribe of *Manaſſeth*, on this ſide of the *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Aſia*; whence it was called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* [b]. On their return from *Egypt*, as they paſſed through the land of the *Philiſtines*, ſome of the ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, which was believed the moſt ancient in the world dedicated to that goddeſs. To avenge this attempt the b goddeſs is ſaid to have inflicted on thoſe, that were concerned in the ſacrilege, and their poſterity, the hemorrhoids; which ſhews, that the *Philiſtines* ſtill preſerved the memory of what they had formerly ſuffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it ſeems, on this diſtemper, as a puniſhment from heaven attending ſuch ſacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the *Scythians* with this crime, took care not to omit in their hiſtories the puniſhment, which their anceſtors had ſuffered for one of the ſame nature [c].

THE *Scythians* were for the ſpace of twenty-eight years maſters of the upper *Aſia*, namely the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* finding it impracticable to get rid of his troubleſome gueſts by c open force, reſolved to try what might be effected by ſtratagem. And accordingly invited the greateſt part of them to a general feaſt which was given in every family. Each landlord made his gueſts drunk, and in that condition were the *Scythians* maſſacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The *Medes*

[a] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20. [b] SYNCELL. p. 214. [c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 105.

people, yet they were diſtinguiſhed in name according to their different tribes, profeſſions, and perhaps dialects. Such another expedition the ſame people undertook ſome ages after, when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted, as *Plutarch* informs us (48), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, beſides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing all down before them, and finally deſigning to ſettle in *Italy*, divided into ſeveral bodies to facilitate their paſſage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* conſuls. Mere neceſſity obliged theſe poor nations to infeſt their neighbours and expoſe themſelves to ſuch dangers. For their country abounding more in men than in ſuſtenance, and ſhut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to diſcharge their overgrown numbers on the ſouthern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their poſſeſſions, as being entitled to what others had, becauſe they had nothing themſelves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardſhips, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free paſſage, that they might the ſooner get rid of them; others ſupplying them with proviſions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The firſt body of theſe, mentioned by *Herodotus*, took the way of the *Euxine* ſea, which they had on their left, as mount *Caucaſus* on their right. They paſſed through *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and arriving in *Paphlagonia* fortified the promontory, whereon *Sinope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left under a ſtrong guard ſuch as were unfit for ſervice and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to ſtop their march; for the *Iris* and the *Halys* they had already paſſed. We ſhall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the hiſtory of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their courſe weſterly along the ſhore of the *Euxine* ſea, ſo the *Scythians* took the other way, and having the *Caſpian* on their left paſſed between that ſea and the *Caucaſus*, thro' *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have ſaid. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares Tremellius* and *Junius* refer that prophecy of *Nahum*; *He* (that is *Cyaxares* beſieging *Nineveh*) *ſhall recount his worthies; they ſhall ſtumble in their walk* (that is in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whoſe coming at this time into *Aſia* may well be ſo termed, ſince it was rather a paſſing thro' than any ſettlement; for in the ſhort ſpace of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and loſt *Media*, *Aſſyria*, and all the upper *Aſia*): *they ſhall make haſte to the wall thereof, and the defence ſhall be prepared*, that is, they ſhall haſten to *Nineveh*, as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* beſieging it (49).

(T) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who eſcaped this bloody feaſt, raiſed any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. Which ſeems the more ſtrange, as we know from *Herodotus* himſelf (50), that the army returning out of *Media* was very ſtrong and numerous, and met with greater oppoſition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to believe, that the ſtratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with leſs bloodſhed than is commonly ſuppoſed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he may have brought the others to reaſonable terms. It is not improbable, that, in the ſpace of twenty-eight years, many had ſettled themſelves ſo well, that they were willing to live in ſubjection to *Cyaxares*, provided, they might peaceably enjoy what they poſſeſſed; many, who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of *Aſia*, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or

(48) *Plutarch. in Mario.* (49) *Nahum.* ii. 5. (50) *Herodot. l.* 3. *c.* 1.

Medes then repoſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their ancient boundary weſtward [c]. a

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppreſſion of the *Scythians*, found himſelf ſoon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occaſion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* [d]. Upon a ſedition which happened among the *Scythian nomades*, a party of them made their eſcape into *Media*, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but entruſted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to inſtruct in the uſe of the bow and the *Scythian* language. Theſe ſtrangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accuſtomed to return with ſome game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares*, whom they uſed daily to preſent with ſome veniſon, treated them with moſt b
opprobrious language; this they reſented, and agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dreſs his fleſh like veniſon, and ſerve it up to *Cyaxares* and his gueſts. They executed what they propoſed, and then flying to *Sardis* implored the protection of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to demand the *Scythians*, but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of five years enſued between the two nations with various ſucceſs (U). The battle fought in the ſixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* (W). * The *Medes* and *Lydians*, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeſeen c
event, which they looked upon as a ſign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and ſoon after concluded a peace by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon* and *Syenneſis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was ſtrengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes*, and *Aſtyages*, the eldeſt ſon of *Cyaxares*. Of which marriage was born the enſuing year *Cyaxares*, who in the book of *Daniel* is called *Darius* the *Mede* [e].

Cyaxares's firſt care, as ſoon as he was diſengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to reſume the ſiege of *Niniveh*, which the irruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raiſe. Having with this view entered into a ſtrait alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daugh- d
ter *Amyite* (X), he returned in conjunction with the *Babylonians* before *Niniveh*, took the

[c] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 106. [d] HERODOT. l. 1. c. 73, 74. [e] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

or ſeek their fortunes in other countries. We read in ſcripture, that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar*; which may well be underſtood of theſe northern nations ſettling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain, that after this expulſion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them carried the day; which may be aſcribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occaſion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other refuſing to deliver up ſuch as had put themſelves under his protection. But to us, we muſt own, it does not at all ſeem probable, that the *Scythians* ſhould have ſheltered themſelves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, conſidering how odious the *Scythian* name muſt at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reaſons to diſtruſt him for the treachery he had ſhewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers are of opinion, that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were ſuch as had eſcaped the maſſacre in *Media*, and not a new colony, which ſeems moſt likely, for that univerſal ſlaughter being freſh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other *Scythians* would have come to ſettle in the very country where it had been lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipſe fell out while *Cyaxares* the father of *Aſtyages* and *Halyattes* the father of *Cræſus* were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus* in his aſtronomical hiſtory. *Pliny* likewiſe (51), in ſpeaking of eclipſes, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Mileſian* was the firſt that foretold an eclipſe of the ſun; and adds, that the eclipſe foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty-eighth olympiad in the reign of *Halyattes* (and not of *Aſtyages* as we find in ſome modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (52) places this battle and the eclipſe of the ſun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from *Endemus* whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time aſſigned both by him and *Pliny* does not ſuit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his ſucceſſor *Aſtyages*. *The ſun and moon tables* of *Ptolemy*, which are the ſame with thoſe of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipſe on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the 4th day of the *Egyptian* month *Pacon* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar, on a ſunday) three hours, thirty-five minutes before noon. But according to Sir *Iſaac Newton* it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonaſſar* 163, forty-ſeven years before the taking of *Babylon* (53), and 585 before *Chriſt*.

* Sir *Iſaac Newton* and Dr. *Prideaux* place the *Lydian* peace after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, and the former fixes the eclipſe of the ſun, that happened during the engagement, on the 28th of *May*, 585 years before *Chriſt*. *Cyaxares*, according to the computation of the authors in this volume, began his reign 624 Years before *Chriſt*; allow him to have taken up his two firſt years in preparations of war and beſieging *Niniveh*, the *Scythians* held *Aſia* 28 year; *Niniveh* was taken in the ſecond or third year after the expulſion of the *Scythians* and in the ſixth year after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, and the 39 years of the reign of *Cyaxares* the battle was fought with the *Lydians*, the year in which Sir *Iſaac Newton* places the eclipſe. This being the moſt intricate part of chronology in this volume, it ſeemed proper to make theſe obſervations.

(X) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Aſtyages* and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Aſtyages* could not at that time have a daughter marri-

(51) *Plin. l.* 1. *c.* 12. (52) *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l.* 1. (53) *Sir Iſaac Newt. Chron. of Antient. kingd. amend. p.* 316.

the place, ſlew *Sarac* the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Aſſyrian* empire laid in aſhes, purſuant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before. * *Woe to the bloody, it is all full of lies and robbery; he that daſhes in pieces is come up before thy face*[f]. *The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to* Jacob *and to* Iſrael. *I hear already the noiſe of the whip, and the noiſe of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horſes and of the jumping chariots. The horſeman lifteth up both the bright ſword and the glittering ſpear. The ſhield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in ſcarlet. They ſhall ſeem like torches, they ſhall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt*
b *at his preſence: who can ſtand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger? Behold I am againſt thee, ſaith the Lord of hoſts: I will ſtrip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waſte.* Niniveh *is deſtroyed; ſhe is overthrown; ſhe is deſolate. The gates of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the palace ſhall be diſſolved. And* Huzzab *ſhall be led away captive; ſhe ſhall be brought up, and her maids ſhall lead her, as with the voice of doves tabring upon her breaſts. I ſee a multitude of ſlain, and a great number of carcaſſes; and there is no end of their corpſes; they ſtumble upon their corpſes. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the*
c *lions whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine? The Lord ſhall deſtroy* Aſſur[g]. *He ſhall depopulate the city, which was ſo beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a deſart. It ſhall be a dwelling place for wild-beaſts, and the birds of night ſhall lurk herein. Behold, ſhall it be ſaid, ſee that proud city, which was ſo ſtately and ſo exalted, which ſaid in her heart, I am the only city, and beſides me there is no other. All they that paſs by her ſhall ſcoff at her, and ſhall inſult her with hiſſings and contemptuous geſtures* (Y).

THIS victory with the deſtruction of *Niniveh* the *Jews* aſcribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*; *Tobit*, *Polyhiſtor*, *Joſephus*, and *Cteſias* to both. It gave
d a beginning to the great ſucceſſes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which roſe on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Niniveh*, the two conquerors proſecuting their victory led the confederate army againſt *Pharaoh-Neco* king of *Egypt*, who had ſometime before routed the king of *Aſſyria* and taken *Carchemiſh*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the *Aſſyrians*;

[f] NAHUM iii. 1. ii. 1, 2, & *ſeq.*

[g] ZEPHAN. ii. 13. 15.

marriageable, and *Nabuchadnezzar*, had he married her, muſt have been at the time of his death at leaſt eighty-five years old, and *Aſtyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit* the deſtruction of *Niniveh* is aſcribed to *Ahaſuerus* king of *Media* and *Nabuchadonoſor* king of *Babylon*. This *Ahaſuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſhews, was called *Achſuerus*, *Aſſuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres* or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* ſignifying *a prince* in the *Median* language (54). By *Nabuchadonoſor* is meant *Nebuchadnezzar* the great, both theſe names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopollaſſar* the father of *Nebuchadnezzar* was called by both theſe names, is plain from the book of the *Rabbies*, and from *Joſephus*. *R. Juchaſin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* (55); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the firſt, and the ſon *Nebuchadnezzar* the ſecond (56). *Joſephus* in ſpeaking of *Nabopallaſſar* ſometimes calls him *Nabuchadonoſor* (57) and ſometimes *Nabulaſſar* (59), which is a contraction of *Nabopallaſſar*. It is certain, that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other ancient writings, ſacred or profane, relating to thoſe times, unleſs we allow the name of *Nabuchadonoſor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*.

* The Authors fix the taking of *Niniveh* in the year 609 before Chriſt. *Cyaxares* began to reign in the year 624 before Chriſt, according to the computation of the authors in this volume; the *Scythians* poſſeſſed *Aſia* 28 years, and ſix years he was engaged in war with the *Lydians*, therefore, *Niniveh* could not be taken before the year 589 before Chriſt; ſo that if they are right as to the deſtruction of *Niniveh*, *Phraortes*'s death could not happen later than the year 636 as placed in the firſt volume; but this is contrary to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s calculation of the eclipſe and the former obſervations.

(Y) On the ruins of the old *Niniveh* another city was raiſed, which for a long time bore the ſame name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Moſul* (60), and ſituated on the weſt ſide of the *Tigris*, where was anciently only a part of the ſuburbs of old *Niniveh*; for the city itſelf ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river. The circuit of *Niniveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (61), 480 furlongs, that is ſixty of our miles. Hence it is ſaid by *Jonah* (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is in compaſs. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the ſame place ſays, that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as *Strabo* ſays, much bigger than *Babylon*. We have already fixed the æra of its deſtruction.

(54) *Sir Iſaac Newt ubi ſupra. p.* 509. (55) *Juchaſ. fol.* 136. (56) *David Ganz. at the year of the world* 3285. (57) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (59) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* 1. (60) *Thevenot. Part.* 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 11. *p.* 50. (61) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 2. *p.* 65. (62) *Jonah.* iii. 3. (63) *Strabo l.* 16. *p.* 737.

Aſſyrians [h]; for what had once belonged to them, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conqueſt (Z). After this victory they ſeized on the important place of *Carchemiſh*, reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and then with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horſe, invaded and laid waſte *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at laſt beſieged *Jeruſalem*, and took king *Jehoiakim* priſoner [i]. Enriched with the ſpoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* purſuing his conqueſts in the weſt, and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Aſſyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he ſubdued with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and, by the reduction of *Perſis* (A) and *Suſiana*, accompliſhed the conqueſt of the *Aſſyrian* empire.

The prophet *Ezekiel* [k] enumerates the chief nations that were ſubdued and ſlaughtered by the two conquerors, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. *Aſhur is there and all her company*, viz. in *Hades* or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, *his graves are about him: all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living. There is* Elam, *and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which are gone down uncircumciſed into the nether parts of the earth, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living: yet have they born their ſhame with them that go down into the pit.*—*There is* Meſhech, Tubal, *and all her multitude* (viz. the *Scythians*); *her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumciſed, ſlain by the ſword, though they cauſed their terrour in the land of the living.*— *There is* Edom, *her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were ſlain by the ſword.*—*There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which with their terror are gone down with the ſlain.* By the princes of the north are meant ſuch as were on the north of *Judea*, namely the princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxares* waged in reducing thoſe provinces after the deſtruction of *Niniveh*.

Cyaxares, having thus erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, and ſhared the new acquiſitions with his *Babylonian* ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign [l], and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Aſtyages. *Year of the flood* 2415. *Before* Chriſt 584.

Aſtyages, who in ſcripture is called *Ahaſuerus* [m]. This prince had by *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* II. called in ſcripture *Darius the Mede*, and who was ſixty two years old at the taking of *Babylon* [n]. The ſame year that *Cyaxares* was born, *Aſtyages* gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyſes* a *Perſian*; from which marriage ſprung *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, and the reſtorer of the *Jews* to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and conſequently was in the ſixty-firſt year of his age when *Babylon* was taken. Whether his father *Cambyſes* was king of *Perſia*, as *Xenophon* [o] would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in *Herodotus* [p], is what we

[h] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. Eupol. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 35. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. 7. Daniel i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. [k] Ezek. xxxii. [l] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [m] Dan. ix. 1. [n] Dan. v. 30, 31. [o] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [p] Herodot. l. 1.

(Z) From this time the *Jewiſh* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnerſhip of the empire, is according to the *Jews* (64) the firſt year of his reign. But according to the *Babylonian* computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both theſe computations are found in ſcripture, we thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much in order to reconcile them. We muſt further obſerve, that as the *Chaldean* aſtronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonaſſar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*; ſo the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moſes*, beginning with the month *Niſan*; inſomuch, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the firſt of the month *Niſan*, thoſe few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his ſecond year (65).

(A) While the *Aſſyrians* reigned at *Niniveh*, *Perſia* was divided into ſeveral kingdoms. Amongſt others there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flouriſhed in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manaſſah*, *Joſiah*, and *Jehoiakim*, kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (66). This kingdom ſeems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the king of *Touran* or *Scythia*, beyond the river *Oxus*, with various ſucceſs, and at length to have been ſubdued by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; which confirms what we have ſaid before, *viz.* that the *Perſians* were not ſubdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(64) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (65) *Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupra. p.* 296. (66) *Jerem.* xxv. 25. *and* xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii. 24.

a we ſhall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Aſtyages* was very long, having laſted thirty-five years [p], yet we find no particulars of it recorded in hiſtory, except his repulſing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach* the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length elſewhere [q]. The victory, which he gained on this occaſion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but ſixteen years of age, ſignalized himſelf in a very particular manner [r], purſuing the *Babylonian* with great ſlaughter quite home to his own borders. This raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animoſity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended
b at laſt in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite* the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or, as others will have it, of *Aſtyages*, but by ſome other wife; it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war againſt each other had they been ſo nearly related. It is ſtill more improbable, that *Evil-merodach* ſhould undertake ſuch hoſtilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

Cyaxares II. *Year after the Flood*, 2450. *Before Chriſt* 549.

Aſtyages after a reign of thirty-five years was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cyaxares* uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was ſcarce warm on his throne, when he found himſelf engaged in a bloody war with *Nerigliſſar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach* and uſurped
c the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great ſlaughter on both ſides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the uſurper *Nerigliſſar*, of his ſon *Laboroſoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius*, the ſon of *Evil-merodach* and grandſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which laſted twenty years, was entirely managed by *Cyrus*, we ſhall defer the relating of theſe important events, till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, we ſhall reſerve to the hiſtory of that empire.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is ſaid in ſcripture to have *taken the kingdom*, after the reduction of *Babylon* and death of *Belſhazzar* [s]. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held
d the empire only in partnerſhip with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, ſo far did he carry his complaiſance, that he let him enjoy the firſt rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs being veſted in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the ſupreme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in *Ptolemy*'s canon no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*, but immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there as the next ſucceſſor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* after the death of *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him *Labynetus*, the laſt *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon* [t] and ſcripture: the former tells us, that, after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom: and
e we read in ſcripture, that *Babylon* was deſtroyed by the *Medes* [u]; *by the kings of the* Medes, *and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion* [x]; that the kingdom of *Babylon* was *numbered, and finiſhed, and broken, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians [y]; firſt to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not obſerving the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Perſians* [z]. In his reign the *Medes*, as we have obſerved elſewhere, are conſtantly placed before the *Perſians* [a]; as the *Perſians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors, are placed before the *Medes* [b]; which ſhews, that, according to ſcripture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the laſt *Babyloniſh* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon
f and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him [c], or *Darius the Mede*, as he is ſtiled by *Daniel*. The ſcripture aſcribes the deſtruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof *Hierom* alledges three reaſons [d]; 1. becauſe *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Perſians*; and laſtly, becauſe the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, which we may eaſily account for. The *Perſians*, deſirous to magnify and

[p] Herodot. l. 1. c. 130. [q] Vol. I. p. 965. a, b, c, d. [r] Xenoph. l. 1. Cyropæd. [s] Dan. v. 31. [t] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8. [u] Isa. xiii. 17, 19. [x] Jer. li. 11. 28. [y] Dan. v. 26, 28. [z] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [a] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. v. 28. viii. 20. [b] Est. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20. [c] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 19. [d] Comment. in Dan. v.

and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conqueſt, a
and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations. Beſides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the ſiege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then abſent, and the confederate army under his conduct ſtormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two years, before the fame of this great conqueſt was ſpread abroad in diſtant countries, *Cyrus* was in the entire poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed ſuch extraordinary feats. But *Joſephus* [e], who was better informed, tells us [e], *that* Darius *with his ally* Cyrus *deſtroyed the kingdom of* Babylon. The ſame author adds, that this *Darius* was the ſon of *Aſtyages*, and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now if we aſk the *Greeks* the name b
of *Aſtyages*'s ſon, *Xenophon* [f] will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preſerved in the *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, thoſe famous pieces of gold, which for ſeveral ages were preferred by the eaſtern nations to any other coin: for we are told [g], that theſe were coined not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the firſt king of the *Medes* and *Perſians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more ancient than the father of *Xerxes*, is any where ſaid to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the ſcripture calls *Darius the Mede*.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* in concert with *Cyrus* ſettled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces [h], which were governed by thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war. Over theſe governors were ap- c
pointed three preſidents, who were conſtantly to reſide at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the ſeveral provinces, diſpatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; ſo that theſe three principal miniſters had the ſuper-intendency over, and the chief adminiſtration of, the moſt weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of theſe *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deſerved, not only on account of his great wiſdom, but likewiſe of his age and conſummate experience; for he had now ſerved the kings of *Babylon* full ſixty-five years in the quality of prime miniſter. As this employment advanced him to be the next perſon to the king, it raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the other courtiers, who conſpiring againſt him would have compaſſed his ruin, had he not been miraculous- d
ly preſerved by that providence, which is ever watching over the ſafety of the juſt. As the only thing they could lay hold of to diſgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's diſpleaſure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to iſſue out a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to put up any petition whatſoever to God or man, except to the king, for the ſpace of thirty days, upon pain of being caſt into the lions den. Now, as *Daniel* was ſaying his uſual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jeruſalem*, he was ſurpriſed, accuſed, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculouſly delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the deſtruction of its authors, and greatly raiſed, as e
we may well imagine, *Daniel*'s reputation, both with *Darius* and *Cyrus* [i]. This probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for after having ſettled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furniſhed the gariſons with ſuch troops as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, which he brought under ſubjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conqueſts as far as the *Red Sea* and the confines of *Æthiopia*. In the mean time *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* caſt into the lions den. The *Darics* were, perhaps, coined much about the ſame time out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But in the reign of *Cyrus* we ſhall give a more diſtinct account of ſeveral particulars relating to his two predeceſſors *Cyaxares* and *Aſtyages*. We have hitherto ſuppoſed the former to be *Daniel*'s *Darius the Mede*, and *Nabonadius* his *Belſhazzar*; but as both theſe points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we diſmiſs the hiſtory of *Media*

[e] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13. [f] XENOPH. ubi ſupra. [g] SUIDAS in Δαρεικός, HARPOCR. in Δαρεικός, Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ. p. 741, 742. [h] DAN. vi. 1. [i] DAN. vi. 4, 5, 6. & ſeqq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (67), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little allay, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and ſilver now ſtands with us, to have been worth twenty-five ſhillings.

(67) *De ponder. & menſur. antiq. p.* 171.

a *Media* we must beg leave to offer some thing in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

CHAP.

(C) As the whole history of *Babylon*, from the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* to the reduction of that city by *Cyrus*, is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out *Daniel*'s *Belshazzar* among the last kings that reigned there, and equally at a loss concerning his *Darius the Mede*, who was in that kingdom succeeded by *Cyrus*. to proceed with all the perspicuity we can in so perplexed a subject, we shall, 1st produce what we read in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the last kings of *Babylon*; 2. what is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is confirmed by the concurrence of all the profane historians; and lastly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to support them.

The prophet *Daniel*, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, relates the visions he had in the first and third year of *Belshazzar*, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68). *Belshazzar*, having made a great feast, commanded the vessels of gold and silver to be brought to him, which his father *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the same hour an hand appeared, and wrote over-against the candlestick on the plaister of the wall of the king's palace. The king who saw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wise-men and sooth-sayers to be sent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, *Daniel* was immediately sent for at the suggestion of the queen, who, on the alarm which that prodigy had occasioned, entered the banquetting-room, and acquainted the king with the great abilities of *Daniel* in such matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for profaning the holy vessels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words, are *Mene Mene, Tekel Upharsin*, which he thus interprets; *Mene*, God has numbered thy kingdom and finished it: *Tekel*, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: *Peres*, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. The prophet adds, that in that night *Belshazzar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, was slain, and that *Darius* the *Median* took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old.

The same prophet informs us next (69), what order *Darius* established in the realm, and relates the visions which he had in the first year of *Darius* and in the third of *Cyrus*. It is manifest, that *Daniel* speaks here of three kings succeeding each other to the crown of *Babylon*; namely, *Belshazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, and *Cyrus*. The last is well known; but the question is, who the two others were? a question which we must endeavour to solve, in order to reconcile *Daniel* and the profane historians.

Most historians agree, that *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a reign of forty-three years, (or forty-five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who reigned two compleat years, and was murdered in the beginning of his third by *Neriglissar*. *Neriglissar* ruled four years, and was succeeded by his son *Laborosoarchod*, who was murdered after a short reign of nine months. *Nabonadius* came to the crown next, and reigned seventeen years. In his time the city of *Babylon* was taken by *Cyrus*, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifest, that *Belshazzar* was one of the four last kings of *Babylon*, and that he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, since in scripture he is often called his son; but authors are strangely puzzled to determine which of the four bears this name in *Daniel*'s prophecies.

Sir *John Marsham* takes *Belshazzar* to be *Evil-merodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*; he founds his opinion on the authority of scripture, where *Nebuchadnezzar* is often called the father of *Belshazzar*, and *Belshazzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*. Several other circumstances concur to prove, that *Evil-merodach* and *Belshazzar* must be one and the same person. *Berosus* (70) represents *Evil-merodach* as a lewd and wicked prince; *Belshazzar* in scripture bears the same character. *Berosus* tells us, that *Evil-merodach* was killed at a banquet by some of his lords (71); the scripture says, that *Belshazzar* was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing these proofs may seem and consonant to scripture, yet upon examination we shall find them to be of no force, and quite inconsistent with what we read in holy writ. The prophet *Daniel*, after relating what happened to *Belshazzar* at his grand entertainment, adds, *and in that night* Belshazzar, *king of the* Chaldeans, *was slain, and* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom*. From these words it is plain, that immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the *kingdom was given to the* Medes *and* Persians (73). But this did not happen upon the death of *Evil-merodach*, who was succeeded, according to *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, (74) and Sir *John Marsham* himself, by *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was at the head of the conspiracy against him. This objection seemed of such weight to Sir *John Marsham*, that, in order to elude it, and maintain his assertion without contradicting the scripture, he was forced to suppose *Neriglissar* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, and the *Medo-Persian* empire to have begun in him; a supposition which we shall confute when we come to speak of *Darius the Mede*. To what we have alleged out of *Daniel* against our learned author's system, we shall add a proof no less convincing from the prophet *Jeremiah*, who foretold (75), that *all nations should serve him*, (*Nebuchadnezzar*) *and his son, and his son*'s *son*. If the kingdom was transferred from his son to the *Medes* and *Persians*, as Sir *John Marsham* would have it, it is manifest, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What the author urges in defence of his opinion, *viz.* that *Belshazzar* was, according to scripture, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is very true not in a literal, but more extensive, sense, wherein any descendant is called son, and any ancestor father; and that this is the stile of the scripture, nobody, who is conversant in the holy books, can be ignorant of.

To *Evil-merodach* succeeded, as we have hinted above, *Neriglissar*, who had married *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever asserted him to be *Daniel*'s *Belshazzar*. He reigned four years, and left a son, named *Laborosoarchod* acccording to *Berosus*, or *Labassoarasc*, as *Megasthenes* is pleased to call him (76). This prince came very young to the crown, and betraying a most vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own subjects after he had reigned only nine months (77). And this is the reason, why he is omitted in *Ptolemy*'s canon, where the whole year is

(68) *Dan. c.* v. (69) *Dan. c.* vi. (70) *Beros. apud Joseph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (71) *Berosus ibid.* (73) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (74) *Berosus & Megasthen. ubi supra, & apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l.* 9. (75) *Jer.* xxvii. 7. (76) *Berosus apud Joseph. contra Appian. l.* 1. *Megasthen. ubi supra.* (77) *Berosus ubi supra.*

is reckoned to the king that begins it, how ſoon ſoever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month *Thoth*, he was ſaid to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the ſaid month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the caſe of *Laboroſoarchod*.

But to return to our ſubject; *Joſeph Scaliger* (78) will have *Laboroſoarchod* to be *Daniel*'s *Belſhazzar*, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, *viz.* that he was the laſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s race; that he was killed by conſpirators, and that his kingdom devolved to *Nabonadius* or *Labynitus*, who was, according to *Megaſthenes* (79), a ſtranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*. He adds a circumſtance out of *Daniel*, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen adviſed *Belſhazzar* to conſult *Daniel*; this queen, ſays he, could not be the king's wife; for his wives and concubines were at the feaſt; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which ſuits well with the character of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter, who was regent. If we object againſt this hypotheſis, that *Laboroſoarchod* reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from *Daniel*, that *Belſhazzar* reigned ſome years; his anſwer is, that the ſcripture aſcribes to *Laboroſoarchod* or *Belſhazzar* the whole four years which the canon accounts to *Nerigliſſar* or *Nericaſſolaſſar*, as he is there called, becauſe *Nerigliſſar* reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of the firſt and third year of *Belſhazzar* in *Daniel* (80), though *Laboroſoarchod* reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two unſurmountable difficulties, which, in few words, are; 1. That it ſuppoſes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, a ſuppoſition which we ſhall plainly prove from holy writ to be falſe; 2. That it falſifies the prophecy of *Jeremiah* promiſing the empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his ſon, and his ſon's ſon; whereas *Laboroſoarchod* was his daughter's ſon. This difficulty *Scaliger* ſeems not to have been aware of, ſince he takes no notice of it in ſolving the objections that may be brought againſt his opinion.

If neither *Evil-merodach*, nor *Nerigliſſar*, nor *Laboroſoarchod* were *Daniel*'s *Belſhazzar*, it follows, that *Nabonadius* was the king who in ſcripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we conſider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the laſt of the *Babylonian* kings, and therefore muſt be the ſame, who in ſcripture is called *Belſhazzar*; for immediately after the death of *Belſhazzar* the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians* (81). 2. That he was of the race of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is by *Daniel* often called his ſon, and in the *Chronicles* (82) it is ſaid, that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children or offſpring reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Perſia*; 3. That the nations of the eaſt were to ſerve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah* (83); he muſt therefore have been ſucceeded by a ſon and a ſon's ſon to the crown of *Babylon*. *Evil-merodach* was his ſon, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but *Belſhazzar* could be his ſon's ſon. For *Nerigliſſar* was only his daughter's huſband, and *Laboroſoarchod* his daughter's ſon. 4. *Herodotus* tells us, that the laſt king of *Babylon* was ſon to the celebrated queen *Nitocris*; and it is plain, that by *Evil-merodach* alone ſhe could have a ſon, who was ſon's ſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*. This opinion ſeems to us the leaſt perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the moſt agreeable to what we read both in ſcripture and in the profane hiſtorians; and therefore we have, upon ſecond thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir *John Marſham*, which we were inclined to embrace in our hiſtory of *Babylon*.

Authors are no leſs divided in their opinions touching *Daniel*'s *Darius* the *Mede*, than they are about his *Belſhazzar*. Sir *John Marſham* (84), as we have hinted above, ſtands up for *Nerigliſſar*, and will have the *Medo-Perſian* empire to have begun in him. He ſuppoſes *Nerigliſſar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he married the ſiſter of *Evil-Merodach*, whoſe mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this ſuppoſition, or rather conjecture; but ſhould be glad to know how, even in this ſuppoſition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was upon the death of *Belſhazzar*; that is according to him of *Evil-merodach*, divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*? It is not more certain that *Belſhazzar* was killed, than that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly inſinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians.—*In that night was* Belſhazzar *the king of the* Chaldeans *ſlain. And* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom* (85). Beſides, it is very plain from the whole ſixth chapter of *Daniel*, that *Darius* the *Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he uſurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whoſe laws he trod under foot and annulled. And this, if we ſuppoſe him to be *Nerigliſſar*, was his caſe; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own ſubjects, who naturally muſt have hated him, without any farther provocation, as a ſtranger, as an uſurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To this we may add, that if the *Medo-Perſian* empire began in *Nerigliſſar*, *Cyrus* did not deſtroy the *Babylonian* but the *Medo-Perſian* empire, which no author ever aſſerted. But the ſtrongeſt proof, in our opinion, that can be produced againſt this ſyſtem, and that alſo of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is ſaid to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (86), which muſt be underſtood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never ſo extenſive, but of the *Perſian* empire. The latter on the conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hyſtaſpis* had ſeven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of *Eſther* it conſiſted of 127 provinces. If this was the diviſion of the *Perſian* empire in her time, the former muſt neceſſarily have been of the ſame empire. For if the *Perſian* empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the ſeventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Perſian* empire, which cannot be ſaid either of *Nerigliſſar* or *Nabonadius*.

Scaliger (87) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel*'s *Darius*, adding, that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no ways related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the ſame *Babylonian* lords who put *Laboroſoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel*, ſaying, that he *took the kingdom*, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invaſion. That he was a *Mede* he pretends to evince from a prophecy, which *Megaſthenes* (88) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that *a great calamity was to fall*

(78) *Scaliger in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. ſelect. de emendat. tempor. l.* 6. *c. de Regib. Babylon.* (79) *Megaſth. ubi ſupra.* (80) *Dan.* vii. 1. viii. 1. (81) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (82) *Chron.* ii. *c.* xxxvi. 20. (83) *Jer. c.* xxvii. 7. (84) *Can. Cron. Sæcul.* 18. (85) *Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31. (86) *Dan.* vi. 1. (87) *Scal. de emendat. tem. l.* 6. (88) *Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l.* 9.

fall on them, which neither Belus, *nor queen* Beltis *could avert; that a* Perſian *mule ſhould bring the* Babylonians *under ſubjection, being aſſiſted by a* Mede. The *Perſian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the iſſue of a *Perſian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who aſſiſted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we aſk *Scaliger* how *Nabonadius* can be ſaid to have aſſiſted *Cyrus* in deſtroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, ſince he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquiſhed and killed; his anſwer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the deſtruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and ſlain, and that in this ſenſe (if in this there be any ſenſe) he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no anſwer, it is ſufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Iſaac Voſſius* well obſerves (89), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to ſupport this wild opinion are *unworthy of* Scaliger. As to his other proof, *viz.* that *Darius took the kingdom*; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be ſaid to have ſtormed the town or won it by dint of arms; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. The city being thus reduced by the troops of *Darius* and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius*, without any farther oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords after murdering their king ſhould place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the diviſion of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Perſians* foretold by *Daniel* be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, ſhould be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Perſians*. This diviſion muſt have been made after the empire was deſtroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this ſyſtem contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel*, touching the diviſion of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewiſe of *Jeremiah*, where it is ſaid, that *all nations ſhould ſerve him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s ſon's ſon? Since *Scaliger* could not anſwer this queſtion, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in diſplaying and ſolving, in the beſt manner he could, ſeveral difficulties that others might have ſtarted againſt his aſſertion. He commonly adopts the ſentiments of *Beroſus*; but here he even forſakes him, for *Beroſus* tells us (90), that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he ſeems afterwards concerned for having thus ſlighted the authority of ſuch an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with ſcripture, where he is ever ſtiled *Darius the Median?* He has a ſalve for this ſore too: the word *Median* or *Mede* is not, ſays he, the national name, *as the whole tribe of chronologers and interpreters, ſimple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the ſirname of* Darius. But it is very unlucky for *Joſephus* that *Daniel* ſhould begin his 9th chapter thus: *In the firſt year of* Darius *the ſon of* Ahaſuerus *of the ſeed of the* Medes, *which was made king over the realm of the* Chaldeans. He was therefore by nation a *Mede*, and the ſon of a king of *Media*. But our writer ſeems to have been more converſant in the mangled fragments of *Beroſus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may, on that very account, richly deſerve the compliments which in an ironical manner he beſtows on ſuch as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we muſt forgive him, ſcorn and contradiction were the eſſential ingredients of his character; and had he not in moſt things been ſingular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, not the ſon of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected againſt the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for *Darius* the *Mede* elſewhere. They ſuppoſe, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Perſia* before *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus*, who was alſo, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Perſia*. This conjecture is ſupported by a paſſage out of *Æſchylus* (91), where that poet ſeemingly ſuppoſes the firſt king of *Perſia* there mentioned to have been a *Mede*, who with a powerful army took *Suſa*. Next to him he places his ſon, whom he does not name, and in the third place *Cyrus*, whom he calls a happy prince. This *Darius* who took *Suſa* and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius* the *Mede*, ſon of *Ahaſuerus*. This opinion is liable to one ſtrong objection, namely, that *Darius* the grandfather of *Cyrus* could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himſelf being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, ſixty-one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon*'s account, maintain *Cyaxares*, the ſon of *Aſtyages* and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius* the *Mede*. He ſucceeded *Aſtyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyſes* in that of *Perſia*. Theſe two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of *Babylon* and took the city. *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*, and at his death *Cyrus* became maſter of the whole empire. This hypotheſis is entirely agreeable to ſcripture, and free from thoſe unſurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by thoſe who reject it. Their only exception to this ſyſtem is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Beroſus*, nor *Megaſthenes* knew of any ſuch king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares* II. nay, *Herodotus* tells us in expreſs words, that *Aſtyages* was ſucceeded by his grandſon *Cyrus*. This immediate ſucceſſion of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, &c. but theſe, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no new weight to the ſcale. The abovementioned writers, we own, give *Aſtyages* no other ſucceſſor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (92) does, and likewiſe *Joſephus* (93), forſaking herein *Beroſus*, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not claſh with ſcripture. *Xenophon* calls the ſucceſſor of *Aſtyages Cyaxares*, and *Joſephus* gives him the name of *Darius*, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being in that enterprize aſſiſted by his nephew *Cyrus* (94), which is conſonant both to ſcripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we ſuppoſe, that *Aſtyages* had no other ſucceſſor but *Cyrus*, we muſt allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the ſticklers for *Herodotus* tell us, before the ſiege of *Nineveh*, that is ſeventy-three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He muſt have been at that time at leaſt thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourſelves to believe, that *Aſtyages* lived to ſo great an age, we ſhould willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great reſpect for that venerable, and by ſome much injured, hiſtorian. His ſyſtem is no ways repugnant to ſcripture, where nothing is ſaid of *Darius* the *Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Aſtyages* himſelf as to his ſon.

A modern writer (95), ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Herodotus*, as not to call in queſtion any thing that author aſſerts, endeavours to ſupport his ſyſtem with a paſſage from the 13th chap. v. 65th of *Daniel*, where

(89) *Iſaac Voſs. Chronol. Sac. p.* 144. (90) *Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. (91) *Æſch. Perſæ, v.* 761. (92) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* 1. *c.* 19. (93) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 13. (94) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.* (95) *See Lenglet. Methode pour etudier l'hiſt. Tom.* 1. *p.* 322.

where it is ſaid, *And king* Aſtyages *was gathered to his fathers, and* Cyrus *of* Perſia *received the kingdom.* His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the ſtandard in the church of *Rome*; but in our bibles theſe words are to be found in the apocryphal *hiſtory of* Bel *and the* Dragon xi. 1. However, we need not lay any ſtreſs upon this, ſeeing the ſame writer, who ſtarted the difficulty, has been ſo kind as to ſuggeſt us an anſwer to it. For a few lines after he lanches out into great commendations of father *Tournemine*, calling him a critic of great penetration, the moſt learned and honeſt man that ever was bred in his ſociety; and theſe encomiums he beſtows on that very honeſt Jeſuit for diſcovering, that the names of *Cyaxares*, *Aſtyages*, and *Ahaſuerus* were common to all the kings of *Media* (96). 'Tis very ſurprizing that he ſhould appropriate the name of *Aſtyages* to the grandfather of *Cyrus*, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in *Media*. If F. *Tournemine*'s diſcovery be true, as perhaps it may, we ſhould be glad to know, why the ſon of *Aſtyages* might not have bore that name as well as his father, and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned paſſage refers to the father and not to the ſon? This writer makes a conſcience of forſaking *Herodotus* in the number of his kings, and at the ſame time does not ſcruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their reſpective reigns; for he makes *Cyaxares* reign ſixty-four years, whereas *Herodotus* allows him only a reign of forty; wherein he is no leſs at variance with himſelf, after laying ſuch ſtreſs on the authority of *Herodotus*, than he is with that ancient hiſtorian. Thus much we have thought neceſſary to ſay on a ſubject, which has occaſioned endleſs diſputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have treſpaſſed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compaſs of one note what has ſupplied matter for whole volumes.

(96) *See F. Tournemine diſſertat.* 10. *ad calcem Menochii.*

CHAP. XI.

History *of* Persia.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of Persia.

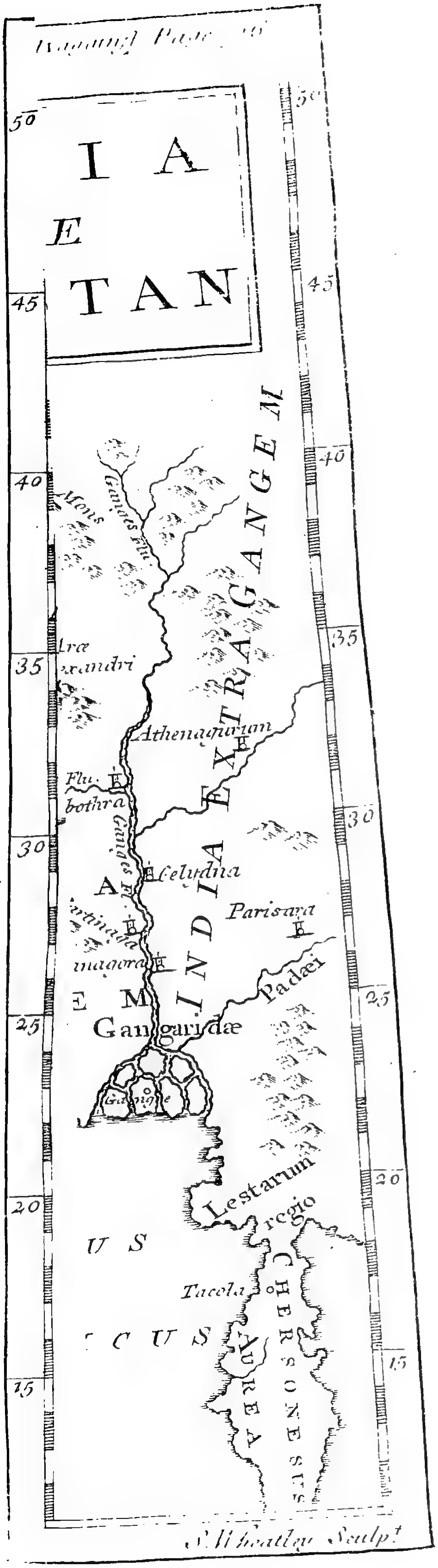
Its ſeveral names.

THIS country, like many others, has in different ages been called by different names, and tho' to ſome the ſettling of theſe may ſeem a dry and uſeleſs taſk, yet, inaſmuch as the ſubſequent hiſtory will be much enlightened thereby, we ſhall give the reader as diſtinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The moſt ancient name of *Perſia* is that by which it is called by *Moſes* [a], viz. *Elam*, or, as ſome write it, *Ælam*, from *Elam* the ſon of *Shem*, the father of its firſt inhabitants. [b] *Herodotus* calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*, and in very ancient times the [c] people of this country are ſaid to have called themſelves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artea*. In the books of [d] *Daniel*, [e] *Eſdras*, &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Perſian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, whereby the proper *Perſia* is called at this time. It has been alſo called [f] *Achæmenia* and *Arſaica* from its ancient kings. In [g] *Oriental* writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shahiſtân*, that is *the dominions of the Shâh*. It is true, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, *Achæmenia* and *Iran* are not general names of *Perſia*, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently uſed in authors to ſignify that country which we call *Perſia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this liſt of names (A).

[a] Genes. x. 22. xiv. 1. Jerem. xxv. 25. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. [b] Pol. cap. 17. [c] Hyde Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 413. [d] vi. 28. [e] 1 Esdr. vii. 4. [f] Horat. lib. iii. Od. 1. Ovid. de Arte, lib. 1. v. 226. [g] Hyde ubi ſupr. Voyages du Chardin, tom. III. p. 2, 3.

(A) The beſt commentators agree, that the *Elamites*, who were the anceſtors of the *Perſians*, were deſcended from *Elam* the ſon of *Shem*, and thus much has been aſſerted and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in our foregoing volume (1). It is likewiſe allowed, that the moſt ancient among the inſpired writers conſtantly intend *Perſia* when they ſpeak of *Elam* and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus, not to detain the reader with unneceſſary

(1) *p.* 162.


I A
Æ
TAN
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
Mons
Gangis Flu.
Aræ
xandri
Athenagurian
Flu.
bothra
Gangis Fl.
Celydna
A
Parisara
magora
E M
Gangaridæ
Padæi
Lestarum
regio
U S
Tacola
C U S
AUREA
CHERSONESUS
S. Wheatley Sculp.t
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15

Volgaing. Page 20.

PERSIA SIVE SHAHISTAN

SCYTHIÆ PARS

PONTI EUXINI PARS

IBERIA

COLCHIS

ALBANIA

MARE CASPIUM

ARMENIA MAJOR

ARMENIA MINOR

ATROPATIA

PONTUS

CAPPADOCIA

PAPHLAGONIA

GALLOGRÆCIA

PHRYGIA

LYCAONIA

CILICIA

CYPRUS I.

SYRIA

COELESYRIA

PHOENICE

JUDÆA

IDUMÆA

ARABIA PETRAEA

ARABIA DESERTA

CHALDÆA

MESOPOTAMIA

ADIABENE

ASSYRIA

MEDIA MAGNA

PARAETACENE

PARTHIA seu PARTHIENE

SUSA

CARMANIA DESERTA

PERSIA

CARMANIA GEDROSIA

SINUS PERSICUS

SINUS ARABICUS

ARABIA FELIX

MARE ERYTHRAEUM

OCEANUS INDICUS

MARGIANA

SOGDIANA

GABAZA

BACTRIANA

ARIA

DRANGIANA

ARACHOSIA

PARAPOTAMIA

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM

INDIA INTRA GANGEM

SINUS GANGETICUS

AUREA CHERSONESUS

Cyropolis Ext.

Alexandria ult.

Alexandria

Marginia

Bazaria

Maracanda

Polytimetus R.

Jaxartes R.

Oxus R.

Batana sive Batane

Sanais

Bactra

Tapuri

Mardi

Bargani

Artocoana

Alexandria

Nicæa

Peucela

Peucelaotis

Massaci Regio

Ora

Embolima

Imaus

Mons Graucasus

Hydaspes Flu.

Acesines Flu.

Hydraotes Flu.

Hyphasis sive Hyphasis Flu.

Ara Alexandri

Athenarum

Bubacene

Alexandria

Brachmanes

Sabracæ

Sogdorum regio

Musicani

Presti

Sabi regnum

Salatræ

Gangaridæ

Padæi

Parisara

Eclydna

Aganagora

Gandaridæ

Ostium Gangis

Scopelura

Barigaza emporium

Supara

Simulla emporium

Hippocura regia

Callaeris

Nitria

Muziris emporium

Modura

Vertex Taprobanæ

Lestarum regio

Tacola

Cyropolis

Alexandria

Harmozia

Vera

Artaxata

Tigranocerta

Oresa

Ecbatana

Gabena

Arbela

Arsacia

Cibina

Rhaphane

Tabas

Aruas

Hecatompylos

Aspa

Vxii

Susa

Seleucia

Ctesiphon

Ispamea

Babylon

Nearda

Nicephorium

Palmyra

Thapsacus Euphrates

Zeugma

Antiochia

Libanus M.

Amanus

Taurus Mons

Antitaurus Mons

Trapezus

Moschici Montes

Caucasus Mons

Bosporani

Dioscurias

Phasis

Pityus

Cyta

Neoris

Albana

Getara

Seumara

Media

Tripolis

Beana

Thaspis

Nipista

Cuidda

Pasargadæ

Gabæ

Persepolis

Araxes seu Araxes

Charax

Teredon

Volege

Charace

Chaubana

Petra

Bethana

Midianitis

Saraceni

Nabatæi

Hippos mons

Hippos vicus

Cephar

Zahram regia

Badeo regia

Thamydeni

Salma

Italmos portus

Magesinus

Macoraba

Carman regia

Maraba

Sabe

Thurifera regio

Saphar

Sabatha

Pudni

Muza emporium

Ocelis emporium

Arabia emporium

Mondæ

Sanina

Homeritæ

Nagara

Alla

Regama

Harmozia sive Armoza

Ichthyophagi

Cryptus portus

Maepha metropolis

Ascitæ

Carmana metropolis

Sabis

Alexandria

Pasira

Oniza

Oxiana

Parsis metropolis

Arbis

Arabitæ

Susicana

Barce

Udenopolis

Patala

Arsaces seu Arsaces

Persepolitis Flu.

Arabis seu Arabis Flu.

Indus Flu.

Ariaspe Euergetæ

Prophthasia

Arachosia

Alexandria

Arachotus

Musarna

Oxiana

Drangiana

Ariaspe

Bactriana

Oxydracæ

Oxydracarum Flu.

Hydaspes Flu.

Acesines Flu.

Hydraotes Flu.

Hyphasis sive Hyphasis Flu.

Indus Flu.

Ganges Flu.

Cambades Flu.

Palibothra

Bramachoba Flu.

Cainagora

Aganagora

Ostium Gangis

Gandaridæ

Padæi

Parisara

Eclydna

Lestarum regio

Tacola

Aurea Chersonesus

Scopelura

Barigaza emporium

Supara

Simulla emporium

Hippocura regia

Callaeris

Nitria

Muziris emporium

Modura

Vertex Taprobanæ

Sinus Gangeticus

Sinus Arabicus

Mare Erythraeum

Oceanus Indicus

S. Wheatley Sculpt.

Extent.

a THE extent of *Perſia* has been in different ages as various as its names[h], *Ptolemy* bounds it thus: on the north it has *Media*, on the eaſt *Carmania*, on the weſt *Suſiana*, on the ſouth the *Perſian* gulph, but this relates to *Perſia* as a province. We conſider it in another light, and therefore, to ſpeak as clearly and diſtinctly as we may, let us firſt aſſign the boundaries of the *Perſian* empire as they ſtood anciently, when it extended fartheſt, let us next ſettle the boundaries of the modern *Perſian* empire, and thirdly, let us review the ſeveral provinces mentioned by ancient writers, and, as we go on, take ſome account of the condition they are now in.

Boundaries.

As to the ancient empire of the *Perſians* it reached in length, from the *Helleſpont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 2800 *Engliſh* miles, in breadth, from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulp, about 2000 miles.

b THE[k] modern *Perſia*, that is the dominions of the *Perſian* crown, extends in length, from the mouth of the river *Araxes* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river *Oxus* to the *Perſian* gulph, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the *north* by the *Caſpian* ſea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucaſus*; on the *eaſt* by the river *Indus* and the dominions of the great *Mogul*, as he is commonly call'd; on the ſouth by the *Perſian* gulph and the *Indian* ocean, and on the weſt by the dominions of the grand-Signior (B).

IN

[h] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4. [i] CLUVER. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13. [k] CLUVER. ubi ſupr.

neceſſary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah*, after denouncing many judgments againſt this country, adds theſe words, *But it ſhall come to paſs in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, ſaith *Jehovah* (2). He is always underſtood to mean the reſtoration of the kingdom of the *Perſians* by *Cyrus*, who ſubdued the *Babylonians*, as theſe had before ſubdued the *Perſians*, and made them ſubject to their empire (3). As to the word פרס *Paras*, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology or ſignification, ſome are for deriving it from the *Arabick* word *Phâris* which ſignifies *a horſe*. Some *Perſian* hiſtorians ſay, that *Phars* is a proper name, and that the Perſon ſo called was the ſon of *Arſham*, i. e. *Arphaxad* the ſon of *Shem*; others make this *Phars* the ſon of *Japhet*, &c. Some again, who ſeem to be neareſt the truth, ſay, that he was the ſon of *Elam* the ſon of *Shem* (4). It is evident, however, that the *Greek* word *Perſis* and the *Latin* word *Perſia* are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Perſeus*. The name *Ariæi* is thought to be derived from the *Perſian* word *Ard* or *Art*, which ſignifies *ſtrong, brave, magnanimous*, intimating, that the people of this country were ſuch in their diſpoſitions (5). *Achæmenia*, as (6) *Stephanus Byzantius* informs us, was only a part of *Perſia*, (7) *Strabo* ſays nearly the ſame thing, yet ſometimes it is uſed to ſignify *Perſia* in general, as particularly by (8) *Herodotus*, who makes *Cambyſes* in an oration call his people *Achæmenidæ*. In the *Armenian* language *Perſia*, as I have ſaid, is ſtiled *Shahiſtân*, i. e. *the country of the Shâh* (9). The *Arabians* gave the name of *Agemeſlaan* to *Perſia*, becauſe in their language *Agem* ſignifies *ſtranger* or rather *Barbarian*, which, with great modeſty, they impoſe on every other nation but themſelves; hence the diſtinction of *Arak-Arab* and *Arak-Agem*, which ſignifies as much as the *Towns* of the *Arabs* and the *Towns* of the *Barbarians*. The *Perſians* themſelves call their country generally *Iroun*, and *Iran*, for this reaſon, they ſay, that under the reign of king *Effraſiab* their empire contained all the countries between the *Caſpian* ſea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, calling that on the other ſide of the river *Oxus Touran*, and this *Iran i. e. on the other ſide of the river*, and *on this ſide of the river*, whence in the ancient *Perſian* hiſtories *Key Iran* and *Key Touran* ſignifyed *the king of Perſia and the king of Tartary*; at this day the *Perſian* monarch is ſtiled *Padcha-Iran*, and the grand-vizier of *Perſia*, *Iran-Medary*, *i. e. the pole of Perſia* (10).

(B) The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that "*Perſia* is the greateſt empire in the world, if we "conſider it according to the geographical deſcrip- "tions of the *Perſians*, for they repreſent its anci- "ent boundaries to have been the four following "great ſeas, *viz.* the *Black-ſea*, the *Red-ſea*, the "*Caſpian-ſea*, and the *Perſian* gulph, and alſo theſe "ſix rivers, almoſt as well known as ſeas, *Euphra- "tes*, *Araxis*, *Tigris*, *Phaſus*, *Oxus*, and *Indus*. It "is indeed impoſſible to mark preciſely the limits "of this vaſt kingdom, for it is not with it as it with "the dominions of ſome petty ſovereign, where a "rivulet or a pillar marks the frontier. *Perſia* has "on every ſide a ſpace of three or four days jour- "ney utterly uninhabited, though the ſoil is in ſome "places the beſt in the world; the *Perſians* look on "it as a mark of true grandeur, the leaving ſuch "deſerts between great empires, it hinders, ſay they, "all diſputes about limits, and they ſerve like walls "to ſeparate one kingdom from another. The ſeas "and rivers before mentioned are far from being "the boundaries of *Perſia* at this day, yet the lateſt "*Perſian* writers deſcribe always their empire within "theſe limits, for they inſiſt, that of right all the coun- "tries between them belong to them, and that they "want only ſuch another brave king as *Abbas the "great* to reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of their an- "cient territory. *Perſia*, in the ſtate I ſaw it, taking "it from *Georgia*, i. e. from the 45th deg. of lati- "tude to the 80th, and from the river *Indus* to "the mountains of *Ararat*, that is from the 77th "to the 112th degree of longitude, contains in "length about 550 *Perſian* leagues which makes "750 *French* leagues, and in breadth about 400 "(11)". We have choſen to make uſe of the teſtimony of this traveller preferable to others, becauſe he ſeems to have taken great pains in the deſcription which he has given us of this country, and ſince it muſt be allowed, that his long ſtay therein, his great parts, and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for ſuch a work. If we cannot credit him; it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

(2) xlix. 39. (3) *Poli. Synop. Critic. Lowth on Ierem.* xlix. 39. (4) *Hyde Rel. vet. Perſ. c.* xxxv. *p.* 418, 419. (5) *Ibid. p.* 413. (6) *Apud Hyde ubi ſupr.* (7) *lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (8) *Clio, p.* 195. (9) *Hyde, p.* 413. (10) *Chardin voy. Vol. III. p.* 3. (11) *Chardin. Voy. Tom.* iii. *p.* 2.

Gedroſia. IN our account of the provinces, into which the country we are ſpeaking of was anciently divided, we ſhall begin with *Gedroſia*, mentioned by [l] *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other writers. It is bounded on the weſt by *Carmania*, on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachoſia*, on the eaſt by *Guzarat* a province of *India*, on the ſouth by the *Indian* ocean; it is call'd at preſent *Makran*, of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parſiræ*, *Muſarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*; its principal cities were *Paſis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*, *Ptolomy* places here a celebrated *Emporium* call'd *the haven of women*. The principal modern cities are [m] *Firhk*, *Chalak*, and the port of *Guadal* (C). a

Carmania. *Carmania*, divided into *Carmania the deſart*, and *Carmania proper*. [n] *Carmania* the deſart is bounded on the north by *Parthia*, on the weſt by *Perſis*, on the eaſt by *Drangiana*, on the ſouth by *Carmania proper*. [o] *Carmania proper* hath on the ſouth the *Indian* ocean, on the weſt *Perſis* and the gulph of *Perſia*, on the eaſt *Gedroſia*, and on the north *Carmania* the *deſart*; it contains the modern provinces of *Chirman* and *Ormas*, it was inhabited by the *Iſatichæ*, *Zuthi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Cameloboſei*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudianæ*, *Ares*, *Charadeæ*, *Paſargadæ*, *Armozæi*; its ancient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, ſtill a conſiderable place, and famous for the ſcymetars made there, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, *Armuza* or *Armuzum*, on the ſhore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the iſland of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note beſides are *Khirman*, [p] *Bermazir*, *Kuheſtek*, and *Iaſquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory ſhooting into the *Perſian* gulph (D). b

Drangiana

[l] See note C. [m] Voyages de Tavernier, liv. iv. ch. 1. [n] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 6. [o] lib. vi. c. 8. [p] TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

(C) As it would have ſwelled this chapter to an exceſſive bulk, if we had in the text been very particular as to the reſpective provinces of *Perſia*, ſo to avoid obſcurity on the other hand, we have thought it neceſſary to add ſuch a deſcription of each province in theſe notes, as may ſuffice to give the reader a competent idea of its ſituation, extent, and productions. This being premiſed, let us proceed in the order obſerved in the text.

Tho' *Gedroſia* be conſtantly ſo called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and ſome manuſcripts of (14) *Ammianus Marcellinus* read *Cedroſia*. The extent of this province cannot eaſily be aſſigned, becauſe though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well ſettled, yet how to fix theſe at this diſtance of time is a queſtion not readily reſolved. Mount *Becius*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them ſprings the celebrated river *Arbis* or *Arabis*, which after a ſhort courſe runs into the *Indian* ocean, at the mouth of this river ſtood the Γυναικῶν λιμήν of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned alſo by *Arrian* in his *Indian* hiſtory, who tells us, that this place was ſo called, becauſe originally it was governed by women (16). The ſoil of this province was ſandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, ſo that *Alexander*'s army ſuffered exceſſively here, notwithſtanding they built their huts with aromatick wood, and met with ſpices in profuſion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two iſlands dependent on this province *Aſtea* and *Codane* (18), *Arrian*, ſpeaking of the voyage of *Nearchus*, tells us he obſerved ſeveral others (19).

(D) Though other authors ſpeak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interpoſes the deſcription of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania Deſerta* and *Carmania the proper*. As to the firſt, it is very truly what (20) *Ptolemy* calls it, having in it ſcarce a town or a village, its ſoil an unhoſpitable ſand, its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner deſtitute of water (21). *Carmania proper* is a better country, having in it ſeveral rivers, particularly the *Andamis* mentioned by (22) *Pliny* and (23) *Ptolemy*, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that theſe mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people anciently, however, lived in no very deſirable condition, if the deſcription given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true, "The *Carmanians*, ſaid he, have neither fruits, "nor raiment, nor houſe, nor cattle, but cover "themſelves with ſkins of fiſh, and feeding on them "for the moſt part, the bodies as well as heads of "theſe people are covered with hair (24)". It may be, *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the ſea coaſt, and called from their manner of living *Icthyophagi*, mentioned both by (25) *Strabo* and (26) *Arrian*, and who are ſaid not only to have fed on fiſh but to have erected huts with their bones. (27) *Ammianus Marcellinus* gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing ſheep which bear the fineſt wool in the world, they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new graſs from *January* to *May* their fleece falls off of itſelf, and leaves the ſheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarſe breaks, and the fine only remains. The *Gaurs* have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which conſiſts chiefly in girdles much eſteemed through the eaſt, and in a ſort of ſerges, which are as ſoft and almoſt as fine as ſilk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, iſland of *Ormus*, in compaſs about 20 miles, ſtony and full of rocks, barren and deſtitute of all neceſſaries except ſalt, of which there is ſuch plenty and ſo hard, that it is ſaid houſes are built thereof. The ſoil is compoſed of a white ſand, formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except ſuch as after rains was preſerved in ciſterns) it had none, ſo that even in its moſt flouriſhing times, when it was the emporium of

(12) *lib.* xviii. *c.* 6. (13) *In verb* Κεδρωσία. (14) *In Edit. Valeſii*, *p.* 369. (15) *lib.* vi. *c.* 21. (16) *c.* xxii. (17) *Strabo.* (18) *ubi ſupra.* (19) *Hiſt. Indic. p.* 366. (20) *lib.* vi. *c.* 6. (21) *lib.* vi. *c.* 8. (22) *lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (23) *ubi ſupr.* (24) *De ſitu orbis. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. (25) *lib.* xv. (26) *Hiſt. Ind. c.* 29. (27) *lib.* xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's Collection, Vol. II. p.* 307.

Drangiana.

[a] [q] *Drangiana*, bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*, on the east by *Arachosia*, on the north by *Aria*, on the west by *Carmania* the desart, derived its name, as some say, from the river *Drangius*, and is called by the modern *Persians Sigistan*; it was antiently peopled by the *Darandæ* and the *Batrii*. *Ptolomy* reckons ten considerable cities in this province, the most famous of them were *Ariaspe* and *Prophthasia*, the towns now of note are [r] *Sistan*, supposed by some to be the ancient city last mentioned, *Chalak*, and *Kets*. [s] Some writers speak of a certain valley in this province called *Mulebet*, improved by a prince called *Aladin* into a paradise, though for very bad purposes (E).

Arachosia.

[b] *Arachosia*, bounded on the west by *Drangiana*, on the north by *Paropamisus*, on the east by the river *Indus*, on the south by *Gedrosia*, its modern name is not well settled, inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolomy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province, we shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachotus* built on a lake of the same name by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Cophes*; *Alexandria* built by *Alexander* the great, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called [t] *Cabul*; *Arbaca* supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* called *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note we know of none (F).

Paropamisus

[q] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xix. [r] Tavern. Voy. ubi supr. [s] See note E. [t] See note F.

of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they used, from the continent, the air in summer excessively sultry, so that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At present there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its ancient kingdom, and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall not fail to treat in its proper place.

(E) (30) *Strabo*, *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangiana*; *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagous*, runs through this country, and from thence some have fancied that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in ancient or modern times, chiefly at present from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Rustan*, the celebrated hero of *Oriental* romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet*, or paradise of *Sultan Aladin*, mentioned above; its history runs thus: A petty prince of this name caused this valley to be adorned in the most elegant manner he could contrive, furnishing it especially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich sherbets, and delicate provisions, he then shut up its entrance with a strong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it seems he was but a kind of free-booter, he chose out some strong, able, young man, and having first got him to drink to such a degree as to loose his senses, he caused him while in that condition to be removed into this paradise of his, where having suffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled asleep in the same manner, and so sent home to his own house, then, under promise of sending him for ever to dwell in that *Paradise*, the joys of which he had tasted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the most barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(F) It is on the authority of Monf. *Tavernier* that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the ancient *Arachosia*; however, since some writers are positive, that the ancient city of *Arachotus* or rather *Arachotos*, for it is a *Greek* appellation, was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as useful, and must of necessity be more entertaining, to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. "*Caboul* is a large city, the metro-
" polis of the province of *Caboulistan*, or *Caboul*,
" and hath two castles well fortified, and because
" several kings have held their courts there, and
" many princes successively have had it for their
" portion, there are a great many palaces in it; it
" lies in 33 deg. of north latitude. The mountains
" about it produce plenty of *Mirobalans*, which
" from thence the eastern people call *Cabuly*, se-
" veral sorts of drugs, and some spices, which with
" the iron mines in them yield a great profit to
" the inhabitants. In this town they maintain a great
" trade with *Tartary*, the country of the *Usbecks*, and
" the *Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone sell yearly in this
" town above sixty thousand horses, and the *Persi-*
" *ans* bring hither great numbers of sheep and other
" cattle, by which means they are much enriched.
" Wine is to be had, and provisions are cheap, tho'
" the country about it is but cold and barren, un-
" less in some places which are sheltered by the
" mountains, being rendered little the more fruitful
" by the two rivers that water it, and have their
" source in the mountains. From this province
" especially come the large canes, of which they
" make halberds and lances; and they have many
" grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of
" the city and province are most of them heathens,
" and therefore in all towns and villages are many
" pagods. They reckon the months by the moons,
" and with great devotion celebrate the feast called
" *Houly*, which lasts two days, at the full moon in
" *February*. At this feast they are all cloathed in a
" dark red, and after they have prayed in the tem-
" ple, and made their oblations, they spend the rest
" of the time in dancing by companies in the
" streets,

(29) *Mandelslo's Travels in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p.* 118. *Tavern. in the same Vol. p.* 347. (30) *lib.* xv. *p.* 497. (31) *lib.* vi. *c.* 19. (32) *lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (33) *lib.* xvii. (34) *Paul. venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrimage, B.* iv. *ch.* 6. *p.* 317. (35) *l.* iv. *c.* 1. *p.* 412. (36) *Heylin's cosmography, B.* III. *p.* 146. (37) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. Vol. II. p.* 355.

Paropamisus. *Paropamisus*, bounded on the west by *Aria*, on the north by *Bactria*, on the east a
by the dominions of the *Mogul*, on the south by *Arachosia*. It is called by the
moderns [u] *Sablestan*, including likewise the kingdom of *Candahar*; its ancient inha-
bitants were the *Bolitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Parietæ* and *Parsii*; its chief cities *Or-
tospanum* and *Naulibis*; modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Becksabat*,
Asbe, [w] *Bust*, strengthened with one of the finest castles in *Persia*, and adorned with
various beautiful *Karawanseras* (G).

Bactria. [x] *Bactriana*, or *Bactria*, now called *Chorassan*, anciently inhabited by the *Sala-
taræ*, *Zariaspæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*, *Tambyzi*, *Thocaræ*, a powerful people,
and several other nations of less note; it was in the first ages of the world a king-
dom, and a very famous one too, in latter times it boasted a thousand cities, the chief b
of these were *Bactra* and *Ebusmi*, both royal cities as *Ptolomy* tells us; *Maracanda*
and *Charracharta*; its modern cities of note are also numerous, but we shall not men-
tion them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more
particularly.

Margiana. *Margiana*, bounded on the west by *Hyrcania*, on the north by *Tartary*, on the
south by *Aria*, and on the west by *Bactria*; now called *Estarabad*, it is divided from
Tartary by the river *Oxus*, called by the modern *Persians* [y] *Rutb-khané-kurkan*, in-
habited anciently by the *Derbicæ*, the *Massagetæ*, who came hither from *Scythia*,
the *Parni*, the *Dahæ*, and the *Tapurni*. [z] Among its cities of note we may reckon
Alexandria, one of the six cities of that name in *Persia*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, c
and after that *Seleucia*, *Nigæa*, or rather *Nysæa*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*; as to mo-
dern places of note, *Estarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkan*, deserve chiefly to be men-
tioned (H).

Hyrcania. [a] *Hyrcania*, bounded on the north by the *Caspian* sea, called sometimes *Mare Hyr-
canum* from its washing the shore of this Province, on the west by *Media*, on the
south by *Parthia*, and on the east by *Margiana*; called now *Mazandran*, and in-
cluding likewise the province of *Kylan*. The old Inhabitants of this country were
the *Maxeræ*, *Astabeni*, and *Chrindi*; its ancient capital was called *Hyrcania* as well
as the province, nor has it at this distance of time much changed its name, since it
is still called *Hyrcan*. *Tambrace*, a very strong place at the time *Arsaces* began to d
lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are [b] *Ferh-abad*, a port
seated on a navigable arm of the *Caspian* sea, a fine city much frequented by *Russian*
merchants, as being not above a fortnight's sail from *Astracan*; *Giru*, *Telarapeset*,
Ciarman, and *Escref*, are also places of note in this country (I).

[c] *Aria*,

[u] TAVERN. Voy. ubi supr. [w] TAVERN. Voy. Tom. I. l. iii., p. 394. [x] PTOL. l. vi. c. xi.
[y] TAVERN. Voy. l. iv. c. 1. [z] CLUV. ubi supr. [a] PTOL. l. vi. c. 9. [b] Sir THOMAS
HERBERT's Travels in HARRIS's collect. Vol. I. p. 434.

" streets, to the sound of trumpets, visiting their
" friends, and eating together every tribe by itself.
" The *Great Mogul*'s revenue from this country is
" 4 or 5 millions yearly (37)". Yet after all it is far from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the ancient province of *Arachosia*, since *Cabouliston* lies beyond *Candahar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *Mogul*'s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally *Paropamisus*, sometimes *Parapamisis*, and again *Paropamisis* (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which is a part of *Taurus*, but was falsely stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alexander* the Great, that it might be said of him that he had passed that famous ridge of mountains; a strange vanity! and scarce to be credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of the highest credit (39). The soil of this country in general is not over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overshadowing the valleys so as to render them cool and pleasant. We have observed above, that the kingdom of *Candahar* is included within the ancient province of *Parapomisus*; this little realm hath for its capital a city of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified place in all this part of *Asia*; as the caravans passed constantly through it in going to, or coming from, *India*, it is consequently a place rich and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample description of it at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the history of its princes and of the various fortunes it has sustained, we shall give the reader a distinct view of them, when we have deduced the *Persian* history as low as to the erecting of this little kingdom.

(H) Many ancient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleasant rivers, amongst the rest with the noble river *Oxus*, so famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewise celebrated for its fertility in vines of such an extraordinary size, that two men can scarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing clusters, some of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was so much pleased with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even inclosed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margue*, with a wall 1500 stadia in circuit (40). *Estarabad* its present capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(I) Ancient writers agree in representing *Hyrcania* as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other

(37) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. Vol. II. p.* 355. (38) *Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Vol. II. c.* 23. *p.* 719.
(39) *Strab. lib.* xi. *p.* 348. *Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib.* v. *c.* 3. (40) *Strab. lib.* xi. *p.* 516. (41) *Tavern. Vol. I. p.* 397.

a *Aria*, bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*, on the west by *Parthia* and *Carmania* the desart, on the south by *Drangiana*, on the east by *Paropamisus*, now comprehended under the province of *Choraſan*; it was anciently inhabited by the *Niſæi*, *Aſtaveni*, *Muſdorani*, *Caſſirotæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Bergi*; its principal cities of old were *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the same city which is still famous under the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the *Sultan Heuſſien-Mirza*, *Alexandria* built by *Alexander*, who settled a colony of *Macedonians* therein, *Artacanda*, called by [d] *Strabo Artacana*, and *Bitaxa* (K). Aria.

[e] *Parthia*, bounded on the west by *Media*, on the north by *Hyrcania*, on the east
b by *Aria*, on the south by *Carmania* the desart, surrounded with mountains, which serve it for boundaries on every side, at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*, and to distinguish it from *Chaldea*, which is likewise called *Erak*, this is styled *Erac-Agami*. [f] The antient *Parthians* are said to have been originally *Scythians*, who, banished from their own country, settled here and assumed this name, which in their own, that is in the *Scythian*, language, signify'd *exiles*. *Ptolemy* reckons 25 large cities with this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and 2000 villages were destroyed by earth-quakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylos*, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky, as some think, to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of
c *Hiſpahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are [g] *Touchercan*, *Hamadan*, a very Parthia.

[c] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xvii. [d] Geogr. lib. xv. [e] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 5. [f] Cluv. ubi supr. [g] Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interspersed with meadows and pasture lands, and in some places with the less pleasant prospect of thick woods, abounding with wild beasts of almost every kind, even to a proverb. As to its present condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by persons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they discourse. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following passage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holstein*'s embassadors, with what we shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*. "It must be confessed by all those who have "travelled in these parts, that the province of *Kilan* is a terrestrial paradise, abounding in silk, oil, "wine, rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, pomgranates, "and all sorts of other fruits: the vines (which spread "themselves with their branches up the trees) being very excellent here, being as big in compass "as a man in the waist. The *Caspian* sea, as well "as the rivers belonging to this province, afford to "the inhabitants prodigious quantities of fish, as "their pasture grounds furnish them with great "store of cattle, and their forests with venison and "wild fowl, which makes me admire, how *John* "*de Laet*, who follows the footsteps of *Johannes de* "*Persia*, could assert with so much confidence, that "*Messanderan* (part of the province of *Kilan*) lies "under so cold a climate, that the fruits there sel"dom come to full maturity, when it is confessed "by all that have any right knowledge of those "parts, that, among all the provinces of that vast "empire, there is none that challenge prerogative "for a temperate and benign air, before that of "*Messanderan*, which, beyond all dispute, produces "the best fruits of all *Persia*. *Schach Abas* was so "well convinced of this point, that he gave the "preference in his opinion to this province before "any other of all his dominions, which made "him lay the foundation of the city of *Ferabath*, "his ordinary residence where he died (43).

(K) It is not easy to determine, whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the same province, or, if they were not, how they differed: To discuss so perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what, to the best geographers, has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow, that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the several fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river *Arius*, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the thirty-five cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other ancient writer, and of these the greatest part are found altogether in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was anciently a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with desarts, heaths, and forests near the mountains; however, where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so strong a body as to keep fourscore or a hundred years, without dimunition of colour or flavour. The ancient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, is still large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbet* in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a governor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of *Europe*, but even those that come from the rest of the *Persian* looms (47).

(42) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii. (43) *Harris*'s *Collect. Vol. II. p.* 101. (44) *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* xxii. *p.* 721 *Casaub. in Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 720. (45) *lib.* vi. *c.* 17. (46) *lib.* xxii. (47) *Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p.* 435.

a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattel fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides, *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, &c, (L).

Persis

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia* by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province, more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it. "The *Parthians* (says he) are also derived "from the *Scythians*: for they were exiles of that "country, as their very name testifies. For in the "*Scythian* language *banished men* are called *Parthi*-"*ans*. These, in like manner with the *Bactrians*, "being by civil wars driven out of *Scythia*, first "fixed themselves by stealth in the country adjoin-"ing to *Hyrcania*, and afterwards obtained by force "more extended dominions (48)". Though in latter ages *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the ancient *Persian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs, it was so little considered, that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrcania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*; in ancient time, *Polybius* says, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, because all the roads through the *Parthian* dominion centered here (49). *Curtius* says it was built by the *Greeks*, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It should seem that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek* interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed in the text of *Spauhawn*'s being founded on the ruins of the ancient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are *Heider*, and *Neamet-Olahi*. The inhabitants of these places, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding, on all publick occasions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe this enmity to another cause, they say, that *Heider* and *Neamet-Olahi* are the names of two princes who reigned anciently over *Persia*, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in *Spauhawn*, but in all the towns of *Persia*. Such as say this, however, own, that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct towns, called by them *Deredechte* and *Joubare*. It may be wondered, that magistrates in the course of ages have not subdued these unnatural feuds. An enquiry into the cause would be impertinent here, if the answer were not short, they have been always indulged by the magistrates, because these quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns before mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous *Timur-Bec*, corruptly called *Tamerlan*, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that *Spauhawn* owes the glory it now possesses to the great *Shâh Abas*, who, after the conquest of the kingdoms of *Lar* and *Ormus*, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of *Persia* (54). among *Europeans* it is usually written *Hispahan*, or *Ispahan*, it is also called *Spaha*, *Spachea*, *Aspahan*, *Ispaan*, and *Spahon*; the *Nubian* geographer calls it *Asbahawn*, and the *Persians* themselves pronounce it, as it is written in the text, *Spauhawn*, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, since the best writers are divided on this head. *Tavernier* and Sir *John Chardin* write it *Ispahan*, Dr *Gemelli Careri*, *Spahon*, M. *le Brun Spahan*, but all these authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as settled by us. The etymology of the word is no less difficult to be discovered, than the manner in which it should be wrote. Before the time of *Tamerlane* it is said to have been called *Sipahan*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, *Sipe*, in the old *Persic* and *Usbeque* language, signifying *an army*, and the plural thereof *Sipahan* consequently signifying *armies*. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word signifying *a battalion* (54): but it is time to quit these dry enquiries for something more useful, as well as more entertaining, since in the description of *Persia* it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, especially since we are furnished with such noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the *Holstein* ambassadors, M. *Tavernier*, Sir *John Chardin*, Dr. *Gemelli*, *Careri*, M. *le Brun*, and others, *Chardin* and *le Brun* having each of them given us a copious description thereof adorned with copper plates, from whence it is as easy to form a just idea of it as of *London* or *Paris*. All who speak of *Spauhawn* are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the situation thereof: it stands in a plain spacious and fertile, surrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the sultry heats of summer and the piercing winds of the winter season; through this plain run several rivers which water *Spauhawn*, and contribute alike to ornament and use. The first of these is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes its rise in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a small stream of itself; but *Abas* the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a brisker and more considerable stream to fall into this river, that it might benefit his capital the more, and by this contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spauhawn* in the spring, as the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the winter. The united waters of these rivers are sweet, pleasant, and wholesome, almost beyond comparison, as indeed are all the springs which are found in the gardens belonging to the houses of *Spauhawn*. The river brought by *Abas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mahmoud*, and we shall have occasion to speak both of it and the *Zenderoud* in another

(48) *Isidor. Origin.* ix. *c.* 2. (49) *lib.* x. *c.* 25. (50) *lib.* vi. *c.* 11. (51) *Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. I. p.* 431. *Holstein Ambassadors Travels in the same Collection, Vol. II.* 79. *Careri Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 85. (52) *Tavernier Voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 5. *p.* 434. *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 6. *Careri. ubi supr. Le Brun. Voyag. tom.* 1. *p.* 197. (53) *Holstein Ambassadors travels, Tavernier. Voyag. ubi supr. Careri. ubi supr. p.* 86. (54) *Holstein Ambassadors Travels ubi supr.*

a [h] *Perſis*, bounded on the north by *Media*, on the weſt by *Suſiana*, on the eaſt by the *Carmanias*, on the ſouth by the *Perſian* gulph, called now *Pârs*, or *Fars*, anciently inhabited by the *Meſabatæ*, *Rapſii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*, *Stabæi*. Ancient cities of note were *Perſepolis*, the noble metropolis of the ancient *Perſian* empire; *Axima*; *Maraſium*, called now *Marazu*; *Tiace*, the capital of a diſtrict of the ſame name; *Parſagada*, a noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honour'd with his tomb [i]. As to modern cities there are many of great note, and amongſt theſe *Chiras*, *Benaron*,

[h] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 4.

[i] TAVERN. Voyag. tom. 1. l. iv. c. 1. p. 412.

another place. Beſides theſe there are two other ſtreams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge*: One of theſe is pretty conſiderable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally ſpeaking equal, for which reaſon ſeveral attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tahmas* in the XVIth century expended an exceſſive ſum of money on a project of this ſort without ſucceſs. *Abas* the great did the ſame thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, diſcourage *Abas* the ſecond from twice endeavouring at the ſame thing, in which likewiſe failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spauhawn* is very great, not leſs perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth, poorly built, and ſo covered with houſes and ſhaded with gardens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to diſcover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is ſhared by moſt of the great towns in *Perſia*, whence many travellers have been led to repreſent them as not walled at all. The *Perſians* themſelves are wont to ſay, *Spauhawn Niſpe gehon*, i. e. *Spauhawn is half the world*. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there ſeen wider accounts than thoſe which different authors give us of the number of ſouls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* ſays, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that ſome have reckoned eleven-hundred thouſand (57); but he is himſelf of opinion that it is not more populous than *London*. At a diſtance the city is not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, for the ſtreets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every houſe having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The ſtreets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the firſt is that being built on common ſewers, theſe are frequently broke up which is very dangerous, conſidering that moſt people ride; the ſecond is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the ſtreets, which are as dangerous; the third ariſes from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houſes; the latter is indeed in ſome meaſure qualified by the dryneſs of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peaſants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the eaſt and ſouth, and four to the weſt and north, *viz.* the gate of *Haſſen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare* called alſo the gate of *Abas*, the gate of *Seidahmedion*, the *Dervaze-dcuiet* that is the *imperial* gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tokchi*, and the gate *Deredechte*; he reckons alſo ſix poſterns. Other authors ſay there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entring *Spauhawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himſelf perfectly maſter of the name of the ſtreets, and even of the houſes of this vaſt city may ſatisfy his curioſity, and be very agreeably entertained by peruſing *Chardin*'s elegant deſcription, which is at once pleaſant and exact, and equally fitted to amuſe and to inſtruct the reader. The compaſs of this note will not allow us ſo much as to abridge his curious deſcription, we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spauhawn*, as they are deſcribed by that gentleman and M. *le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference: It has ſix gates, the firſt called *Ali-Kapie*, that is the gate of *Ali*. The ſecond *Haram Kapeſie*, or the gate of the *Serail*; the third *Moerbag Kapeſie*, the gate of the *kitchen*; the fourth *Gandag Kapeſie*, or the *garden* gate, through which none paſſes but the king himſelf, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth *Ghajatganna Kapeſie*, or the gate of the *taylors*, becauſe thoſe belonging to his majeſty have apartments near it. The ſixth *Ghanna Kapeſie*, or the gate of the *ſecretary*. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates firſt mentioned. The *Mey-doen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city. It is a grand market 710 paces long from eaſt to weſt, and 210 broad from north to ſouth. On the ſouth ſide ſtands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachroc-chone* a building wherein are placed the king's band of muſick. On one ſide of the *Mey-doen* ſtands the moſque called *Sjig-lotf-olla*, ſo called from one of their doctors who is reputed a ſaint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue ſtones encruſted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the ſame metal. On the weſt ſide of the *Mey-doen* ſtands the royal moſque extremely magnificent. At ſome diſtance from thence appears the gate called *Ali-Kapie*, and between theſe ſtand a range of fine buildings adorned with porticoes full of ſhops. The middle ſpace is taken up in a great meaſure with tents, under which all ſorts of goods are ſold; but theſe are taken away in the evening to make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this ſpace the mountebanks erect ſtages, diſtribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle ſtands a pillar, on the ſummit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize conſiſts generally in a cup of gold, or ſomething of the ſame value, and none are ſuffered to contend for it but perſons of very high quality. On the feaſt of *Nouroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carouſals which are then performed in the preſence of the king, who is ſeated in a kind of gallery or theatre called *Talael*, very curiouſly adorned on the gate of *Ali*. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal ſtreet of *Spauhawn*, called *Chiaer-baeg*, i. e. *four-gardens*, one of the grandeſt ornaments of this city; the ſhops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the diſpoſition thereof in every reſpect convenient and pleaſant. From thence runs the bridge of *Allawerdie-Chan* over the river *Zendervade*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large ſtones; it has three and thirty arches, ſome of which are founded on the ſand, which is firm and ſtable; and through theſe, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety-three niches upon this bridge,

(55) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 2. 3. (56) *ubi ſupr*, (57) *ubi ſupr.* (58) *Tavern. Chardin. Carreri.*

Benaron, *Lar*, *Bender-abaſſi*, or *Gombroon*, and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the a chief (M).

Suſiana.

bridge, ſome ſhut, ſome open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain diſtances, which afford the fineſt proſpect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleaſure-houſes belonging to the king, and gardens ſtored with fruit-trees, and adorned with every thing elſe that can contribute to the making them worthy of their poſſeſſor. There are ſome other bridges, moſques, and publick ſtructures, which deſerve to be particularized, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with obſerving, that the citadel or fortreſs, called by the *Perſians Tabaroek*, is a very mean ſtructure and in as mean a condition, its walls being in ſuch a ruinous ſtate, that though there are ſome cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made uſe of, from an apprehenſion that the walls would fall if thoſe pieces were diſcharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in ancient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as preſent, ſtate (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants; ſome emeralds indeed there are found, but of no great value. On the coaſt of the *Perſian* gulph the ſoil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and ſandy, and producing few other trees than *Palms*; but between theſe there lies a rich and pleaſant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by ſmall rivers, than moſt of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly againſt *Alexander* the Great by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Perſian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progreſs, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the ſervice of his country. As to *Perſepolis*, the ancient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Perſians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richeſt city in the world at the time that it was ſubdued by *Alexander*, whoſe ſoldiers taking it by ſtorm put all the men to the ſword, rifled their houſes, and carried off immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, *Alexander* reſerving to himſelf the treaſures in the citadel, which had been amaſſing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thouſand talents of gold; in fine, the ſpoil was ſo great, that the neighbouring countries were conſtrained to furniſh mules and other beaſts of burthen, beſides three thouſand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived ſuch a diſlike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was reſolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the ſame writer obſerves, *Perſepolis*, once ſo famous for its magnificence, became no leſs remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is *Schiras*, which, with the adjacent country, is thus deſcribed by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spauhawn* to the *Indies*: "From thence (*i. e. Thel-minar*) to *Schiras* "is an hard day's journey, eſpecially when the ſnow "melts, for then the road is like a ſea. The city "of *Schiras*, which many will have to be the anci-"ent *Cyropolis*, the metropolis of the province of "*Perſia*, lies in 78 deg. 15 miles long. and 29 deg. "36 miles latitude. It is ſeated in a plain, about "four leagues in extent from north to ſouth, and "about five leagues from eaſt to weſt. Upon the "ſouth-eaſt is a lake of ſalt water about four leagues "in compaſs. The ſoil about it is very good and "fruitful, and is famous for the beſt wines in *Per-*"*ſia*. The city itſelf has nothing handſome in it, "for it looks more like a ruined town than a city. "It has no walls but a bad ditch, and the houſes "are built of earth dried in the ſun, and whitened "over with lime; ſo that when they are well moi-"ſtened with rain, they often fall down of them-"ſelves, only the college which *Iman Kouli-Kan* "built, and ſome of the moſques, are of brick; and "the beſt of theſe moſques, which is called *Sha-*"*Shiraque*, is kept in ſomething better repair than "ordinary out of a particular devotion; but there "is nothing worth taking notice of in it. On the "north-eaſt ſtands an high mountain, which is "covered with ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, of which "there are ſome orange, lemons, and cypreſſes, and "at the foot of it a ſtone bridge, from whence "there is a ſtreet which goes in a ſtrait line quite "through the city. This ſtreet is walled on both "ſides, and at certain ſpaces are ſeveral great gates "which have neat little houſes built upon them, "from which is a pleaſant proſpect into the gar-"dens planted with rows of cypreſſes. The ſtreets "of *Schiras* are ſomewhat narrow; but there are "ſome fair ones, having in the midſt of them lovely "canals, and baſons of water very pleaſant. There "are a great many fair covered bazars with great "ſhops well furniſhed with all ſorts of *Indian* and "*Turkiſh* commodities, and every commodity has "its particular bazar. In the college there are pro-"feſſors who have ſalaries for teaching theology, "philoſophy, and medicine, and 'tis ſaid it has ſome-"times 500 ſtudents in it. There are in this city "three or four glaſs-houſes, where they make great "and ſmall bottles to tranſport the ſweet-waters "made in this city, as alſo ſeveral other veſſels to "put their pickled fruits in, which they ſend in "great quantities into *India*, *Sumatra*, *Batavia*, "and other places. They make their glaſs of a "white ſtone almoſt as hard as marble, which they "fetch from an hill four days journey from *Schi-*"*ras*, and 'tis as clear and delicate as any glaſs in "the world. It is wonderful how they blow their "great bottles called *Caraba*, which are a finger "thick, and hold near 30 quarts of wine. They "have no manufactures at *Schiras* but a few coarſe "painted cloths, and uſed only by the meaner ſort. "On the north-weſt ſide is the king's garden called "*Bay-ſha*, which is indeed well planted with fruit-"trees, roſes, and jaſimins, but for want of order "it looks like a wilderneſs. From this garden to "the hills is a vineyard, belonging to ſeveral per-"ſons, two leagues long and one broad, which is "watered with the river *Bendemir*, which is ſome-"times dry in ſummer, becauſe it never rains there "but in ſpring and autumn. The wines made here "are the beſt in all *Perſia*, but they make no great "quantities of them, becauſe they dry and pickle "good part of their grapes. 'Tis an excellent ſto-"mach wine, but very ſtrong, ſo that, without "ſpoiling the taſte of it, it will carry two thirds of "water. They ſell their wine by weight, and not "by meaſure, and putting it in cheſts ſend a great "deal yearly to *Spauhawn* and the *Indies*. The "people of *Schiras* are very witty, and moſt of the "beſt poets in *Perſia* were born here. In an anci-"ent moſque here lies *Scheich Sadi*, one of the beſt "of their poets, whom they honour as a ſaint. The "ſoil about this city is very good and produces "plenty of all things. They have all the fruits "that

(59) *Le Brun. tom.* i. *p.* 198, *&c. Chardin. tom.* ii. *c.* 1. *Carreri tom.* ii. *l.* 1. *c.* 5, 6. (60) *Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 501. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* xxvi, *Herod. c.* 125. (61) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *c.* 68.

a *Suſiana*, bounded on the [k] north by *Aſſyria*, on the weſt by *Chaldea*, on the eaſt by *Perſis*, on the ſouth by the *Perſian* gulph, believed by ſome to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chuſiſtan*, inhabited by the nations following, *viz.* the *Elymæi* and *Coſſæi*. Its capital the famous city of *Suſa*, the [l] *Shuſhan* of the ſcriptures, and *Tariana*, called by *Ammianus Tarſiana* [m]. The modern towns of note are [n] *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, *Ram-hormus* (N). Suſiana.

THERE are two other provinces of the *Perſian* empire, which need not be deſcribed here, becauſe they have been treated of elſewhere already. Theſe are [o] *Curdiſtan*, containing the ancient *Aſſyria*, and [p] *Schirwan*, of old ſtyled *Media*. A famous modern traveller [q] tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of b *Perſia* upwards of five hundred conſiderable places, walled towns, and caſtles, about ſixty thouſand villages, and forty millions of ſouls. Curdiſtan *and* Schirwan.

As to the air and climate of this country, conſidering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwiſe than varied, according to the ſituation of the ſeveral parts thereof, ſome being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the ſame time of the year, which cannot be ſtyled wonderful, ſince it is natural, and occaſioned by cauſes for which we can eaſily account. The air, where-ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is ſometimes moiſt: In order to give the reader a juſt notion of this, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that all along the coaſt of the *Perſian* gulph, from weſt to eaſt, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is for c four months ſo exceſſive, that even thoſe who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houſes, and retire to the mountains, ſo that ſuch as travel in theſe parts at that ſeaſon, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. The extreme heat of the air as it renders it inſupportable, ſo it makes it alſo prodigiouſly unwholſome, ſtrangers frequently falling ſick there, and ſeldom eſcaping. The eaſtern provinces of *Perſia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are ſubject to great heats, but not quite ſo unwholſome as on the coaſts of the *Indian* ocean and *Perſian* gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moiſture, as un- d wholſome as on the coaſt before-mentioned. From *October* to *May* there is no country in the world more pleaſant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their ſummers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither ſtrength nor ſpirits, though about the end of *April* *Climate.*

[k] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 5. [l] DANIEL viii. 2. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH. i. 2. [m] ap. CELLAR. Geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684. [n] TAVERN. Voyag. ubi ſupr. [o] CLUVER. Geog. l. v. c. 14. TAVERN. ubi ſupr. Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 857. [p] CLUVER. ubi ſupr. TAVERN. ubi ſupr. Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 1. [q] CHARDIN. Voy. tom. iii. p. 4.

" that we have, and oranges and lemons in abun-
" dance. They have vaſt quantities of roſes, from
" which they draw ſuch great plenty of roſe-water
" that they furniſh all the *Indies* with it. They
" have a great deal of corn, but give much to their
" horſes to be eaten in the blade, becauſe they ſay
" that for want of water it would never come to
" maturity. There is a great deal of opium made
" at *Schiras*, for round about the town are large
" fields ſown with white poppies; they have alſo
" ſtore of capers which they ſend into all parts
" (62).

(N) *Suſiana*, as deſcribed by *Ptolemy*, includes the province ſtiled *Elymais* (63), which *Pliny* alſo obſerves to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been diſtinguiſhed from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Suſa*, the capital thereof, once the royal ſeat of the *Perſian* kings, who were wont to reſide one part of the year here, and the other at *Ecbatana*. *Pliny* ſays, that it was founded by *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* (65); but this is not to be taken ſtrictly, for certain it is, that the *Darius* he ſpeaks of could only be its reſtorer, ſince *Strabo* poſitively affirms, that it was built by *Tithonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before ſays, that *Suſa* was called the city of *Memnon* (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleaſantneſs, magnificence, or ſtrength this noble city excelled; ſeated it was, as ſacred and prophane authors agree, on the river *Ulai* or *Eulæus*, called alſo the *Choaſpes*, or rather on the confluence of theſe two rivers, for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaſpes*, meeting at *Suſa*, run together in one ſtream, and are afterwards ſtiled ſometimes by one name, ſometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms, that *Alexander*, when he ſeized the palace here, took poſſeſſion of the nobleſt manſion in the univerſe. Here were preſerved the records of the *Perſian* empire; and here were laid up the treaſures of the kingdom, that they might be made uſe of on any emergency, and not be ſquandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thouſand talents of coined gold, and forty thouſand talents of gold and ſilver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of *Shuſtern* being by ſome travellers conceived to be built at leaſt very near the place where of old ſtood *Suſa* (69).

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collection, Vol. II. p.* 344. (63) *Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 19. 5. 2. *p.* 682. (64) *Hiſt. Nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 27. (65) *ubi ſupr.* (66) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (67) *Terpſich. c.* 54. (68) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xviii. *c.* 66. (69) *Tavern. Voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 1.

April they abandon their houſes, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the ſea. In a word, the unhealthineſs of this place is ſo notorious, that when a perſon is ſent to the government of *Ghilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of diſgrace, and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to aſk, whether he has robbed or murdered to deſerve ſuch a commiſſion. But this moiſtneſs in the air is only in theſe parts; the reſt of *Perſia* enjoys a dry air, the ſky being perfectly ſerene, and hardly ſo much as a cloud ſeen to fly therein. To ſay the truth, the purity of this element is the greateſt bleſſing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains ſeldom, but it does not follow that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night, though not a cloud be ſeen, the ſky being ſo clear that the ſtars alone afford a light ſufficient to travel by, yet there is a briſk wind which laſts till within an hour of morning, which gives ſuch a coolneſs to the air, that a man may diſpenſe with a tolerably warm garment. The ſeaſons in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happens thus; the winter, beginning in *November* and laſting till *March*, is very ſharp and rude, attended with froſt, and ſnow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never deſcending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the weſt of *Spauhawn*, on which the ſnow lies for eight months of the year. It is ſaid, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if cruſhed feel colder than the ſnow itſelf. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are briſk winds, from *May* to *September*, the air is ſerene and dry, refreſhed by pleaſant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in *September* and *November* the winds blow as in ſpring. It is to be obſerved, that in ſummer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very ſhort, which, joined to the coolneſs of the nights, renders the heat of the day ſo moderate, that this ſeaſon is as ſupportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryneſs of its air exempts *Perſia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the ſpring indeed there ſometimes falls hail, and as the harveſt is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of miſchief. The rainbow is ſeldom ſeen in this country, becauſe there riſe not there vapours ſufficient to form it; but in the night there are ſeen rays of light ſhooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of ſmoke. The winds, however briſk, ſeldom ſwell into ſtorms or tempeſts; but on the other hand they are ſometimes poiſonous and infectious on the ſhore of the *Gulph*, as all travellers agree (O).

Mountains. There is perhaps no country in the world, which, generally ſpeaking, is more mountainous than *Perſia*; but theſe mountains are far from being advantageous, ſince many of them yield neither ſprings nor metals, and but a few are ſhaded with trees. It is true, that many of them are ſituated on the frontiers, and ſerve as a kind

(O) As to the air and clime of *Perſia*, we have chiefly followed the ſo often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without comparing what he ſays with what is ſaid by other writers the moſt eſteemed on the ſame ſubject. M. *Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spauhawn* it is uſual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is ſent to *Kilan* (70); which makes it the more ſtrange, that intelligent perſons, who have alſo been on the ſpot, ſhould report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note; yet after all ſome account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, ſuch a one as will ſatisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by *Olearius* is ſtill found ſtrictly true; but, alas! the reſt of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and ſcarce know where to ſeek for reſt. It was in the beſt ſeaſon of the year that the *Holſtein* ambaſſadors and their retinue croſſed this country, and thus, it ſeems, it came to paſs, that they repreſented it as a paradiſe, not ſuſpecting that at another ſeaſon of the year it could be ſo intolerable a place as it really is. As to the inſupportable heat at *Gombroon*, all authors are agreed about it. M. *Tavernier* ſays, that people often find themſelves ſtruck by a ſouth wind in ſuch a manner, that they cry, *I burn*, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. *le Brun* ſays, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people aſſured him, that the weather was at ſome times ſo exceſſively ſultry as to melt the ſeals of letters. At this time the people go in their ſhifts, and are continually ſprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to M. *le Brun* and his company, had a well in which he paſſed ſome part of the day. Among the incoveniencies conſequent from this malign diſpoſition of the air, one of the moſt terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long ſmall worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification enſues. Our author laſt mentioned has therefore juſt reaſon to ſay, that a ſeverer puniſhment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender than the leaving him in ſuch a place as this; and yet, as he obſerves, there are many people of worth and good ſenſe, who, for the ſake of acquiring large fortunes in a ſhort time, hazard themſelves here, and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

(70) *Chardin. tom.* iii. *p.* 7. *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* iv. *c.* 1. *p.* 414. (71) *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* v. *c.* 23. *p.* 764. (72) *Le Brun. Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 322.

a kind of natural Baſtions or Ramparts to this vaſt region, and it is very likely contribute in other places to make the country wholeſome, by ſheltering the vallies under them from exceſſive heat. On ſome of theſe hills there is found a ſort of mineral ſalt, which is ſold very cheap[r]. As for particular mountains, we have already mentioned moſt of them, which deſerve to be remembered in our deſcription of the ſeveral provinces of *Perſia*.

Rivers. In reſpect to rivers, it has been already obſerved, that, except the *Araxis*, there is not one navigable ſtream in all this country. There are indeed in moſt of its provinces ſome little rivers which run ſhort courſes, and would be more conſiderable than they are, if through want of water the inhabitants were not forced to divert their ſtreams, b by ſmall channels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent traveller informs us, that this was practiſed anciently much more than of late years, and that from hence in a great meaſure ariſes the mighty difference between the productions of ancient and modern *Perſia*. He affirms, that a *Perſian* of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that, within the ſpace of 24 years, no leſs than fourſcore channels had been choaked up and loſt in the territory of *Tauris*[s]. As to ſeas, the northern provinces of the *Perſian* empire lye on the *Caſpian* lake or ſea, of which an ample deſcription has been already given. On the ſouth the *Perſian* ſhore is waſhed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the waters of the *Perſian* gulph, or gulph of *Balſora*, flowing out of the *Indian* ocean near the iſle of *Ormus*, from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, having *Perſia* on the eaſt, and *Arabia* on the weſt, it runs as high as the ancient *Chaldea*, where it receives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* united in one ſtream, and very few rivers of note beſides. It may not be amiſs to take notice here, that the gulph is ſometimes ſtyled *the red ſea*, as well as *the gulph of Aden* (P).

After

[r] Tavern. Voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 416. [s] Tavern. Voyag. ubi ſupr.

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in *Perſia*, the reader need not be ſurprized that we ſay ſo little of the ſeveral ſtreams which water that country, one of them we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river *Araxes* deſerves to be further conſidered on account of the miſtakes which ſome writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occaſioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers; *Olearius* gives us a very diſtinct account of this matter, which we ſhall therefore recite in his own words. "The 17th we croſs'd the "famous river of *Aras (Araxes)* by the means of a "bridge of boats near *Tzanat*. *Q. Curtius*, ſpeaking "of this river, in two different paſſages, and in a "different ſenſe, has not a little puzzled the anci"ent hiſtorians and geographers, who indeed for the "moſt part put it in the ſame province, but can't "agree in the deſcription of its courſe, for *Q. Cur*"*tius* in his fifth book puts it in *Perſis*, and ſays its "courſe is to the ſouth, whereas in his ſeventh book "he makes it paſs through *Media*, and to diſem"bogue in the *Caſpian* ſea. *Strabo* is no leſs dubi"ous, and *Raderus*, endeavouring to diſſolve this knot, "by aſſerting that the river *Medus*, before it is join"ed with the *Araxes*, has its courſe to the ſouth, "and afterwards exonerates itſelf into the *Caſpian* "ſea, is fallen into a groſs miſtake; for how is it "to be conceived, that the river ſhould make its "way through the vaſt mountain *Taurus*, which is "ſo many leagues in breadth, and divides not only "all *Perſia* but even *Aſia* itſelf, and ſo continue "its current from *Perſepolis* to the *Caſpian* ſea? The "foundation of the whole miſtake lay here, that "there are two rivers which bear the name of "*Araxes* in *Perſia*, one in *Media*, the other in *Perſis*, "to the laſt, which waſhes the walls of *Perſepolis*, "(now called *Schiras*) *Q. Curtius* has left the right "name of *Araxes*, but has taken the liberty to im"poſe the name of *Tanais* upon the *Jaxartes*, "which paſſes through *Scythia*, as he has given the "name of *Caucaſus* to the eaſtern branch of the "mountain *Taurus*, but with what reaſon I am not "able to determine. That which paſſes through "*Perſis* is by the *Perſians* called *Bend-Emer*, from a "ſignal miracle there performed by *Ali*, and diſ"embogues in the ocean in the *Perſian* gulph, that "which we ſpeak of now keeps its ancient name, "and riſes out of the mountains of *Armenia* behind "the great *Ararat*, and being joined by many other "rivers, the chiefeſt whereof are *Karaſu*, *Senki*, "*Kerni*, and *Arpa*, it turns its channel near *Karaſu* "deep into the country, and afterwards near *Orda*"*bath* falls with a great noiſe, which is heard two "leagues thence, in the plain of *Mokan*. Its courſe "there is very ſlow, and after having received into "its channel about twelve leagues about *Tzanat* the "river *Cur* or *Cyrus* (as large a river as itſelf, coming "northward out of *Georgia*) it exonerates itſelf "into the *Caſpian* ſea. This ſufficiently refutes "*Ptolemy* and thoſe who follow his footſteps, who "make the *Araxes* and the *Cyrus* fall by two differ"ent channels into the *Caſpian* ſea. Thus they "would have *Cyropolis* called *Scamachie*, which "*Maginus* would infer from the degrees of latitude "given by *Ptolemy*: But according to that ſuppo"ſition theſe two rivers muſt not be placed above, "but below, the city towards the ſouth, it being "certain, that when we travelled in thoſe parts, we "found the conflux of thoſe two rivers at 39 deg. "54 min. and the city of *Scamachie* at 40 deg. 50 "min. which is 13 leagues thence and under ano"ther meridian. Neither is there any other river "within 19 days journey of *Scamachie* on either "ſide, which bears the leaſt compariſon in bigneſs "or otherwiſe to this river (73)". We ſhould not have introduced ſo long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of conſequence, as will appear in the ſubſequent hiſtory, where this account will ſerve to rectify ſome points, which have hitherto confounded even the beſt authors. It is but juſt to add, that M. *Le Brun* in his travels confirms preciſely what this author has ſaid (74). As to the *Perſian* gulph, it

(73) *Ambaſſadors of Holſtein's Travels in Harris's Collect. Vol. II. p.* 104. (74) *Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 158.

Soil. AFTER this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will eaſily comprehend, that the ſoil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary ſandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleaſant enough. The earth in ſome places is ſandy and ſtony, in others heavy and hard, but every where ſo dry that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not ſo much as graſs. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however, very ſeldom, and not enough to keep even the beſt lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the ſun are ſo briſk and ſo drying, that the rain has not much effect. But where-ever the ſoil is ſufficiently moiſtned, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it ſhould be aſked, how this deſcription ſuits with what we find recorded, in ancient authors, of the luxury and profuſeneſs of the *Perſians*, ſuch a demand is capable of various anſwers; for firſt, *Perſia* is not now near ſo much peopled as it was heretofore, and conſequently there cannot be ſo great a number of labourers, which muſt induce barrenneſs in a country, where the ſoil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be ſaid, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great meaſure produced this difference, the ancient kings of *Perſia* were mild and beneficent to their ſubjects, whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, over-bearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Perſees* or *Gaurs*, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the *Perſians*, like other *Mohammedans*, are ſatisfyed with what good things they find, and will not give themſelves the trouble to labour for poſterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themſelves with ſuch things as fall into their way, and, in conſequence of ſuch notions, there is no great wonder, that ſterility has enſued, and that modern travellers do not ſpeak in the ſame language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and other ſuch like authors. [t] Sir *John Chardin* therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow ſtill poorer than it is, whereas if the *Armenians* or the *Perſees* were to become maſters thereof, it would from their induſtry quickly recover its ancient ſplendor. It muſt not, however, be imagined, that there ſubſiſts not at this day the ſame variety in point of fruitfulneſs among the provinces of this extenſive country as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrcania*, and *Bactria*, are ſtill in a great meaſure what they were, and ſurpaſs moſt of the other provinces in their Productions; as along the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulph the ſoil is ſtill more barren, cattle leſs plenty, and every thing in a worſe condition than any where elſe. Before we part with this ſubject, we think proper to remark, that the *Perſians* are ſo ſenſible of the ſnow's fertilizing their land, that they examine very curiouſly how high it riſes every year, there being a ſtone on the top of a mountain four leagues from *Spaubawn*, between two and three foot high, over which when once the ſnow riſes, the *Peaſant*, who firſt brings the news to court, receives a conſiderable reward for his pains [u]. But it is now time for us to ſpeak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

Trees. AMONG the trees, the moſt common in *Perſia*, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornel, called by the *Arabs Seder*, and by the *Perſians Conar*, from whence probably came the Latin *Cornus*, and thence our cornel. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane has a ſingular virtue againſt the plague, and all

[t] Voyag. tom. iii. p. 11.

[u] TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.

it is not to be queſtioned, but that the ancients ſtiled it, as well as the gulph of *Arabia*, the *Red Sea*; what renders it moſt remarkable now is its pearl-fiſhery, of which no doubt the reader will expect ſome account. They fiſh for them in many places of the gulph, but eſpecially about the iſlands of *Baharin*. This fiſhery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, Sir *John Chardin* ſays, more than a million in a year, the largeſt weigh generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fiſhers are directed under great penalties to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is, however, believed they do not always do (75). This fiſhing is performed by divers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the ſea in five fathom water, by the weight of a ſtone fixed to their toes, pick up there all the ſhells they can ſee as faſt as they can, and put them into a baſket they carry down with them on purpoſe, and then riſe up again to take breath, and refreſh themſelves with a pipe of tobacco; thoſe who are in the boat pull up the baſkets, the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fiſh for pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*, beſides the pearl-oyſters, they catch others in this ſea excellent for eating (76.)

(75) *Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 31.

(76) *Tavern. in Harris's Collect. v.* ii. *p.* 314.

a all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert, that there has been no contagion at *Spaubawn*, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in streets and gardens. The tree which bears *Gall-Nuts* grows in several parts of *Persia*, but particularly in *Koureſtan*. The trees which produce *Gums*, *Mastick*, and *Incense*, are found very commonly in most parts of *Persia*, that, however, which bears *Incense* is particularly found in *Carmania* the desart, resembling in form a large *Pear-Tree*. *Turpentine Trees*, and *Almond Trees*, with the wild *Chesnut*, are common. The tree which bears *Manna* is also frequent, but there are several sorts of *Manna* in *Persia*, the best is of a yellowish colour and of a large grain, it comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another sort called the *Manna* of

b *Tamarisk* because it is gathered from that tree; all the different sorts of *Manna* are used to the same end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being esteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one easily disposed of. The herbs in *Herbs and drugs,* *Persia*, especially such as are aromatick, exceed those of other countries, roots, legumes and salleting are larger, fairer, and better tasted than elsewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the stomach. Most of our *European* roots and legumes flourish here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were by religion restrained from eating flesh. As to drugs, *Persia* produces as many as any country in *Asia*; for,

c besides *Manna*, *Cassia*, *Sena*, the *Nux Vomica*, are common in most provinces, gum *ammoniac*, called by the *Persians Ouscioc*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia* towards the *South*. *Rhubarb* grows commonly in *Corassan* or the ancient *Sogdiana*, but it is not so good as that which is brought from the country of the *Tartars*, between the *Caspian-Sea* and *China*, and for this reason they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i. e. *rhubarb* of *China*; in *Corassan* they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of *Persia* is esteemed the finest in the world, not only in respect to its beauty, but because its juice is by far stronger than the juice of the same plant elsewhere. The *Persians* call this juice *Afioun*, from whence our word *opium*; the best is made in the territory of *Lingan* six miles

d from *Spaubawn*, though others prefer the *Afioun* of *Cazeron*, which is towards the *Persian* gulph, as being less apt to ingender crudities in the stomach. Tobacco grows all over *Persia*, especially about *Hammadan*, which is the ancient *Susa*, and in *Courcston* near the *Persian* gulph, which is esteemed the finest, the *Persians* themselves, however, who are great smoakers, prefer what they call *Tambacco Inglesi*, or *English tobacco* to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* says, that this tobacco, which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite lost. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and especially about the *Caspian* sea and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much esteemed. The plant called by the *Persians Hiltet*, and supposed to be the *lazerpithium* or *silphium* of *Dioscor-*

e *rides*, from whence drops the *Assa-fœtida*, is common every where, but abounds most in *Sogdiana*: there are two sorts of it the white and the black, the white is the least esteemed, because less strong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the east called *King*, and the *Indians* consume vast quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and sauces; it has by far the strongest odour of any thing hitherto discovered, since places where it has been kept will retain its scent for whole years, and the vessels in which it is transported to *India* are so thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its scent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both sorts is a great *Persian* commodity, the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands, the

f other is a precious gum which distils out of a rock; there are two mines or sources of it in *Persia*, the one in *Carmania* the desert in the country of *Sar*, which is the best, for it is certain; that there is no bruise, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty-four hours. The other mine is in *Corassan*, the rocks from whence it distils belong to the king, and all that issues from thence is for his use, they are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers in the province, once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king's treasure. It derives its name from the *Persian* word *Moum*, which signifies literally *an unguent*, the *Hebrews* and the *Arabs* make use of the same term; the *Persians* say, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the use and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Persia*, but there is a tree which somewhat

what reſembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a ſort of ſilk very fine a
and ſoft, and of which many uſes are made. Galbanum is likewiſe common in
this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do
not deſerve to be mentioned here [t].

IN ſpeaking of the fruits of *Perſia*, melons certainly claim the firſt place, they have
above twenty ſorts of them here, the firſt are called *Guermec*, i. e. *forced by heat*,
they are round and ſmall, a ſpring fruit, inſipid in the mouth, and conſequently no way
pleaſant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiouſly wholeſome, and on their firſt
coming in eat for a fortnight or three weeks together twelve or thirteen pound
weight each day, nay an author of good credit and a phyſician ſays, that ſome eat
thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For b
four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly
any thing elſe, and Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn*
in a day than throughout all *France* in a month; the beſt grow about a little borough
called *Craguerde* on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence, though it be thirty days
journey, they are brought to *Spauhawn* for the uſe of the king. The people in
general are ſo fond of melons, that they take great pains to preſerve them in certain
repoſitories during the laſt months of the year, and even till the *guermec* are again in
ſeaſon. After the melon the raiſin deſerves our notice, of which there are twelve
or fourteen ſorts in *Perſia*, the moſt eſteemed are the violet, the red, and the black,
they are ſo large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preſerve grapes all the c
winter in *Perſia*, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preſerve
them from the birds. In *Courdeſtan*, and about *Sultania* where they have abundance
of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raiſins, which at once give them a
fine taſte and render them the more wholeſome; the beſt grapes in the neighbourhood
of *Spauhawn* are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs* or ancient *Perſians*,
for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in culti-
vating theſe trees, which for the ſame reaſon are neglected by the *Mohammedan Per-
ſians*. The dates of *Perſia* are without compariſon the richeſt in the world, their
ſyrup being ſweeter and more pleaſant than virgin honey, the beſt grow in *Cou-
reſton*, *Siſtan*, about *Perſipolis*, and the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulph, and particularly d
at *Jaron*, a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*; ſtrangers, however, ought to
eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwiſe it is apt to overheat the blood, ſometimes
to ſuch a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any ſuch incon-
venience. Dates grow in cluſters on the palm-tree, which is the higheſt of all
fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top, it produces fruit at
fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All
our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here, their apricots are excellent and
of ſeveral ſorts, nectarines and peaches weigh ſometimes ſixteen or eighteen ounces
each, they break eaſily, and what is very extraordinary, the ſtone opens at the ſame
time the peach is broke, and diſcovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taſte the e
moſt delicious that can be imagined. The *Perſian* pomgranates grow of ſeveral
colours and in the higheſt perfection, ſome of them weighing a full pound; to ſum
up all, it may not be amiſs to mention the particular places where the ſeveral kinds
of fruit are held moſt excellent; apples and pears grow to the higheſt perfection in
Iberia, dates in *Carmania*, pomgranates about *Schiras*, oranges in *Hyrcania*, and all
ſorts of things in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other coun-
try in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiouſly
large, and ſweet as apples; piſtaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound;
and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that, at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he ſaw fifty
ſeveral kinds of fruit provided for one deſert [w]. f

Grain. THE grain moſt common in *Perſia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean,
as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in ſome places, as in
Courdeſtan, when their wheat-bread is exhauſted before the return of harveſt. They
do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the *Armenians* are ſet-
tled, who make great uſe of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the univerſal aliment of all ſorts
of people in *Perſia*, for this reaſon they are extremely careful in its cultivation, for af-
ter they have ſown it in the ſame manner with other grain, they in three months time
tranſplant

[u] TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 418. CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 12. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 209.
[w] CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 23. TAVERN. ubi ſupr. CARRERI, ubi ſupr.

a transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, *viz.* by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt [x].

There are in *Persia* all the sorts of flowers which are to be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost; which is the reason that in b *India* they have fewer than in *Persia*, and that those in *Persia* have more vivid and delightful colours than those either in *India* or in *Europe*. *Hyrcania* in this respect excels the rest of *Persia*, as much as *Persia* does other countries; there are there whole forests of oranges, the jessamin single and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profusely scattered by nature. The most eastern part of this country, which is called *Mazenderan*, is a perfect parterre; from *September* to the end of *April* the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their best season, the excessive heat and the malignity of the air destroying them in succeeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the northern frontiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculusses, of the c brightest red, all springing of themselves in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* jonquils grow wild and subsist all the winter. To recite all that is said on this subject, by such as have travelled through *Persia*, would not be agreeable to the design of this work; let us content ourselves therefore with adding, that roses of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the bushes bearing often three different coloured roses on one branch, *viz.* yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Persians* are wont to make use of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumstance contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no skill, and that the nobility of *Persia* are so far from being curious in such things, that they d take no pleasure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themselves with singling out some spot or other on their first coming in, where they sit down, and smoak, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there (Q) [y].

Flowers.

Metals or minerals.

Metals of all sorts are frequently found in *Persia*, especially of late years; and since the reign of *Abas the Great*, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines where-ever they were discovered; iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver there are no mines open at present. As *Persia* is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and saltpetre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some e part or other of the *Persian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhawn*, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Persia* to signify an unlucky undertaking, *that it is like the Mine of* Kervan, *where they lay out* ten *to receive* nine. There were also silver mines in *Kirman* and *Mazenderan*, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrcania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia*, and in *Bactria*, but it is not so pliable as some *European* iron. The mines of steel are the most valuable of any in this country, and produce in such abundance, that

[x] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 101. [y] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 26. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 3. Le Brun, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is scarce a province in *Persia* which does not produce wine, yet the wine of some provinces is much more esteemed than the wine of others; but *Schiras* wine is universally allowed to be the very best in *Persia*, insomuch, that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one must eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Schiras*. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of the wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* iv. *c.* 2. *p.* 420.

that Sir *John Chardin* tells us, it is not worth above sixpence a pound; this steel is so a
full of sulphur, that if you take of the filings thereof and cast them into the fire they make a report as loud as gunpowder; it is so fine and close, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glass, and as the *Persian* artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It is to be observed, that this steel is quite a different metal from iron, which appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and destroyed; the *Persians* call both this and the steel of the *Indies steel of Damascus*, in order to distinguish it from *European* steel. Copper is found in greatest quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Mazenderan*; there are also mines of it in *Bactriana*, and towards *Casbin*; it is, however, poor and not fit for use, till mingled with either b
Swedish copper or copper of *Japan*; the lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yezde*. Minerals are also found in *Persia* in vast abundance, sulphur and salt-petre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which separates *Hyrcania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the least assistance of art, as are also sulphur and allom; there are two sorts of salt in *Persia*, that found on the earth and rock salt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, sometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with salt, and others covered in like manner with sulphur or allom; in *Media* and at *Spauhawn* the salt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as free-stone, nay in *Carmania the desart* the people actually use it as such in building their houses. Marble, free-stone, and slate, are found in great plenty about c
Hamadan; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red and black, and white; the best is found about *Tauris*, it is transparent as crystal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have questioned whether it be really a stone or not; in the neighbourhood of the same city they find azure, but it is not so good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrcania*, and especially in *Mazenderan*, the *Petrolium* or *Naphthe* is met with, of two sorts, black and white, but the richest mine in *Persia* is the *Turquoise*; there are two sorts of this precious stone, one at *Nichapour* in *Corassan*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caspian* sea; this mountain derives its name from an ancient king of *Persia*, who subdued this country, and in whose time d
the mine was found; nay the very stones carry his name also, for though we call them *Turquoises*, because they come from the true and proper *Turkey*, yet throughout the east they are stiled *Firouze*. They have of late years discovered another mine of the same sort of stones, but they are by no means so valuable, but are distinguished amongst us by the name of *Turquoises* of the new rock, to difference them from those taken out of the ancient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after selecting the most beautiful, sells the rest to merchants, the reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines is, because they are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out [z]. e

Beasts tame and wild.

The horses of *Persia* are the most beautiful in the east, though they are not so much esteemed as those of *Arabia*; they are higher than our saddle horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the mogul on one side, and of the grand-seignor on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in *Persia*, heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are, the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the most docile and useful creature of f
its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on these *Arabian* asses, and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good ass being worth at *Spauhawn* twenty-five pistoles. Camels are numerous in *Persia*, and so much in esteem that they are called *Kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. *the ships of the earth*, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here would be improper,

[z] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 28. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2 p. 221. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 212.

a proper, since they are rather more employed by the *Arabians* than by the *Persians*; let us content ourselves therefore with observing, that the *Persians* make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called *Revatrie, i. e. the goer*, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according as they keep a quicker, or slower, time, the camel moves briskier, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Persia*, their oxen are generally employed in ploughing and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in *Persia*, if we except a province
b or two on the borders of the *Caspian* sea; sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia*, and as to the former, Sir *John Chardin* assures us, that he has seen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of pasturage. As to beasts of chace they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*, because it is generally speaking devoid of wood; but in *Hyrcania* where there are woods, deer of all sorts and gazells are found in great abundance; the gazell is a creature common throughout the east, and so many of them have been brought into *Europe* that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before assigned with respect to beasts of chace, except in *Hyrcania*, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions,
c bears, tygers, leopards, *&c.* so that the ancients spoke very truly of *Hyrcania*, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all *Persia* are there any wolves; but the chakal or jakal, a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the *Hyæna*, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to insects, the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them; there are, however, in some provinces prodigious numbers of locusts or grass-hoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the *Persian* dominions they have large black scorpions, so venemous, that such as are stung by them die in
d a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog; they are said to attack and kill men sometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants *Hazar-pey*, *i. e. thousand feet*, its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and smaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ears[a].

Birds. THERE are in *Persia* all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing
e but their grease. There are, however, vast numbers of pidgeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pidgeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pidgeon-houses; they are most of them six times as large as any we have in *Europe*, they are built of brick and plaistered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most covenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spaubawn* they reckon more than three thousand of these pidgeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three-pence the dozen pound. The *Persians* call this manure *Tchalgous, i. e. enlivening*; it is a great diversion among the lower sort
f of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose they have pigeons so taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called *keftor-perron*, or *pidgeon-stealers*, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body's pigeons they can find. The patridge of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts

[a] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 32. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 423. CARERI, tom. ii. p. 215.

ſorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the ſouthern provinces; the ſinging-birds here are of the ſame kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the ſpring; martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the ſame ſize, called by them *Noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleaſantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger ſize, the moſt conſiderable is the *Pelican*, called by *Perſians Tacab*, i. e. *water-carrier*, and alſo *Miſc*, i. e. *ſheep*, becauſe it is as large as one of thoſe animals, its feathers white and ſoft like thoſe of a gooſe, its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a ſack or pouch, in which it preſerves a quantity of water for moiſtening its food; it uſually reſts this long beak on its back, which would otherwiſe incommode it very much. The *Pelican* lives chiefly upon fiſh, in taking of which it ſhews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in ſuch a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net; when it opens its throat, the paſſage is large enough for a lamb; it is called *the water-carrier*, becauſe in *Arabia* and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its neſt at a great diſtance from ſtreams or wells, foreſeeing, that there will be leſs danger of diſturbance in ſuch places, though this ſituation obliges the bird to fly ſometimes two days journey for a ſupply of water for her young, which ſhe brings in the ſack beforementioned; and hence the fables of the ancients of the pelican's tearing her breaſt open to feed her young. There are in *Perſia* various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are ſome of the largeſt and fineſt in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of theſe birds, each of which has a perſon to attend it. The *Perſian* lords are likewiſe great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practice it much; for neither this, nor ſhooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meaneſt man in *Perſia* [b].

Fiſh. We ſhall divide the fiſhes of *Perſia* into freſh and ſalt water fiſh; as to the firſt, they are not very plenty, becauſe there are no great rivers in *Perſia*; however, there are of theſe three kinds, thoſe of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the keriſes or ſubterraneous paſſages; thoſe in the lakes are carps and ſhades; the river fiſh is chiefly barble, which is alſo the ſort of fiſh commonly met with in the ſubterraneous channels; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the ſun, but living altogether in theſe foul and cold ſtreams. There are in the river at *Spauhawn* a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are eſteemed a very delicious food. As to ſea-fiſh, no country is better ſerved; the *Caſpian* ſea, as we have ſeen before, contains very fine fiſh on one ſide, and the *Perſian* gulph on the other is believed to have more fiſh in it than any other ſea in the world; they fiſh there twice a day, morning and evening, and ſuch fiſh as are not ſold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before ſun-ſet, are thrown back into the ſea. There are taken on the coaſts of this gulph a ſort of fiſh, for which they have no particular name, its fleſh is of a red colour, very delicious, and ſome of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its fleſh will take ſalt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, becauſe the ſalt in this country is very corroſive; for which reaſon, whenever they intend to keep either fiſh or fleſh, the inhabitants content themſelves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of ſmoke [c].

Natural rarities. As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Perſia*, we are next to ſpeak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of theſe the firſt we are to take notice of is a certain poiſonous ſhrub or plant, called by the *Arabians Chark*, by the *Perſians Gulbad-Samour*, i. e. *the wind-poiſoning flower*; it flowers like the thiſtle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the conſiſtence of cream, ſharp and ſour to the taſte; it is affirmed, that where-ever the wind blows over a member of theſe plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania the deſart*, it thence contracts a poiſonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that reſpires it [d]. There is likewiſe another ſhrub in the ſame country, *viz.* *Carmania the deſart*, ſingularly noxious, it is called *Kerzehre*, i. e. *aſſes poiſon*, becauſe

[b] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 214.
[c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 424. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 210.
[d] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 13.

a cauſe thoſe creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that waſhes its roots is likewiſe held to be poiſonous, the trunk of this ſhrub is as large as one's leg, and it ſometimes grows to the height of ſix feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round with a riſing ground in the middle; it bears a ſort of flower exactly reſembling the roſe, of a kind of fleſh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhododendron*, the *Arabians* as well as the *Perſians* call it the gall or poiſon of an aſs. Some are of opinion, that it is the Nerium of our herbaliſts, and the ſame plant that is called in *French Roſage* [c]. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulph, afford the bezoar, ſo much eſteemed in medicine, but the very beſt is taken out of theſe creatures, in the province of *Coraſſan* or *Bactria*, and b is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golchonda* and the reſt of the *Indies*. The natural iſts in *Perſia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more ſalutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in its proves. *Coraſſan* and the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulph are allowed to produce the dryeſt herbage in the world. It is no fable, what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of ſuch balls, lumps, or ſtones as it grows in, a little ſprig of bramble or other buſh, round which by a continual acceſſion of matter the ball of bezoar is formed; this ſtone is here found in ſheep as well as in goats, but it is not ſo in the *Indies*. Its very name is of ori- c ental extract, and ſhould be wrote *Pe-zaor*, i. e. *poiſon killing*, for the eaſtern people held it heretofore to be one of the ſtrongeſt counter-poiſons; quacks, however, were, thoſe who commended it moſt, and its virtues were rather taken upon truſt, than ſupported by experience: the number of the credulous, however, being great, raiſed its price very high: but of late years it is much ſunk in its reputation, as well in the eaſt as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a ſudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that claſs. The manner of giving it in *Perſia* is thus, they either ſcrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a doſe into a ſpoonful of roſe-water. While it was dear, it was often counter- feited, and the materials made uſe of to this end were, generally ſpeaking, reſin d and *Spaniſh* wax. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the poliſh which bezoar ſtones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outſide is of a rough greeniſh hue, juſt as the ſtone appears within [f]. The *Abmelec*, *i. e. water of locuſt*, or *graſhoppers*, is a bird which deſerves to be deſcribed bet- ter perhaps than moſt others of which travellers have given us an account, be- cauſe the facts relating to it are not only ſtrange in themſelves, but are alſo ſo well and ſo diſtinctly atteſted, that, however ſurprizing they may ſeem, we can- not but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locuſt, or graſs- hopper. It is of the ſize of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its fleſh of a greyiſh colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the ſtarlings are c wont to do with us; but the thing which renders theſe birds wonderful is, that they are ſo fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Coraſſan*, or *Bactria*, that where- ever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preſerved; for where-ever the locuſts fall, the *Armenian* prieſts, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and placed it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of theſe birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locuſt [g], (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, *i. e. Mahmoud the deaf*, is a noble

[c] Chardin, ubi ſupra. [f] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 19. [g] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 40. Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us in his deſcrip- tion of *Perſia* the following paſſage from an anci- ent traveller in relation to this bird. "In *Cyprus*, "about the time that the corn was ripe for the "ſickle, the earth produced ſuch a quantity of ca- "valettes or locuſts, that they obſcured ſometimes "the ſplendor of the ſun. Where-ever theſe came "they burnt and eat up all; for this there was no "remedy, ſince as faſt as they were deſtroyed the "earth produced more; God, however, raiſed them "up a means for their deliverance, which happen- "ed thus. In *Perſia*, near the city of *Cuerch*, "there is a fountain of water, which has a won- "derful property of deſtroying theſe inſects; for a "pitcher full of this, being carried in the open air, "without paſſing through houſe or vault, and be- "ing ſet on a high place, certain birds which fol- "low it, and fly and cry after the men who carry "it from the fountain, come to the place where "it is fixed; theſe birds are red and black, and fly "in great flocks together like ſtarlings, the *Turks* "and *Perſians* call them *Muſulmans*. Theſe birds "no ſooner came to *Cyprus*, but they deſtroyed the "locuſts

a noble natural rarity. At some distance from *Spauhawn* there is a range of rocks, a
plain and equal for a considerable space, except that here and there they have
openings, like the embrasures in bastions, through which the winds pass with
surprizing velocity; through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble
bason, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one a-
scends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it,
like a sleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of un-
fathomable depth, and when stones are thrown into it, they make a most amazing
noise, whence this river derives its name. After its descent from the bason before
mentioned, it rouls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river *Zenderoud*; b
some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from
the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, distills through
the chinks of the rocks into the vast lake before mentioned; and this they think is
in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is, how-
ever, lost after it joins the *Zenderoud* [h]. Under a certain mountain called *Tagte-*
Rustan, so called from the ruins of a building on the summit thereof, supposed to
have been erected by the giant *Rustan*, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place
among the natural rarities of *Persia*; from the top of this grotto there distills thro'
the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which, falling into proper
receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the c
plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians*
assemble to celebrate a feast in honour of a hermit or saint of theirs, who lived
long here, and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of peoples garments, who
have come hither to be cured of their diseases, and have found relief. Not far from
hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and
shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other
publick buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if
the description of *Persia* did not already begin to swell under our hands; though
we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing,
which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let d
us now pass to the artificial rarities visible in *Persia*.

To begin then with the ancient *Persepolis*, the ruins of which still testify the
truth of what some ancient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its prosperity
it was one of the most august cities in the world; nay, when we consider all things,
when we compare the description of travellers one with another; when we consider
what is recorded of other cities, and what is still to be seen of those that were most
famed; we shall be induced to confess, that the *Persian* empire in all its grandeur
could boast of nothing more glorious, nor hath left any thing more astonishing to
posterity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a
full account of these noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reason- e
able this chapter should go. We are writing a geographical description of *Persia*;
we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a distinct idea of this country, or
which may enable him to understand thoroughly that history which is to follow;
but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical description and this
history are but sections of a far greater work, and therefore we must have a care
that it be of a piece, and not resemble a statue, with the body and arms of a man,
and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reason we think ourselves
obliged to contract the many diffusive accounts, which we have read of the ruins
of *Persepolis*, within reasonable compass, giving the reader such an account as may f
enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the same
time how useful fine daughts and exact relations of them may be, towards settling
many points of ancient history, and giving us just notions of the spirit and genius
of that nation, whose capital this was. In doing this we shall not involve ourselves
in

[h] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 2.

" locusts with which the island was infested; but
" if the water be spilt or lost these creatures im-
" mediately disappear, which accident fell out when
" the *Turks* took this island, for one of them go-
" ing up into the steeple of *Famagusta*, and finding

[i] Le Brun, tom. i. p. 246.

" there a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it
" contained gold or silver, or some precious thing,
" broke it, and spilt what was therein, since which
" the *Cypriois* have been as much tormented as ever
" by the locusts" (77).

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont. p.* 97. *ap. Chardin. tom.* iii. *p.* 40.

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in the diſputes of travellers, or attempt to decide whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticiſms, or rather invectives, againſt Sir *John Chardin*, our buſineſs is to give a ſuccinct proſpect of what has been ſaid of *Perſepolis*, by authors antient and modern, and therefore to this let us come without farther preface (S).

THE

(S) In order to give the reader ſome idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we ſhall here give him a conciſe account of ſuch authors as have written on this ſubject, and whoſe deſcriptions we have peruſed. The firſt is Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himſelf ſaw at *Perſepolis*, but of what has been ſaid by antient authors on that head. He has given us alſo a ſpecimen of the characters which are to be ſeen in the tables belonging to theſe ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*. He has likewiſe inſerted his conjectures concerning theſe antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we ſhall be obliged to mention moſt of theſe from M. *Le Brun*, it would be unneceſſary to trouble the reader with them here, we ſhall therefore add only to what we have already ſaid concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of theſe ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be ſaid to bear any reſemblance to the accurate deſcriptions of *Chardin* and *LeBrun* (79). Prior in point of time to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other reſpect, is the conciſe deſcription of theſe remains of antiquity given by our countryman Mr. *Geofry Ducket*, who in 1568 paſſed this way. The main of what he ſays may be reduced to this, that *Perſepolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deſerves any credit, or whether it was the ſlip of an inadvertent author, as well as heedleſs obſerver, we preſume not to determine (80). *John Albert de Mandelſloe*, who obſerved theſe ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better deſcription of them than moſt of the writers who went before him, and as there is ſomething very plain and inſtructive in what he has left us on this ſubject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has ſaid with what we have recorded in the text. "The "foundation or ground-work, on which this vaſt "ſtructure was erected, is raiſed 22 geometrical "feet, having at each of its four corners a pair of "ſtairs of white marble of 95 ſteps, ſo flat and "broad that twelve horſes may go up conveniently "together abreaſt. Before you come to the "main body of the ſtructure itſelf you paſs through "a ſquare, where you ſee the ruins of a wall and "the remainders of two great gates, each of which "have a horſe harneſſed and ſaddled after a very "antick manner, carved on one ſide, and on the "other two creatures reſembling a horſe, except "that they have wings on each ſide, and the head "is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the "one ſide you ſee the ruins of 19 pillars of white "and black marble, the leaſt of which are 8, and "ſome 10. ells high without the baſes, but whe"ther they had been intended for the ſupport of "ſome large hall, or were built purely in the air "is not to be diſtinguiſhed at this time". The ſame author, ſpeaking of ſome unintelligible characters engraven on a ſquare pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them ſo well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the leaſt mark of barbarity, but ſeem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudeneſs of the inhabitants, who, without the leaſt regard to ſo noble and ſo antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other ſtone, for the quicker diſpatch of common and private buildings; he alſo deplores the want of perfect draughts of theſe wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of *Perſia* (81). Sir *John Chardin* in the year 1674, took a view of theſe ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inſerted in the ſecond volume of his travels; it is true, M. *Le Brun*, who ſtayed there a much longer time than he, and who had conſequently a better opportunity of ſtudying and deſcribing what he ſaw than this gentleman had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his deſcription; but whoever reads, with calmneſs and candour, what Sir *John Chardin*, with great perſpicuity and without the leaſt affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact ſoever the deſcriptions of M. *Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and ſerve to communicate to us a multitude of uſeful particulars which are no where elſe recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter under the title of a deſcription of the palace of *Darius*, and the ruins of the antient *Perſepolis*; it is conciſe as all his deſcriptions are, and the obſervations he makes are ſhort and weighty, according to the cuſtom of *Italian* authors. He has illuſtrated his narration with a few prints, which ſerve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonſtrate the conformity there is between the ſeveral accounts of theſe ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. *Le Brun*, who arrogates to himſelf a great ſuperiority over all the writers on this ſubject, ſpent a long time in ſurveying, meaſuring, and drawing views of theſe fragments of antiquity, he has taken upwards of thirty folio pages in deſcribing what he ſaw, and remarking on the intentions of thoſe who deſigned the ſeveral figures, of which he has given us copies, which are certainly very uſeful, as well as very beautiful, ornaments to his book. Beſides, he has written a long diſſertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Perſepolis* are farther explained (84). From theſe materials a very copious deſcription and very curious obſervations might have been thrown together, eſpecially when we conſider, that, beſides travellers, ſeveral other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this ſubject, ſuch as the moſt judicious doctor *Hyde* in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning ſome of the enigmatical figures repreſented on the walls and pillars of theſe antient buildings (85); but it is our buſineſs to hint only where the curious and inquiſitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to theſe monuments of the *Perſian* glory, our deſcription being no more than the outlines of a regular diſſertation on this head, for which what has been ſaid above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, ſerve for a ſufficient apology.

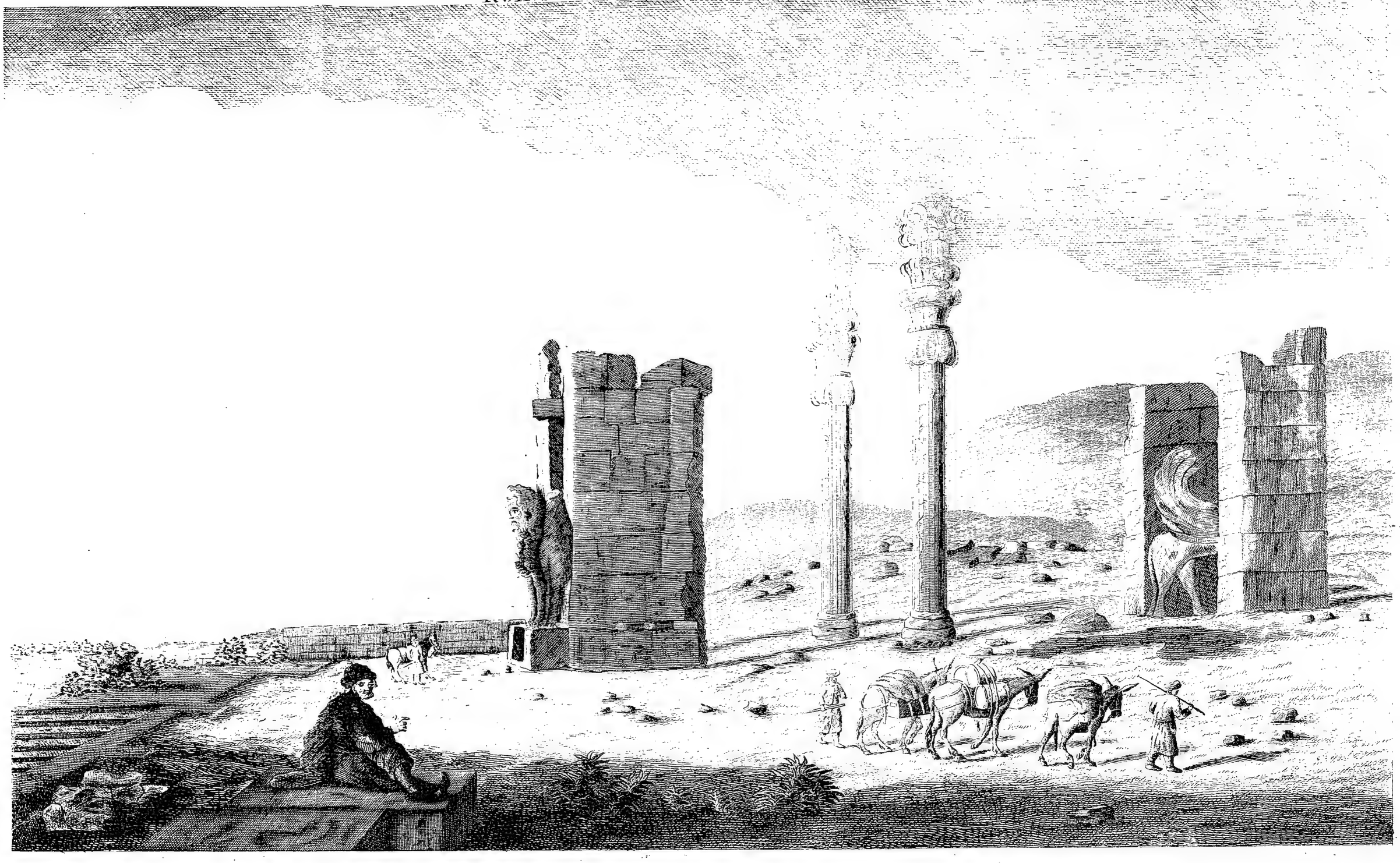
(79) *Sir Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I. p.* 429. (80) *Account of Mr. Geofry Ducket's Travels in Harris's collect. Vol I. p.* 526. (81) *J. A. Mandelſloe's travels in Harris's collect. Vol. I.* (82) *Chardin voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 140—197. (83) *Carreri voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 246. (84) *Le Brun. voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 285. (85) *Hyde. hiſt. relig. vet. perſ. p.* 344.

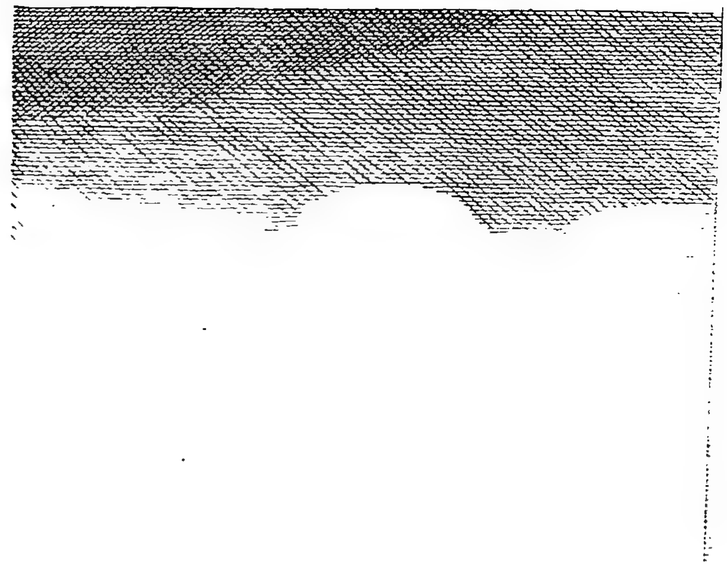
The plain in which this famous city ſtood is one of the fineſt in *Perſia*, and indeed in all the eaſt; its length is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in ſome places two, in others four, and in ſome places ſix; it is watered by the great river *Araxes* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets beſides. Within the compaſs of this plain, there are between a thouſand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning thoſe in the mountains, all adorned with pleaſant gardens, and planted with ſhady trees. The entrance of this plain on the weſt ſide has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from induſtry or art. It conſiſts of a range of mountains ſteep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a riſing terrace in the middle, the ſummit of which is perfectly plain, and even all of native rock. In this there are ſuch openings, and the terraces are ſo fine, and ſo even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent and prodigious elation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly theſe banks were the very places where the advanced guards from *Perſepolis* took poſt, and from which *Alexander* found it ſo difficult to diſlodge them. One cannot from hence deſcry the ruins of the city, becauſe the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every ſide the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are ſpeaking. On the weſt and on the north this city is defended in like manner, ſo that, conſidering the height and evenneſs of theſe banks, one may ſafely ſay, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place ſo fortified by nature [k]. The antient palace of the kings of *Perſia*, called by the inhabitants *Chil-minar*, i. e. *forty columns*, is ſituated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this ſuperb building are ſtill ſtanding on their ſides, and it has the mountain on the eaſt. The front is in extent ſix hundred paces from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt, quite to the rock, without any ſtair-caſe on that ſide; till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged ſtones, it is eaſy to get to the loweſt part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet ſeven inches in height, and in ſome places not ſo high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in ſome places; but in moſt thirty quite to the mountain, where there is ſtill a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds alſo before the weſt ſide ſeveral rocks, which riſe towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It ſeems, as if there had been a ſtair-caſe antiently on this ſide, and ſome buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very ſmooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a platform of 400 paces, which extends itſelf in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three ſides, runs a pavement of two ſtones joined together, which fill up a ſpace eight foot broad; part of theſe ſtones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and ſix in breadth, but the reſt are ſmaller. The principal ſtair-caſe is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the ſouth, being ſix hundred paces diſtant from this, and only a hundred and ſixty-five from that; this ſtair-caſe is compoſed of two flights of ſtairs, forty-two feet aſunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the ſteps, which are as long as the ſtair-caſe is deep, within five inches; each of theſe ſteps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, ſo that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty-five on the north ſide, and fifty-three on the ſouth, but the latter are not ſo whole as the former. Aſcending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty-one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the ſtair-caſe; the ſtones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary ſize. The two flights of the ſtair-caſe are ſeparated by the wall of the front, but in ſuch a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and ſuits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

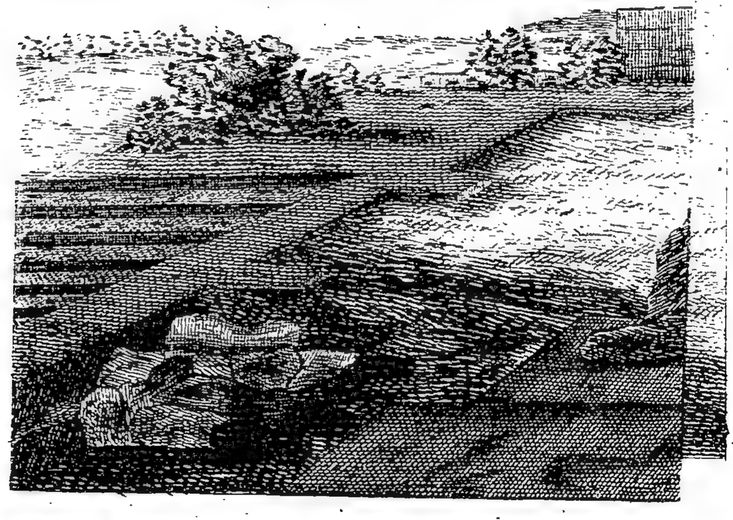
The upper part of this ſtair-caſe conſiſts of 48 ſteps on one ſide and on the other, ſome of which are damaged, notwithſtanding they are cut in the rock. At the top

[k] Chardin. tom. ii. p. 141. Le Brun. tom. ii. p. 261.

Ruins of two of the Portico's







a top of theſe there is another landing-place, between the flights of ſtairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great ſtones, ſome 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad [1] (T).

To ſpeak now of what is to be ſeen when one is amongſt theſe ruins. The firſt thing that ſalutes the eye in a ſtrait line, 42 feet diſtant from the front before deſcribed, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the firſt is much damaged by time, and the ſecond is ſunk five feet lower than the former, theſe porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One ſees in the front of each pilaſter a large figure cut in baſs-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind-feet, and 14 feet and a half high. The heads of theſe ani-
b mals are entirely deſtroyed, their breaſt and feet project from the pilaſter, and their bodies are very much damaged. Thoſe of the firſt portico front towards the ſtair-caſe, and thoſe of the ſecond which have wings on their bodies towards the moun-tains. One ſees above the pilaſters certain characters, but they are ſo ſmall and ſo high that one can make nothing of them. The firſt portico is ſtill 39 feet high, and the ſecond 28. The baſes of the pilaſters are five feet two inches high. The ani-mals are not carved out of one ſtone, but out of three joined together for that pur-poſe. In the preſent condition it is not eaſy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find ſome account in the authors cited at the bottom of the page, and will judge for himſelf which is the moſt probable of thoſe taken notice of there.

c THE two columns which ſtand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their baſes they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the firſt portico, and 56 from the ſecond, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between theſe and the laſt portico, of which there are ſtill ſome remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the laſt mentioned portico ſouthward, there is a large ciſtern cut out of a whole ſtone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence
d to the wall there is a ſpace of about 130 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of ſtone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfluted,

[1] LE BRUN, ubi ſupr. CHARDIN, ubi ſupr.

(T) In the deſcription in our text we have adhered pretty cloſely to M. *Le Brun*, and that for many reaſons; firſt, becauſe his profeſſion, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of deſcribing minutely, and of deſigning exactly, all the wonders af *Perſepolis*, than any former traveller, whom either buſineſs or curioſity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himſelf to conſider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, theſe relics of *Perſian* architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our laſt note, but Monſ. *Chardin*'s curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on that head. Fourthly, there is ſuch an agreement, in material points at leaſt, between his accounts and thoſe of *Chardin*, notwithſtanding his affecting on all occaſions to quarrel with that gentleman's ſentiments, that we did not think it at all neceſſary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a diſpute of no great importance in itſelf, and which, though proſecuted with warmth, ſeems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the fame of theſe ruins has, for the two or three laſt centuries, been ſo great, and the deſires of the *Virtuoſi* to ſee exact plans of them ſo ſtrong, that ſome have ventured to publiſh the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chelminar*. Such was the view of *Perſepolis* ſent into the world by *Sebaſtian Serlio* an *Italian* architect, in his account of noble buildings ancient and modern, ſince therein are found juſt forty columns adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happineſs to ſee. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongſt a multitude of other ſtrange things and temerarious aſſertions, we have a wild deſcription of theſe ruins, and a wilder plan, ſaid in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by gueſs; ſince it is not only quite different from the plans publiſhed by others, but contains alſo ſuch palpable miſtakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witneſs of theſe noble works, eſpecially one who looked on them with a deſign of deſcribing them to the reſt of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that where-ever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them muſt be miſtaken. M. *Le Brun* and Sir *John Chardin* vary very little in what they ſay, relating to the pillars yet ſtanding at *Perſepolis*; but there is a conſiderable difference on this head between what they ſay and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figueroa*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*, all of whom teſtify nearly to the ſame point. Time and the barbarity of the modern *Perſians*, who make very little account of theſe ruins, have made conſiderable alterations ſince they were firſt deſcribed; and it is very probable, that whoever ſees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly anſwerable to what is ſaid of them by M. *Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 152.

unfluted, and therein differs from all the reſt; it is about two feet in compaſs, and a
12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken ſtones.

Turning from theſe porticoes to the ſouth, one ſees at the diſtance of 172 feet another ſtair-caſe, conſiſting of two flights of ſteps in the ſame manner as the former, one fronting towards the eaſt, the other towards the weſt. The wall is ſtill about ſix feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almoſt entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the eaſt flight of ſtairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermoſt of them, that they were adorned with figures in baſs-relief. On the top of the ſtair-caſe are ſtill ſome foliages viſible, with figures in baſs-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. The ſtair-caſe is half buried in earth, and one ſees certain ſmall b
figures on the wall, on both ſides. The weſt flight conſiſts of 28 ſteps; the other, having ſuffered more by the acceſſion of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of theſe towards the top broken, and two or three entirely deſtroyed, tho' cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the ſtair-caſe, there is another front, whereon there are three rows of ſmall figures, one above another; of the firſt row there is nothing now to be ſeen but the parts below the girdle, the reſt being deſtroyed by time; the ſecond row, which is the beſt preſerved, has notwithſtanding received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. Theſe figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which c
there is ſtill five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the firſt ſtep to its left corner, where there is another ſtair-caſe, the ſteps of which are exactly of the ſame ſize with thoſe before deſcribed. From what remains of the inner wall it appears, that it alſo was covered with ſmall figures. At the end of the ſtair-caſe there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner turns a little to the ſouth, and goes no farther, becauſe the earth is there at the ſame height; returning to the weſt flight of ſteps of the ſtair-caſe before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, with an interval of 67 feet to the weſt front. This ſide like the former is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an aſs, with a horn in its forehead; d
between theſe animals and the figures there is a ſquare ſpace filled with characters, of which the higheſt are quite effaced; the figures on this ſide are fairer than on the other, the ground being leſs elevated; there are 25 ſteps here. The wall from the ſtair-caſe weſtward extends quite to the front; but beyond the ſtair-caſe is unadorned with figures.

At the ſtep of the ſtair-caſe, between the two flights of ſtairs, there is an open place, paved with very large ſtones between the ſtair-caſe and the firſt columns, which are 22 feet and two inches diſtant; they ſtand in two rows, each conſiſting of ſix columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight baſes, and ſome broken pieces of the reſt. There are ſix rows of columns 70 feet eight inches diſtant from e
theſe, each row conſiſting of ſix columns. Theſe thirty-ſix columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other, as the former are. There are ſtill ſeven of theſe intire, with the baſes of all the reſt, but much broken and defaced. Of thoſe which are left, there is one of the firſt row, one of the ſecond, two of the third, and one of each of the reſt. One finds, between theſe columns and thoſe before mentioned, ſeveral large ſtones, heretofore part of ſome ſubterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches weſt from theſe columns, towards the front of the ſtair-caſe, there were 12 columns more diſpoſed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The baſes of ſeven more are viſible, and the ground is covered with ruins of thoſe which are decayed. One can diſcover, however, among the fragments of thoſe ornaments, f
which lie half interred, that each of theſe columns was ſurmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the ſouth of theſe columns ſtands the edifice moſt elevated of any in theſe ruins, but it is neceſſary for us to obſerve, that on the eaſt there are ſtill diſcernible two rows of columns, conſiſting of ſix each, of which the baſes of four or five remain ſtill above the earth, and in all appearance theſe were oppoſed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing ſtill towards the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, conſiſting of porticoes, paſſages, and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and theſe ruins take up a great ſpace; but to return to the edifice ſpoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns, and the wall of its front is yet five feet ſeven inches high, compoſed

of

a - of one row of ſtones only, ſome of which are eight feet broad, extending from eaſt to weſt 113 feet. There is before the edifice certain ſtone foundations ſtill viſible, but what end they ſerved cannot be gueſſed, ſince there is no ſtair-caſe on this ſide. This wall is adorned with no ſort of ornament as the reſt are; there are, however, two ſtair-caſes, one on the north, the other on the ſouth-ſide, but almoſt entirely ruined; on the landing-place, however, we ſtill diſcover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the reſt of the building, which conſiſts of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly ſquare. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the ſouth a portico and four windows
b open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the weſt, with two openings; and a third to the eaſt, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of theſe openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the eaſt. One ſees under the two porticoes on the north, on each ſide, the figure of a man, and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of thoſe on the weſt ſide, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left hand, and ſtrikes a poignard into the belly of the beaſt with his right; on the other ſide the figures are the ſame, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and ſtabs the beaſt with his left. In the ſecond portico there is the figure of a man
c holding a beaſt, reſembling either a deer or a lion, by ſuch a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon his back. Under the portico to the north, the ſame figures are viſible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; theſe figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both ſides of the portico towards the ſouth, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head reſembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has ſome enſign of authority in her hand. Above theſe figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilaſters of the firſt portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of ſtairs laſt mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands,
d the other only in his left; one of theſe only is entire. Behind this edifice one finds another of much the ſame kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two ſtones ſtanding up, one on the right hand, the other on the left: Of theſe, that towards the eaſt is broken, the other towards the weſt is ſtill 28 feet high. There is on the top of this ſtone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which ſeems to have been cut after the reſt. The like inſcriptions are ſeen in the niches or windows before-mentioned, each tablet conſiſting of one ſtone only. To the ſouth there are two flights of ſtairs, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; but of theſe only five ſteps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which ſeparates them,
e there are ſtill viſible ſome ſmall figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground: a hundred feet from thence to the ſouth, the laſt ruins are found of theſe edifices, conſiſting chiefly of porticoes and encloſed ſpaces of ground, and between theſe two heaps of ruins another ſtair-caſe, of which only ſeven ſteps are remaining, which ſerve, however, to ſhew that anciently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the eaſt-ſide of this ſtair-caſe there are certain ſubterraneous paſſages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treaſures are hid. *M. Le Brun* entered them, as ſeveral travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any diſcoveries, the paſſages being ſo narrow, and ſo dark, and moiſt, that it was impoſſible to go far. However, even theſe experiments are ſufficient to ſhew,
f that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, ſince from the ſtructure of theſe vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or ſome ſuch like purpoſe, than to be made the repoſitories of royal treaſures [m].

THERE would be no difficulty in following *M. Le Brun*'s deſcription much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures ſpoken of before; but for the reaſons already given we ſhall ſtop here, that we may have room to ſay ſomewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning theſe remains of the magnificence of ancient times. The proceſſions delineated on the walls, the vaſes in the hands of many of the figures, the ſeveral tablets of unknown

[m] LE BRUN, Vol. ii. p. 268.

unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations, which are still a
seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this ancient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in *Persia*. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are what remain of the ancient palace of *Persepolis*, which they think strongly confirm'd by the description left us by ancient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion say, that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the *Persian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents; as to the inscriptions they are, generally speaking, illegible, by the *Persees* or ancient *Persians* themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace b
as to a temple, and, it may be, were some of the spoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyses*'s army, led by *Smerdis* the *Magian*. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old *Median* and *Persian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of latter times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finished by *Xerxes*, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, *&c.* it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, of the course c
of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this, and of the reasons which incline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the ancient *Persians*. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confused, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This may, however, in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be; there is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative style of these eastern nations, and that in use amongst us; but as we shall elsewhere shew, even in respect to these ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eastern d
writers, as from the artful memoirs of some of our western historians (V).

At

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as short a compass as possible, what ancient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Persepolis*; to begin then with what is said by *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* on this subject. He relates, that, after passing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, most of them old men, some having their hands, others their feet, some their ears, and some their noses, cut off, which had been done by the *Persians* of that district; which so incensed him, especially against the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that he called, says our author, the *Macedonians* together and told them, "That *Persepolis*, the metropolis of "*Persia*, of all the cities of *Asia*, had done most "mischief to the *Grecians*, and therefore he gave it "up to the plunder and spoil of the soldiers, except "the king's palace. This was the richest city of "any under the sun, and for many ages all the "private houses were full of all sorts of wealth, "and whatever was desirable. The *Macedonians* "therefore, forcing into the city, put all the men "to the sword, and rifled and carried away every "man's goods and estate, amongst which was abun-"dance of rich and costly furniture, and ornaments "of all sorts. In this place was hurried away "here and there vast quantities of silver, and no less "of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some "of purple, others embroidered with gold, all "which became a plentiful prey to the ravenous "soldiers. And thus the royal seat of the *Persians*, "once famous throughout the world, was now ex-"posed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top "to bottom. For, though every place was full of "rich spoil, yet the covetousness of the *Macedoni-*"*ans* was insatiably still thirsting after more. And "they were so eager in plundering, that they "fought one with another with drawn swords, "and many, who were conceived to have got a "greater share than the rest, were killed in the quar-"rel. Some things that were of extraordinary va-"lue they divided with their swords, and each took "a share; others in rage cut off the hands of such "as laid hold upon a thing that was in dispute. "They first ravished the women, as they were in "their jewels and rich attire, and then sold them "for slaves. So that by how much *Persepolis* ex-"celled all the other cities in glory and worldly fe-"licity, by so much more was the measure of their "misery and calamity. Then *Alexander* seized upon "all the treasures in the citadel, which was a vast "quantity of gold and silver of the public reve-"nues that had been heaping up, and deposited there "from the time of *Cyrus*, the first king of *Persia*, "to that day. For there was found an hundred "and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold "after the rate of silver. Part of this treasure he "took for the use of the war, and ordered ano-"ther part of it to be treasured up at *Susa*. To "this purpose, he ordered, that a multitude of mules, "both for draught and carriage, and three thousand "camels with pack-saddles should be brought out "of *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Susa*, and with these "he conveyed all the treasures to the several places "he had appointed. For, by reason of his great "hatred to the inhabitants, he was resolved not to "trust them with any thing, but utterly to ruin "and destroy *Persepolis*: Of whose palace in regard "of its stately structure, we conceive it will not "be impertinent if we say something. This stately "fabric or citadel was surrounded with a treble

"wall:

a At two leagues diſtance from theſe ruins, there is a famous mountain, ſeated between two of the fineſt plains in the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by ſeveral names; ſometimes they ſtyle it *Kabreſton-Gauron*, i. e. *the ſepulchres of the Gaurs*; ſometimes *Nachs Ruſtan*, *the pictures of Ruſtan*; and ſometimes *Takt-Ruſtan*, i. e. *the throne of Ruſtan*. This *Ruſtan*, as we have obſerved before, is the *Hercules* of the eaſt, or rather the *Amadis*, for the ſtories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantick. Our buſineſs, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better poliſh than marble; it is levelled by art, its ſides are perfectly perpendicular, ſo that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures repreſented in baſs-relief, with great ſkill and beauty.
b The firſt of theſe, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, repreſents a combat between two knights, mounted on horſeback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right-hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight ſeems to take hold with his right-hand; at the foot of each of their horſes lies a man groveling on the ground. All theſe figures, as well of horſes as of men, are gigantick; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we truſt tradition and the *Perſian* poets, it is thus to be underſtood; they ſay, that one of theſe cavaliers was *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Sal the white*, the ſon of *Sam*, the ſon of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the ſecond *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Tahmour* king of *Perſia*; theſe two princes are ſaid to be en-
c gaged in long and bloody wars, and at laſt to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand which the other laid hold of, it being previouſly agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, ſhould be eſteemed the conqueror, and ſhould be obeyed for the future by him who loſt it; they ſay too, that the king of *Perſia*, who is the perſon repreſented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquiſhed the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Beſides this ring and mace, theſe combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the ſides of their horſes, which it is to be ſuppoſed they let fly at each other in the ſame manner as peaſants ſometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another,
d wherein the men are repreſented as of a leſs ſtature than in that before deſcribed, *viz.* not above ſeven foot high; there is a perſon repreſented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked ſabre with both his hands; he is ſaid

" wall: the firſt was ſixteen cubits high, adorned " with many ſumptuous buildings, and lofty tur- " rets. The ſecond was like to the firſt, but as high " again. The third was drawn like a quadrant four " ſquare, ſixty cubits high, all of the hardeſt mar- " ble, and ſo cemented as to continue to the lateſt " time. On the four ſides are brazen gates, near " to which there are curtains or palliſades of the " ſame metal, twenty cubits high, theſe were raiſed " as well to ſtrike the beholder with terror, as the " ſtrengthening and ſecurity of the place. On the " eaſt ſide of the citadel, about four hundred feet " diſtant, ſtood a mount called the *royal mount*, for " here are all the ſepulchres of the kings, many " apartments and little cells being cut into the " midſt of the rock; into which cells there is made " no direct paſſage, but the coffins with the dead " bodies are by machines hoiſted up, and ſo let down " into theſe vaults. In this citadel were many ſtate- " ly lodgings, both for the king and his ſoldiers, of " excellent workmanſhip, and treaſury chambers " moſt commodiouſly contrived for the laying up " of money. Here *Alexander* made a ſumptuous " feaſt for the entertainment of his friends, in com- " memoration of his victory, and offered magnifi- " cent ſacrifices to the gods. At this feaſt were " entertained whores who proſtituted their bodies " for hire, where the cups went ſo high, and the " reins ſo let looſe to drunkenneſs and debauchery, " that many were both drunk and mad. Among " the reſt there was at that time a curteſan, called " *Thais*, an *Athenian*, that ſaid *Alexander* would per- " form the moſt glorious act of any that ever he " had done, if while he was feaſting with them he " would burn the palace, and ſo the glory and re- " nown of *Perſia* might be ſaid to be brought to " nothing in a moment by the hands of women. " This ſpreading abroad, and coming to the ears of " the young men, (who commonly make little uſe " of reaſon when drink is in their heads) preſently " one cries out, *Come on, bring us fire-brands*, and " ſo incites the reſt to fire the citadel, to revenge " that impiety the *Perſians* had committed in de- " ſtroying the temples of the *Grecians*. At this " others with joy ſet up a ſhout, but ſaid, that ſo " brave an exploit belonged only to *Alexander* to " perform. The king ſtirred up at theſe words em- " braced the motion, upon which as many as were " preſent left their cups and leaped from the table, " and ſaid, that they would now celebrate a victo- " rious feſtival to *Bacchus*. Hereupon multitudes of " firebrands were preſently got together, and all the " women that played upon muſical inſtruments, " which were at the feaſt, were called for, and then " the king with ſongs, pipes, and flutes, bravely led " the way to this noble expedition, contrived and " managed by this whore, *Thais*, who next after " the king, threw the firſt fire-brand into the pa- " lace. This precedent was preſently followed by " the reſt, ſo that, in very ſhort time, the whole " fabrick by the violence of the fire was conſumed " to aſhes (87)". We have tranſcribed this long paſſage to avoid a multitude of quotations, ſince ſeveral authors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made uſe of by him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of this tranſaction, little different from that which we have juſt

(87) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *c.* 7.

said to be the same king of the *Indies* beforementioned, because his bonnet and a
beard resemble those of the figure so called in the former piece; he turns his
head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the shoulders
downwards, perhaps to signify that they are prisoners; behind him, there are three
other men in the same position, who seem to be making signs to the five over-against
them. As to this representation it is impossible to say any thing with certainty,
since we are furnished with no lights by ancient writers, and the traditions of the
modern *Persians* on such subjects are little to be depended on; though to say the
truth, the common people in *Persia* are rather more modest than elsewhere, for
when they are asked about the meaning of these figures, they generally say, God
knows. Nay, their men of learning content themselves with affirming, that they b
relate to the ancient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into parti-
culars. At a hundred and twenty paces distance from this figure, one finds the first
tomb, but before one comes thither, one sees here and there on the mountains several
tablets, which seem to have been designed for such representations as have been
before described; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been
left unfinished. One sees before this first tomb the representation of a combat
between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little
as of that of the former. At sixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty
paces from thence another, and at the distance of a hundred paces a fourth, which
is the last. There are two inscriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in c
length, in the character made use of in the inscriptions at the palace of *Persepolis*.
There are many other curious representations carved on this mountain, some
perfectly whole and sound, others much defaced, either through the injuries of
time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themselves
much on destroying images. We shall not detain the reader any longer on so obscure
a subject, since our descriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the same
idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inserted in their travels by *Char-
din* and *Le Brun*[n]. Besides, should we run into a long discourse on the conjectures,
which have been or may be made in relation to these sepulchres, it would certainly
lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the edification of the reader. On d
the whole therefore, we shall content ourselves with saying, that these stupendous
monuments

[n] Vid. CHARDIN, tom. ii. p. LE BRUN, tom. ii. p.

just seen; indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of *Thais* than *Diodorus* does, whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whether *Thais* had any concern therein or no. *Arrian* says, that *Alexander* seized at *Passagardon* on the money which had been laid up there by *Cyrus*, and then adds, "the "royal palace of the *Persian* monarchs he burnt, "much against the will of *Parmenio*, who intreated "him to leave it untouched, not only because it "was improper to spoil and destroy what he had "gained by his valour, but that he would thereby "disoblige the *Asiatics*, and render them less be-"nevolent to him, for they would then suppose "that he would not keep *Asia* in his possession, but "abandon it as soon as it was conquered and laid "waste. To which *Alexander* made answer, that "he was resolved to revenge the ancient injuries "his country had received by the *Persians*, who, "when they arrived with their army in *Greece*, sub-"verted *Athens*, burnt their temples, and committed "many other barbarous devastations there. But this, "in my opinion, seems to have been no prudent "or politick action in *Alexander*, and was no re-"venge upon the *Persians* at all (88)". *Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject, his words are these, "*Alexander* destroyed the temple of *Persepolis* in "revenge of the injuries done the *Greeks*, whose "cities and temples the *Persians* had formerly de-"stroyed with fire and sword (89)". *Curtius* has nothing singular upon this head, except the follow-ing observation. "The city of *Persepolis* was so "far from being rebuilt, that unless the river *Araxes* "ran near it, there had not been the least sign left "to have guessed where it stood; that it was situ-"ated twenty stadia from the banks of this river, "the inhabitants rather believe than know with "any certainty (90)". In this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken; for first, he is the only author who says that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Diodorus* says indeed that it was plundered; but as to burning and destroying, what he relates is con-fined to the palace; besides, after the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus*, taking five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ec-batana*, marched into *Persia*, and after twenty days arrived at its capital *Persepolis* (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city as still standing after the destru-ction of the palace; and, if we may believe the au-thor of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation. "About that time "came *Antiochus* with dishonour out of the coun-"try of *Persia*. For he had entered the city called "*Persepolis*, and went about to rob the temple, and "to hold the city, whereu[pon] the multitude, run-"ning to defend themselve[s] with their weapons, "put them to flight; and so it happened, that *An-"tiochus*, being put to flight of the inhabitants, re-"turn'd with shame (92). In the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary pas-sage in respect to the point before us. "About "that time, says the author, king *Antiochus*, tra-"veiling

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib.* iii. *c.* 18. (89) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 730. (90) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 7. (91) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xix. *c.* 3. (92) 2 *Mac. c.* ix. *ver.* 1.

a monuments of antient magnificence are ſufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wiſdom and genius of the antient *Perſians*, before ſuperſtition and ſlavery took place (X).

THE

" velling through the high countries, heard ſay, that " *Elymais*, in the country of *Perſia*, was a city greatly " renowned for riches, ſilver, and gold. And that " there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were " coverings of gold, and breaſt-plates, and ſhields " which *Alexander*, ſon of *Philip*, the *Macedonian* " king, who reigned firſt among the *Grecians*, had " left there. Wherefore he came and fought to take " the city, and to ſpoil it, but he was not able, " becauſe they of the city, having had warning " thereof, roſe up againſt him in battle: ſo he fled, " and departed thence with great heavineſs, and re- " turned to *Babylon* (93)". That this city *Elymais* was *Perſepolis*, we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, ſince we are certain, that the latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor in all probability did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Perſian* name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to obſerve here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author; it is, this; *Perſepolis* or *Perſæpolis* ſignifies in *Greek* no more than the city of the *Perſians*; *Elymais* ſignifies the ſame thing, as alſo *Phars-abad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its antient name in the *Perſic* tongue; hence therefore, we may with probability conclude, that its moſt antient name was *Elymais*, derived from the antient name of *Perſia*, *Elam*, that in proceſs of time when *Perſia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be ſtiled *Pharas-abad*, and that the *Greeks* might tranſlate either of theſe appellations into their own language by the word *Perſepolis*; all which we ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader.

(X) Beſides the tombs ſpoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Perſepolis*, which Sir *John Chardin* ſays, appeared to him the moſt curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about ſix hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a neceſſity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. Theſe monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is in the north, over againſt the great ſtair-caſe of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The platform is ſquare and like the landing-place of a ſtair-caſe; it is about 4 feet deep that is cut into the mountain; on each ſide there are ſix figures finely cut, and exactly reſembling thoſe in the proceſſion; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the ſpectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not ſeem ever to have been deſigned for a paſſage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanſhip full of figures; and on the ſummit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend perſon holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of aſcent, over againſt it as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which ſeems to repreſent the ſun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a ſmall figure of the ſame perſon, whom we ſee praying below, as if he were aſcending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is on the eaſt ſide, differs not much from this which we have deſcribed. It has four columns, a falſe door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-prieſt praying before it, with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconſiderable differences there are in the architecture and in the diſpoſition of things in this ſecond tomb, but we do not think them of conſequence enough to be mentioned here. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country ſay, that *Nembroth* or *Nimrod* was buried in the firſt, and *Dar-ab*, i. e. *Darius*, in the ſecond; but he thinks the firſt fabulous. And as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns it is in ſome meaſure warranted by the account given us by *Arrian*, that *Alexander* cauſed the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his mother, that ſhe might cauſe it to be interred in the tomb of his anceſtors. It is allowed, that the ſepulchres of the kings of *Perſia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and that, at the time *Alexander* ſent back *Darius*'s body, that country was new conquered and in great diſorder. It is not impoſſible therefore, that his mother might cauſe him to be buried at *Perſepolis*. However, Sir *John Chardin* himſelf is of opinion, that the thing was otherwiſe, and that theſe tombs were actually cloſed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the preſent inhabitants of *Perſia*, that in theſe tombs, and alſo in thoſe deſcribed in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treaſure and valuable effects. It muſt be ſaid in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its ſide, ſince we know, that, when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty ſums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95.) As on the other hand, we know, that *Joſephus* (96) reports a mighty maſs of money to have been laid up in the ſepulchre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a diſſertation, we ſhall not expatiate further upon this ſubject, but confine ourſelves to theſe very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs-Ruſtem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of diſtinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vaſt heaps of gold, ſilver, and other rich things, contained in theſe repoſitories of the dead, but at the ſame time they affirm this, they aſſert with equal confidence, that the paſſages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, ſo that many have periſhed in ſearch of theſe ſuppoſed mountains of riches. Sir *John Chardin*, however, tells us a ſtory of one who actually found and bore away ſome of theſe ſhining ſpoils; he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkaſkoun*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Perſepolis*. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was ſubject to a prince of its own, who reſided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country, having diſſipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treaſury, was under the greateſt dejection of mind, on the receipt of a meſſage from the grand-vizier, threatening him, in caſe he did not make a ſpeedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the ſelling his wife and children for ſlaves, in order to produce the ſum he was in arrear. The poor man, diſtracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himſelf, but checking this thought on a ſudden, he ſaid in his mind, Why ſhould I deſtroy myſelf without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by ſome other means? in yon houſe of idols (ſo the *Mahommedans* call all places where there are figures in baſs-relief) every body agrees there are vaſt quantities of wealth concealed, why ſhould not I go look for it? If I ſucceed, I ſhall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live ſplendidly myſelf all the reſt of my days; and on the other hand, if I periſh, I periſh, death is the ſame thing in thoſe tombs or here. Having taken this reſolution, he provided himſelf with

(93) 1 *Mac. c.* vi. *ver.* 1. (94) *Chardin, Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 166. (95) *Arrian, Exped. Alex. lib.* vi. *ult. Strab. Geogr. lib.* xv. *c.* 730. (96) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 15.

The great perfection, which appears in these antient works and those of *Persepolis*, a leaves us no room to doubt, that those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius in other parts of this empire also, or at least that their successors might have done something in the same way. We have already put ourselves under such restrictions, as forbid a prolix prosecutions of this hint, and therefore we shall content ourselves with remarking here, that Mr. *Le Brun* takes notice in his travels of some remains of antiquity, which he, with two *English* gentlemen, saw near a mountain a league and a half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There stood here a mosque, called the mosque of the mother of *Solomon*, square, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three porticoes exactly resembling those at *Persepolis*, the first on the east, b the second on the north-west, and the third on the north-east. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaster the figure of a woman as big as the life, with something in her hand, in the same attitude with the figures on the wall at *Persepolis*. North-east from this ruined mosque, the same author says, there are seen on the side of the rock nine small figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above-ground; and on the north-west a stone of prodigious magnitude representing a cask or tun. All the ground there-abouts is covered with stones, and most of the pilasters are out of their places, which could not possibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice, however, of the middle one is very little damaged: a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are seen of that wall, which antiently c surrounded this mosque; and about a league from the mosque, the same gentleman tells us, that he saw several figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The first table contains three figures, one of which is represented leaning with its hand on a great sword. The second represents a man with something not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the first, leans its hand on the guard of a great sword; they are very much broken and damaged, so that it is difficult to describe them particularly [k]. For which reason we may suppose the author has omitted the descriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the representations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller; we may with some assurance, that the figures are neither d so old, nor executed near so well as those on the mountain of *Nachs-rustem*, which they resemble much more than any thing which is to be seen at *Persepolis*. Mr. *Le Brun* speaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to such things as these; but there is no necessity of examining their accounts here, since we shall be obliged to give an ample account of these matters, when we speak of the *Persian* history, as has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleased to observe, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that, on a strict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in *Persia*, than those hitherto described and magnified so much.

[k] Le Brun Voyag. Vol. ii. p. 299.

with lights and with some provisions, and then essayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was so lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large square room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the sum he brought back was not quite sufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his first had been happy; for, by some means or other losing his way, he perished in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themselves, and where their spirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are said to be in this mountain, but most of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he saw a square room, built up in the form of a tower close on all sides except a door which was almost at the top, and altogether inaccessible; this he took to be a sepulchre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares, he does not doubt the fact, and tells us farther of his own knowledge, that these subterraneous passages are really very perplexed, frequently cross each other, and are full of a moist vapour which quickly extinguishes lights (95).

(95) *Chardin. voy. vol.* ii. *p.* 171.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, customs, arts, learning, and trade of the antient PERSIANS.

The origin of the Persians.

a THE *Persians* were, without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was first peopled by *Elam*, or as *Josephus* calls him [a] *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*; whence *Persia* is constantly called by the sacred writers *Elam*; nor does it appear, that it was known to the *Jews* before the captivity by any other name. The descendants of *Elam* settled first in that province, which from them was called *Elymais*, and by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into *Susiana* and other adjoining provinces; as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa*, the metropolis of *Susiana*, in the province of *Elam* [b] (A). All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and in the acts the *Persians* are called *Elamites* [c]. Whence it is probable, that they were descended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabi-
b tants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of *Persia* we have shewn already.

Their government.

THE government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems to have been pretty powerful even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in scripture to have invaded the *Zumzummins* and *Emins*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorra*; tho' he was at last overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the rescue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken prisoner [d]. In the time of *Jeremiah Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophesy, where he foretels the increase of
c *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dominions, and particularly, that he should subdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eastward of the *Tygris* (B).

The majesty of their kings.

BUT to speak here of *Persia*, as the second of the four great empires; (for of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter) the *Persian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. *Sperchies* and *Bulis* both *Lacedæmonians* refused, as *Justin* informs us [e], to comply with this ceremony, as did also *Conon* the *Athenian*; and *Ismenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* [f], by let-
d ting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to take it up. *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* [g], was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Persian* monarch. In the time of *Apollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony *Antosaces* and *Mitræus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew *Smerdis*; all others, of what rank soever,

[a] JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. [b] DANIEL viii. 2. [c] ACT. ii. 9. [d] DEUT. ii. 20, 31. GEN. xiv. 5. [e] JUSTIN, l. vi. [f] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. [g] VALER. MAXIMUS, l. vi. c. 3.

(A) *And I saw in a vision*, says the prophet, *(and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at* Shushan *in the palace, which is in the province of* Elam*) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river* Ulai. *Shushan* is without doubt the city of *Susa* in *Susiana*, which stood on the river *Eulæus*, or, as the prophet stiles it, *Ulai*.

(B) *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might. And upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of* Elam *shall not come. For I will cause* Elam *to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in* Elam, *and I will destroy from thence the king and his princes, saith the Lord* (1)

(1) *Jerem.* xlix.—35, 38,

soever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a a
messenger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect
and obedience his vassals pay'd him we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that
Xerxes being once in danger by sea, many at the king's desire strove who should
be the first in leaping over-board to lighten the vessel, and save their prince's life,
at the expence of their own [h]. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath,
than of the anger of the Gods; whence they lookt upon the incurring of his dis-
pleasure as the greatest misfortune that could befal them in life, and were ready at
the least intimation given them by their prince to become their own executioners.
The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's law-
ful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir b
apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or
march. The new king was crowned at *Pasargada*, or as *Pliny* calls it *Pasa-*
garda [i], by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of *Persia*. This ce-
remony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war; where the king used
first of all to cloath himself with the garment, which *Cyrus*, the founder of the
Persian monarchy, had wore before he was raised to the throne. Being thus
attired, he used to eat some figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink
a cup of sour milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by
one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all
over *Persia*, the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by c
a peculiar name called *Cidaris*, being a kind of turban rising up with a sharp
point without bending; whereas the other *Persians* wore turbans bending, in
token of subjection, down to their foreheads. However, the descendants of
those, who with *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* slew the usurping *Mage*, were allow-
ed to use a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that
of the other subjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king
wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing else is meant by the word
Diadem in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the fore-
head [k]. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only ensign of royalty
we find among the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty. The king's birth-day was d
kept as sacred, and celebrated with publick sports and the utmost pomp and mag-
nificence. His death was bewailed by shutting the tribunals of justice for five days,
and that fire, which was worshipped in private families as a house-hold-god, was on
that occasion alone extinguished [l]. The king's abode was according to the season,
seven months at *Babylon*, three at *Susa*, and two at *Ecbatan* [m]. Whence they are
compared by *Ælian* [n] to cranes, and by *Aristotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who, by
often shifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate season. They likewise
removed sometimes to *Pasargada*, and sometimes to *Persepolis*, which at last be-
came their ordinary residence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and
each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was not only to defend the king's per- e
son,

[h] Herodot. l. viii. [i] Plin. l. c. 26. * Plut. in Artaxerx. [k] Drus. obsevat. l. xii. c. 12. Bris. l. i. p. 44. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l. viii. [m] Zonar. Annal. l. i. [n] Ælian. hist. natur. l. ii. c. 3.

(C) *Susa*, called in scripture *Shushan*, was the metropolis of the province *Susiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as some say, the son of *Tithonus*, who was slain by the *Thessalians* in the *Trojan* war (2). *Strabo* (3) and *Pausanias* (4) compare the walls of *Susa* even with those of *Babylon*. *Cassiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polycletus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no less improbable, considering the kings of *Persia* resided there three months in the year, and that great part of the royal treasures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Susa* from the many lilies which grew in that neighbourhood, says *Stephanus*, and in the *Persian* language bore that name. It is also called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7) and others from its founder *Memnon*. In scripture it is constantly named (8) *the palace*; but besides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was sheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in summer the heat was so parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houses, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Susa* was in ancient times a wealthy and magnificent city; *Alexander* found in it 50000 talents of gold, besides jewels of an inestimable value, and an immense quantity of gold and silver vessels. Here *Ahasuerus* kept his great feast, which lasted 183 days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouster* or *Suster*.

(2) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 500. (3) *Strabo, ubi supr.* (4) *Paus. Messen. c.* 31. (5) *Ubi supra.* (6) *Diodor. Sic. l.* xvii. *c.* 66. (7) *Herodot. l.* v. *c.* 54. (8) *Dan.* viii. 2. *Nehem.* i. 1. *Esth.* i. 2, (9) *Strabo l.* xv.

a son, but to give him notice of whatever they saw, or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they are called, some *the king's ears*, others, as *Aristotle* [n] informs us, *the king's eyes*. To these messengers were sent from the most remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and besides, they received immediate intelligence of any sudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at small distances from each other, and lighted when occasion required; so that they could in one day receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invasion, in what part soever it happened of that vast empire.

b The king's palace was deemed holy, and respected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furnished with utensils of an inestimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, silver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, supported by four pillars richly set with precious stones. The king's bed was likewise of gold, and *Herodotus* [o] mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold presented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who after the kings of *Persia* was accounted the richest man in the world. The body and branches of this vine, says *Athenæus* [p], were enriched with jewels of great value, and the clusters of grapes were all precious stones. It hung over the king's head as he sat on the throne. At his beds-head stood always a chest or coffer containing five thousand talents, which was called the king's bolster, and another at his feet with

c three thousand talents [q], and joining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us out of *Xenophon* [r], that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went (E). [s] They drank only *Calybonian* wine made at *Damascus* in *Syria*, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Assos* in *Phrygia*, and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their publick feasts exceeds, as appears from holy writ [t], what we read of in histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with

d somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them [u]. Among the prisoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damascus* were, as *Athenæus* [w] informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the dishes, 17 who ministered water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whose province it was to prepare garlands used, according to the custom of those times, in banquets. During their repast their ears were feasted with the harmony both of vocal and instrumental musick, and 300 women, of the sweetest and most melodious voices, were in constant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewise their

province

[n] Arist. l. de mundo. [o] Herodot. l. vii. [p] Athen. l.xii. vide But. de aff. l. iv. [q] Budæas ubi supra. [r] Cic. de senect. [s] Herodot. l. i. c. 159. [t] Esther. i. [u] Athen. l. viii. [w] Idem, l. xii.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10), entertained at *Cælene* in *Phrygia Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching against *Greece*, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold, all bearing the stamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes* with no less generosity not only refused the treasures offered him, but ordered seven thousand *Darien* pieces or *Darics* to be given to *Pythius*, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave *Cælene* till the sum was paid.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the *Choaspes* and the *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pasitigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as we read in *Strabo* (12), supposes them to be two different streams, though he makes them disembogue themselves into the same lake. On the other hand, *Salmasius* (13) takes them to be one and the same river under different names; for the *Choaspes* rising in *Media* buries itself under ground, and again appears not far from *Susa*; in *Media* he thinks it is called *Choaspes*, and in the province of *Susiana Eulæus*. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two springs of the *Eulæus* (for he no-where names the *Choaspes*) one in *Media* and the other in *Susiana*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us (15), that the *Choaspes* washed the walls of *Susa*, and that the *Persian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* are one and the same river at least at *Susa*, and even *Pliny* (16) and the other writers, who distinguish them, place the city of *Susa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*, and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai* mentioned by *Daniel* (17) to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the same river should be known in different places by different names; thus the *Danube* was called by the *Latines Danubius* and *Ister*, the *Weser Vierra* and *Visurgis*, the *Po Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(10) *Herodot. l.* vii. (11) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 27. (12) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 501. (13) *Salmas. in Solin. p.* 493. (14) *Ptol. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (15) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 153. (16) *Plin. ubi supra.* (17) *Dan.* viii.

province to lull him asleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as soon as he awaked in the morning [x]. Most of the *Persian* kings were so dissolved in pleasures, that they scarce minded any thing beside their own satisfaction. *Xerxes* was not ashamed to propose, by a publick edict, an ample reward to any one that should devise a new pleasure [y]. The king seldom admitted others to his table, besides his wife and mother; such as received this honour were so placed as not to see, but only be seen by, the king; for they thought it was, in some degree, a degrading of their majesty to appear subject to the same necessities with other mortals. This desire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and scarce ever suffered them to appear abroad. Their lust and voluptuousness sufficiently appears from the book of *Esther*, and *Tully* [c] adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, *&c.* Nay *Socrates* [a] mentions an embassador, who being sent into *Persia* spent a whole day in travelling through a country, which was called the *Queen's Girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory stiled *the Queen's Head-dress*. a b

The king's children.

THE king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old they learnt under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises; at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude [b]. c

The king's guard.

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of *Persians*. *Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called *the king's relations*; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all *Persians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *immortal*. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

The manners of the Persians.

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Persian* kings appeared no-where greater than on occasion of the publick sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in use among the *Persians*. d

How they educated their children.

NOW to say something of the customs and manners of the antient *Persians*, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, left if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *Mages*, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learnt also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horse-back. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went to hunt, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was restrained by the laws from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone. e

The miscellaneous customs of the Persians.

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the *bow of Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* [c], and the *quiver of Elam* by *Isaiah* [d], as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us [e], *to manage a horse, to use with dexterity the bow, and to speak truth.* A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow, and such as could shew a numerous offspring received yearly presents f

[x] Idem ibid. [y] CIC. Tusc. quæst. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. [z] CIC. in Ver. act. v. [a] SOCRAT. in PLAT. Alcibiad. [b] XENOPH. l. i. c. 11. BRISSON. Polit. [c] JER. c. xix—35—38. [d] ISA. c. xxii. 6. [e] HERODOT. l. i.

a sents from the king [f]. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables on such occasions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected [g]. When they met they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other, but those who were of a much lower rank used to prostrate themselves on the ground, when they
b met or accosted their superiors. They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or smaller distance from them [h]. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the *Medes*, but they assumed their dress; in war they used the *Egyptian* armour after they had subdued that kingdom; and imitated the *Greeks*, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices, as *Herodotus* himself owns [i]. They were indulged many wives, and besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great prowess, as those who had distinguish'd themselves in military exploits.
c They bore such respect to their parents that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother, whence no punishments were inflicted by their laws on such offenders, and if any one was indicted for committing so heinous a crime he, was always declared by the judges spurious or suppositious. To affirm a falshood was accounted the utmost infamy, and next to that the being in debt, because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers that were subject to this distemper were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we
d shall speak in the next section, we have learnt of *Herodotus*, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

Their punishments.

THE most severe punishment in use among the *Persians* was that of shutting them up between two boats, which was done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpose so even, that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other, then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing thro' an opening made for that purpose. In this posture he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron-tools into his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature, lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey, which inviting the flies and wasps, they tormented him no less than the swarms of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel man-
e ner of puting to death [k], tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment for killing his brother *Cyrus*, lived seventeen days in the utmost agony, and that the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treason were condemned to have their head and right hand struck off, which sentence was, by order of *Artaxerxes*, executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus* [l]. But by the antient laws of *Persia* the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent, and if his faults were found to over-ballance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure,
f if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely [m]. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones, which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Paryſatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira* [n].

[f] HERODOT. ubi supra. [g] HERODOT. ibid. [h] Idem ibid. [i] HERODOT. ubi supra. [k] PLUTARCH in vita Artaxerxis. [l] PLUTARCH. ibid. [m] HERODOT. ubi supra. [n] PLUTARCH ubi supra.

THE *Persians* were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters; thus we are told, that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix* [o] reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardesanes*, which shews, that they were indulged by law to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in *Egypt*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, as *Eusebius* witnesses [p], where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named *Magussæi*, or *addicted to magick* [q]. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called *Eunuchs*, which *Petronius Arbiter* [r] and *Seneca* [s] impute to their insatiable lechery. a b

Their money. THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia* was *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, or as he is called in scripture *Darius the Mede*, the founder of the *Medo-Persian* monarchy (F). In his reign were coined these famous pieces of gold called *Darics*, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer, clothed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigies of *Darius* [t]. To these pieces alluded *Agesilaus*, when finding himself obliged to quit *Asia* in order to suppress the tumults, which *Artaxerxes* had by dint of gold stirred up in *Greece*, he said, that the king of *Persia* had driven him out of his dominions, with thirty thousand archers [u]. The *Darics* were of the same weight and value with the *Attic Stater*. *Darius* seems to have learnt the art and use of money of the *Lydians*, for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered *Lydia* [w]; whereas *Crœsus* king of *Lydia* had coined innumerable pieces of gold, called *Crœsei*; as it was not reasonable that the coin of *Lydia* should continue current after the downfal of the kingdom, we may suppose, that *Darius* recoined the *Crœsei* with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value [x]. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian*, race, were called *Darics* from this *Darius*, in whose reign they were first coined (G). c d

Their arts, sciences, &c. THERE was, it seems, no great learning among the *Persians* before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom the *Persians* call'd *Zerdusht* or *Zaratush*, who flourished in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and was the great mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The *Mages*, being instructed in the mathematicks, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by *Hystaspes* the father of *Darius*, were reputed above all others skilled in those arts. *Hystaspes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there some time among the *Brachmans*, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the *Mages* what he had learnt, improving that sect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge [y]. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section, we shall only add here, that this knowledge was lockt up among the priests, and seldom communicated to any, except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct [z]. e

THE

[o] ARNOB. contra gentes. [p] EUSEB. de Præpar. Evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. [q] Idem. ibid. [r] PETRON. ARB. Satyr. [s] SENECA controver. 4. l. x. [t] PLUTARCH in Artaxer. [u] PLUTARCH. ibid. [w] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [x] Sir *Isaac Newton*'s chronolog. p. 320. [y] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. [z] PLATO in Alcibiad. i. STOBÆUS 496. CLEM. ALEXANDR. in Pædagogo.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the scholiast of *Aristophanes* (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who must necessarily have been *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes*, since we know of no other *Darius* reigning so early in the east.

(G) In those parts of scripture that were wrote after the *Babylonish* captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and by the *Talmudists* are called (20) *Darkomoth*, both from the *Greek* Δαρεικοὶ, that is *Darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius* during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard* a *Daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(18) *Harpocr. Scholiast. Aristoph.* p. 741, 742. *Suidas in* Δαρεικός. (19) 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Ezra. viii. 27. (20) *Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbinic.* p. 577.

Their trade and navigation.

a THE poverty of the antient *Persians*, and their contempt of riches, shews them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of *Lydia* they had no money, nor any cloathing but skins; they used water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the speech of *Sandanis* dissuading *Cræsus* from invading *Persia* [a]. After they subdued *Lydia*, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities which their country wanted, and at the same time dispose of their own productions. But as we can advance nothing with respect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we shall dismiss this subject, and hasten to their military discipline.

Their soldiery.

b THE *Persians* learnt from their childhood to ride and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exercise of hunting inured themselves to the toils of war [b]. They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand [c]; which customs the *Romans*, who never used any weapons but in the field, look'd upon as unbecoming a civilized nation [d]. As soon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty [e]. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age, to appear under their respective

c colours, and attend the king in his expeditions [f] (H). They used no mercenaries in the time of *Herodianus* [g], nor maintained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

Their armour and discipline.

IN war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuisses; their shields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins short, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they

d wore short swords (H2) hanging from a belt on the right side [h]. Their horses were likewise covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon* [i], *Curtius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were sure marks-men, and quicker than any other nation in discharging, especially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*; however, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did

[a] HERODOT. l. i. c. 71. [b] STRABO, l. xv. [c] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. 23. [d] OVID. Trist. l. 5. [e] STRABO l. xv. [f] HEROD. l. iv. [g] HERODIAN. l. iii. & 5. [h] HERODOT. l. vii. XENOPH. l. vii. [i] XENOPH. l. viii. c. 190.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Susa* with his forces against the *Scythians*, *OEobazus*, a noble *Persian*, who had three sons in his army, begged, that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word. *OEobazus* was scarce departed, when *Darius* commanded the officers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's house (21). We have another, still more dreadful, instance of the *Persian* severity on such occasions, *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence *Xerxes* and all his army, and offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on against *Greece*. The king was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant him whatever he should ask. *Pythius* had then no request to make; but some time after being frightened with an eclipse of the sun, and confiding in the merit of his liberal offer, and the king's unlimited promise, entreated him to discharge the eldest of his five sons who were all in his army, that he might have some body to take care of himself in his old age and of his estate. He had no sooner uttered this request, but the king, transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise and the former merits of *Pythius*, commanded the body of his eldest son to be cut asunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might pass between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Persian* discipline, to except one's self from the service, or even ask an exemption for others.

(H2) They wore rather daggers than swords; for *Josephus* (24) compares them to the poignards used by ruffians, and *Darius*, finding in his first engagement with *Alexander* that the length of the *Macedonian* swords did not contribute a little to the victory, caused the *Persian* swords, or *Acinaces* as the *Latins* call them, to be considerably lengthened (25).

(21) *Herodot. l.* iv. *Seneca, l.* iii. *de ira c.* 16. (22) *Herodot. l.* vii. *Seneca, l.* iii. *de ira. c.* 17. (24) *Joseph, Antiquitat. l.* xx. *c.* 7. (25) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii.

did but small execution, which he ascribes to the slackness of their bows; whereas no shield or armour was proof against the *Roman* arrows [i]. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they passed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket; these baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they past muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same baskets; when they were all past, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient custom continued even in the time of *Procopius* [k]. They wore over their armour great-coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies [l]. They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in publick but on horseback; on horse-back they transacted all their private and publick affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, *&c.* [m] This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury. the *Persians* striving to out-do each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as *Dionysius* expresses it [n], champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight horses [o]. They were the first, if we believe *Xenophon* [p], that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, *&c.* follow'd the camp [q], which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their presence, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their armour [r]. In what manner they marched we learn from *Herodotus*, who describes the march of *Xerxes*'s army thus [s]. The baggage, whether carried by servants or beasts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without distinction. Between these and the rest of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thousand horse-men, and the like number of spear-men with their spears pointing downwards. After these came ten great horses, bred in the plains of *Media* called the *Nisean plains* (K), caparisoned with rich furniture, being consecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horses, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the seat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king in a chariot drawn by *Nisean* horses; a thousand chosen spear-men, all *Persians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horse, consisting of a thousand chosen men of the same nation. After the horse ten thousand *Persian* foot advanced, and of these two thousand armed with javelins, which, instead of the common ornaments, were embellished with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thousand had pomegranates of silver. The ten thousand foot were followed by ten thousand *Persian* horse, and at the distance of two stades. The rest of the forces advanced promiscuously. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thousand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as they possibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they caused the like number to enter the ground, and continued so doing till the whole army was computed [t]. When they intended

Their reviews, manner of declaring war, &c.

[i] Procop. l. i. de Bell. Pers. c. 18. [k] Procop. ubi supra. [l] Herodot. l. ix. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 136. Plut. in Artaxerxe. [m] Xenophon. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. Justin. l. xii. c. 3. [n] Dionys. de situ orbis. [o] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 124. [p] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem. [q] Curt. l. iii. 8. 12. Xenoph. l. iv. p. 75. [r] Herodot. l. viii. [s] Herodot. l vii. [t] Herodot. l. viii.

(I) *Xenophon* ascribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with scythes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us out of *Ctesias*, that *Semiramis*, in the war which she waged with the *Bactrians*, had in her army 700 chariots armed with scythes (27), and seems to make the *Assyrian* kings the first inventors of them. Whence it is plain, both from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Hesychius* was mistaken when he ascribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(K) The *Misean* or *Nisean* fields in *Media* are celebrated by all the antients for the large, strong, and fleet horses that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Persian* monarchs used after they were masters of that country.

(26) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. *prope finem.* *Ammian. Marc. l.* xxiii. *Themistius Orat* v. *&c.* (27) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iii. (28) *Herodot. l.* vii. *Ammian. Marc. l.*

a intended to make war upon any nation they ſent heralds or embaſſadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to ſubmit and acknowledge the king of *Perſia* as the ſovereign lord of their country [u] (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the *Medes*, as *Plutarch* informs us, and the *Medes* ſeem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Aſſyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* [w], uſed in that manner to require an entire ſubmiſſion. In time of action the king was always in the center [x], and uſed to encourage his men with a ſpeech [y]. The ſignal was given with the ſound of trumpets, and followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army [z]. The watch-word was in uſe even among them, for *Xenophon*, ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, tells us, that his was, *Jupiter our leader and protector* [a]. The royal banner was a ſpread-eagle of gold, carried
b on the point of a long ſpear [b]. They reckoned thoſe happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as abandoned their poſts, or fled from their colours [c]. They uſed no ſtratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour [d], or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expreſſes it, thought it unfair and baſe to ſteal a victory [e]. They never fought in the night, unleſs attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the riſing of the ſun [f]. Duels or ſingle combats were in uſe among them, as is plain from the ſtories of *Darius* [g] and *Polydamas* [h]. This is what we have been able to gather, from unqueſtionable authorities, relating to the military diſcipline of the antient *Perſians*.

Their laws.

c As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to thoſe of any other nation whatſoever [i], and obſerves, that other law-givers only appointed puniſhments for crimes committed, but did not take ſufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main deſign of the *Perſian* laws was to inſpire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, ſo as to avoid the one and purſue the other, without regarding either puniſhments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleaſed; but were obliged to ſend them to publick ſchools, where they were educated with great care, and never ſuffered, till they had attained the age of ſeventeen, to return home to their parents. Theſe ſchools were not under
d the care of common mercenary maſters, but governed by men of the firſt quality and beſt characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for theſe ſchools were not deſigned for learning of ſciences, but practiſing of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and creſſes, no other drink but water [k], at leaſt from the age of ſeven to ſeventeen. Thoſe who had not been educated in theſe ſchools were excluded from all honours and preferments [l] (M). There

[u] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Herod. l. iv. [w] Judith. c. 2. [x] Xenoph. l. i. Ἀναβάσ. [y] Stobæus. ſer. xlii Curt. &c. [z] Curt. l. iii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [a] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. [b] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. Philostrat. Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. [c] Plutarch in Artaxerx. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. [d] Justin. l. xi. [e] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. [f] Curt. l. v. 12. [g] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [h] Pausanias. in Eliac. [i] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. i. [k] Xenoph. ibid. Justin. l. xli. Cic. l. 5. Tuſculan. quæſt. [l] Xenoph. ibid.

(L) Some have erroneouſly imagined, that by this demand nothing elſe was meant, but that thoſe to whom it was directed ſhould furniſh the *Perſian* army with ſuch a quantity of proviſions. But the contrary is plain from all the antients, eſpecially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Indathyrſus* king of *Scythia*, commanding him *to own the king of* Perſia *for his ſovereign, and to preſent him with earth and water in token of his ſubmiſſion*. To this meſſage the *Scythian* returned anſwer, that he acknowledged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor and *Veſta* queen of the *Scythians*, and that, inſtead of preſenting him with earth and water, he would ſend him ſuch a preſent as he deſerved, and perhaps might make him repent of his inſolence in aſſuming the title of his maſter. And accordingly he ſent him ſometime after a meſſenger to preſent him on his part with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit ſubmiſſion, and a giving him poſſeſſion of the land and water; for, ſaid he, the mouſe is bred in the earth and lives on the ſame food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horſe, and by the arrows, they ſeem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobryas* was of opinion, that the king of *Scythia* gave them to underſtand by ſuch a preſent, that unleſs the *Perſians* could aſcend into the air like a bird, or conceal themſelves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they ſhould inevitably periſh by thoſe arrows (29).

(M) Theſe ſchools the *Perſians* call *Liberal markets*; for they allowed no publick place for buying or ſelling, as appears from *Cyrus*'s anſwer to the *Lacedemonians*, telling them, that he was not afraid of thoſe who in the midſt of their cities have a place of publick reſort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds *Herodotus*, (30) were levelled at all the *Greeks*, who in every city had ſome publick place for buying and ſelling, whereas the *Perſians* allow of no ſuch places, nor any place at all of publick reſort.

(29) *Herodot. l.* iv. (30) *Herodot. l.* i.

There were particular laws against ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a suitable return, could bring an action against the ungrateful person, who upon conviction was punished with great severity [m] (N). When any one went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in proposing his opinion he stood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholsome, if otherwise, he was publickly whipt [n]. a

BEFORE we close this section, we shall add some particulars, relating to the *Persian* kings, gathered from the best authors. The kings of *Persia* were above all others the most arbitrary and absolute, and lookt upon their subjects, however distinguish'd by birth or fortune, as the meanest of slaves. None, their own children not excepted, durst address them with any other title, but that of *Lord*, *great king*, *king of kings* [o]; which high-sounding titles they seem to have borrowed from the *Assyrians*; for *Daniel* [p] in speaking to *Nebuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Persians* imitated in this the haughtiness of the *Assyrians*, so did the *Parthians* that of the *Persians* [q], and continued this stile even to the time of the emperor *Constantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himself, *king of kings*, *partaker of the stars*, *brother of the sun and moon*, &c. But to return to the *Persian* kings, as they assumed high titles to themselves, so they bestowed no other on their subjects, by what dignity soever distinguished, but that of slaves [r]; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other respects as arrant slaves. To this spirit of slavery, which is inconsistent with true courage, *Plato* ascribes the downfal of the *Persian* monarchy [s]. This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the *Persians*, that even those who were by the king's order publickly whipt, used to return him thanks for vouchsafing to remember them [t]. Whoever betrayed the least reluctancy to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult soever, was sure to forfeit his head and right arm [u]. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is by *Justin* [w] fathered upon *Cyrus the great*. None durst appear before the king without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and embassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told that the king's ears were open to such only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to transact the business they were charged with, by means of the king's servants or eunuchs [x]. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai* [y]; nay, even to their statues and images, for *Philostratus* acquaints us, that in the time of *Apollonius* a golden statue of the king was presented to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates [z]. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever* [a], *Let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the apparel which he had used, to b c d e

[m] XENOPH. ibid. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. 5. THEMISTOCLES orat. 3. [n] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. xii. c. 12. [o] DIO. CHRYS. orat. 3. de regno. ARRIAN. l. vi. STRABO xv. EZRA. l. i. c. 7. [p] DAN. ii. 37. [q] PLUTARCH. in Pomp. & Lucullo. [r] XENOPH. l. i. Ἀνάβασ. Q. CURT. l. v. ARISTOT. de Mundo. EZRA, c. iv. 5, 6. [s] PLATO. lib. iii. de Legib. [t] STOBÆUS serm. xii. [u] STRABO l. xv. p. 733. [w] JUSTIN. c. iv, l. xi. [x] PLUTARCH. in Themist. [y] ESTHER iii. 2. [z] PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollonii. [a] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 32. NEHEM. c. ii, iii. DANIEL. c. vi. 6.

(N) *Seneca* therefore was mistaken when he said, that laws against ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gente*, says he, *non est in ullâ data adversus ingratos actio* (31), that is, in no nation, except the *Macedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where some read *Medorum* instead of *Macedonum*, but all the ancient copies have *Macedonum*.

(O) *Q. Curtius* tells us (32), that when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabene*, one of his soldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, so benumbed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use of both his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open field, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but starting up, and with his own hands pulled off his armour, placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again when he found himself seated in the royal chair and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying,

(31) *Seneca l.* iii. *de Benefic. c.* 7. (32) *Q. Curt. l.* viii

to

a (P) to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q), to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king (R), were all capital crimes [b]. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells us [c], could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives chusing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. No-body, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to
b declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, *&c.* others milk, cheese, dates, *&c.* every one according to his ability [d] (S).

How they administered justice.

The *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vitious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence [e]. When they sat on life and
c death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life, and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed [f] (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off instead of their heads, that the strings, with which they tied them, should be cut instead of their ears, and their garments whipt instead of their persons [g]. Beside the king there were several other judges, all men of unblemished characters, and well skilled in the laws of the kingdom. These were called *royal judges*, administred justice at stated times in different

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Val. Maxim. l. v. c. 16. Q. Curt. c. xviii. Frontin. Stratagem. c. vi. Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & Themist. [c] Q. Curt. l. iv. & Ammian. Marcell. l. xxi. [d] Ælian. var. histor. l. c. 31. [e] Philostrat. l. i. de vita Apollon. Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. [f] Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. [g] Plutarch in Artaxerx. & apophthegmat. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxx.

saying, *Do not fear, O fellow soldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the* Persians *under their king; had you rested in the* Persian *king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine has saved it.* Hence it was, that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(P) *Plutarch* tells us (34), that one *Tiribazus*, who was very familiar with *Artaxerxes*, whom he used to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Tiribazus*, not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, soon after appeared in it at court, which the *Persians* resenting as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him by telling them, that he had commanded *Tiribazus* to appear in that garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to have a private conference with *Artaxerxes*, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being observed by the *Persians*, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Artaxerxes Macrochir* (36) or *Longimanus*.

(S) We read in *Plutarch* (37) and *Ælian* (38) of one *Sinetas* a *Persian*, who meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river *Cyrus*, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(T) To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39), that *Darius* having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deserts over-ballanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as it he had been over-hasty in a matter of the utmost consequence, *but it was not in his power to undo what he had done* (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(33) *Herodot. l.* vii. (34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Plutarch. in Artaxerx.* (36) *Plutarch. in Apophthegmat*, (37) *Plutarch. in Artaxer. & apophthegmat.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l.* i. *c.* 32. (39) *Herodot. l.* vii. (40) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiv. (41) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xii. (42) *Xenoph. l.* i. Ἀνάβ. *p.* 205.

different provinces, and ſome of them attended the king whither-ſoever he went [n]. The king often adviſed with them, and in matters concerning himſelf referred the whole to their judgment [i]. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer ſuch only as were famed for their integrity (U).

Their concubines. The *Perſian* kings had ſeveral wives, beſides what number of concubines they pleaſed. *Darius* maintained as many as the days of the year [k]. *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children [l]. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn [m], whence ſome have concluded, that the antient *Perſian* year conſiſted of 360 days, ſeeing that ſeveral of the *Perſian* monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in conſtant courſes [n] (W).

Their revenues. We ſhall end this ſection with ſome account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treaſure and treaſurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both ſacred and profane; and from the great ſums, which *Alexander* found in ſeveral particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immenſe treaſures they poſſeſſed. In the city of *Damaſcus* he found 2600 talents, and ſilver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela* 4000 talents, in *Suſa* 40,000 and 9000 *Darics*, in *Perſepolis* 120,000, in *Paſargada* 6000, in *Ecbatan* 180,000 [o]. Theſe immenſe ſums aroſe from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the aſſeſſment of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. For, during the reigns of *Cyrus* and his ſon *Cambyſes*, no tributes were impoſed, the people voluntarily contributing, for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the impoſing of theſe taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Perſians* gave *Darius* the nick-name of *Merchant*. The ſum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus* [p], amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents [q], beſides other ſmaller ſums. Theſe revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Aſia* only, but in proceſs of time the iſlands and ſeveral provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewiſe taxed, which encreaſed the king's revenues to ſuch a degree, that, if we believe *Juſtin* [r], *Alexander*, after the conqueſt of *Perſia*, received yearly from his ſubjects the ſum of 300,000 talents. The *Perſian* kings preſerved their treaſures in the following manner; they cauſed the gold and ſilver to be melted down and poured into earthen veſſels, which they broke, when occaſion required, and took ſuch a quantity as ſeemed neceſſary [s]. The lands of the *Perſians* were free from all taxes, but other provinces, beſides money, were obliged to contribute conſiderably, each ſomething of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and, in time of war, of his army [t]. Thus the provinces of *Syrene* and *Barca* were, beſides the ordinary taxes, aſſeſſed at ſuch a quantity of corn as was ſufficient to ſupply 120,000 men; the *Satrapæ* of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The *Ethiopians* and adjoining people made a preſent every third

[h] Ælian var. hiſtor. c. xxxiv. [i] Herodot. l. iii. [k] Diodor. Sic. l. xvii. [l] Justin. l. x. [m] Esther, ii. 12—15. [n] See *Whiſton*'s theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149. [o] Curt. l. v. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. Plutarch in Alexand. [p] Herodot. l. iii. [q] See the preface to the firſt volume. [r] Justin. l. xiii. [s] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [t] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xv. Xenoph. l. iv. Ἀνάβασ, p. 261.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raiſed one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Perſian*, but a *Mede* by birth, for having condemned his own ſon to death, according to the power which parents had in thoſe days over their children. And *Cambyſes* being informed, that one of the Judges had received a bribe, cauſed him upon conviction to be flayed alive, and having covered the ſeat, on which he pronounced the unjuſt ſentence, with his ſkin, appointed his ſon in his room, ordering him to ſit in the ſame chair when he pronounced ſentence (44). Theſe judges, according to *Joſephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were ſeven in number, which they gather from the commiſſion of *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, who *was ſent of the king and his ſeven counſellors* (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs: but we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſame writer ſhould alledge the authority of *Q. Curtius* to prove, that the antient *Perſian* year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in expreſs terms, that the *Perſian* year conſiſted of 365 days; his words are, *Magos trecenti & ſexaginta quinque juvenes ſequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Perſis quoque in totidem dies deſcriptus eſt annus* (48); that is, the *Mages* were followed by 365 youths, anſwering in number to the days of the year; for among the *Perſians* too the year is divided into 365 days. But *Curtius* in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly miſtaken, ſince *Herodotus*, whoſe authority is of more weight, in ſpeaking of the tributes which *Darius Hyſtaſpis* laid on the provinces ſubject to the *Perſian* empire, ſays, *that the* Cilicians *were obliged to furniſh* Darius *with* 360 *white horſes, that is, one for every day of the year* (49).

(43) *Ælian. l.* i. *var. hiſtor. c.* xxxiv. (44) *Herodot. l.* v. *Val. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (45) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (46) *Zonar. tom.* I. (47) *Ezra c.* vii. *v.* 14. (48) *Q. Curtius* iii. 3. 8. *& ſeqq.* (49) *Herodot. l.* iii.

a third year of two *Chænixes* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize. The *Colchians* or *Colchi* preſented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincenſe, anſwering the weight of 1000 talents, *&c.* [u]. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and haſten to the moſt entertaining and important part of the *Perſian* hiſtory, their religion and religious ceremonies.

[u] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(X) *Chænix* was a *Greek* meaſure containing ſuch a quantity of wheat as ſerved a man one day.

SECT. III.

Of the Religion of the Persians.

The importance of this ſubject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.

c THERE is hardly any ſubject, which hath employed the pens of authors ancient or modern, that deſerves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to diſcuſs. The religion of the *Perſians*, if we may credit the moſt learned and induſtrious writers [a], is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having ſubſiſted now ſome thouſand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are ſtill extant of the religion of the ancient *Perſians*, are far from correſponding exactly, and the deſcriptions, which modern travellers have given us of thoſe who profeſs this religion in *Perſia* and *India*, even in our time, differ ſo widely, though not indeed in eſſential articles, that it requires no d ſmall degree of patience to ſeparate the ore from the droſs, and to preſent the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and miſrepreſentations (A).

If

[a] Vid. Hiſt. Relig. Veter. Perſar. per Thomam Hyde, 4to, Oxon, 1700. The religion of the *Perſees* by Hen. Lord, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l' Etat. preſent de Perſe par Sanson, Paris, 1695. Hiſt. of Chaldaic Philoſophy by Thomas Stanley, Book ii. p. 67. London, Folio, 1662. Philoſ. General. per Theoph. Galeum, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, by Dean Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, Lond. 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, *&c.*

(A) The accounts, we have of the *Perſian* religion, are, as we have ſtated them above, of two ſorts; firſt, ſuch as have been collected from books; and theſe again may be divided into two claſſes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from *Oriental* hiſtorians; the ſecond conſiſts of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the preſent *Perſians*, who themſelves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practiſe the religion of their anceſtors with little or no variation. As to ſuch as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we ſhall frequently have occaſion to ſhew, prodigiouſly miſled in their opinions, confidently enough delivered on this ſubject. For as to the *Greek* writers, ſuch as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewiſe under this diſadvantage, that being polytheiſts themſelves, they of courſe conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the *Perſians* worſhipped the fire, becauſe they prayed before it; the air, becauſe in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it; and the ſun, becauſe they profeſſed to reverence it (1); nor was this all, they forged, for the ſake of making their hiſtories uniform, ſuch ſacrifices and other religious rites, as ſeemed to them correſpondent with the notions which they had framed of the *Perſian* religion, and attributed them to the *Perſians*. Thus *Herodotus*, ſpeaking of the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impoſſible things of the *Magi*, with as much boldneſs as if he had been eye-witneſs of them. "The country (ſays he) that lies about the "mountain *Pangæus* is called *Phillis*, on the weſt "ſide extending to the river *Angites*, which falls "into the *Strymon* itſelf. At their arrival the *Magi* "offered a ſacrifice of white horſes to this river; "and after they had thrown them into the ſtream "with a compoſition of various drugs, the army "broke up, and marched to the *Nine Ways* of the *Edonians*, where they found bridges prepared for their "paſſage over the *Strymon*. But being informed that "this place was called by the name of the *Nine* "*Ways*, they took nine of the ſons and daughters "of the inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the "manner of the *Perſians* is. And I have heard, that "*Ameſtris*, the wife of *Xerxes*, having attained to "a conſiderable age, cauſed fourteen children of the "beſt families in *Perſia* to be interred alive, for a "ſacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they ſay, "is beneath the earth (2)." We have ſhewn in the text, that the *Perſians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they ſacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running ſtream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which conſiſted in preſerving the purity of thoſe elements; and

(1) *Herodotus, Clio, p.* 25. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* xv. *Diog. Laertius in Præem.* (2) *Herodotus, Polymn. p.* 183.

IF we had still any considerable collection of the ancient *Persian* records, we should doubtless find in them what would satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men; but as these are either most of them long since destroyed, or at least are hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Persians* have preserved the worship of one God, and other essential articles of true religion [b], through a long course of ages, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their masters; a thing singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed, since the death of *Yezdegherd*, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them and christians, with like contempt, *infidels*. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill connected legends of the *Arabian* impostor; and though the modern *Persians* (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowledged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have just reason to believe, they will at last acknowledge the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the christian church (B).

WE

[b] Hist. relig. veter. Pers. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 303.

and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcasses; and in respect to sacrifices, *Herodotus* himself in another place acknowledges as much (3). *Q. Curtius* with like hardiness describes the chariot of *Darius*, in which he appeared in the field against *Alexander*; "it was adorned (says he) with images "of their gods in silver and gold, the axle-tree "thereof glittered with precious stones; upon it "were two images of gold, the one representing "*Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a cubit stature each; "between them was an eagle of gold displaying "her wings over both, *&c.* (4)" All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worshipped by the *Persians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them; what makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventor of this whole story, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other ancient historian; but *Curtius* was so great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but, on the contrary, loaded all his descriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the *Persians*, or as some call them *Persees*, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of less intricate things than these. As for *Henry Lord*, whose small treatise in relation to these people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or no; he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall on occasion make use of, what-ever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers concerning the *Persees*, their tenets, and customs; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of these; the very learned and judicious doctor *Thomas Hyde*, who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, at well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the ancient *Persians*, wherein every thing he lays down is supported by ancient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from *Zerdusht*, a compendium of whose writings contained in the book *Sad-der*, the *Enchiridion* of the modern *Persees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into *Persia*, the ancient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion; for the *Mohammedans* being generally speaking bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but on every occasion are stirring up their princes to oppress and destroy, under colour of religion, these relicts of the ancient *Persians*. It is true, the *Mohammedan Persians* have in all ages had among them some men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever enquired thoroughly into the doctrine of these poor people; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to load them with opprobrious names, and such as they no way deserve; thus they call them *Noguscha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or *deserter of the true faith*; *Ghebri*, i. e. *infidel*; this word is as differently spelt as it is differently pronounced, the most usual way of writing it is *Ghaur*; they likewise stile an ancient *Persian Ateshpereste*, i. e. *fire-worshipper*; *Philiv* or *Caliv*, i. e. *fool* or *madman*; the most gentle term they make use of is *Mogh*, that is, *Magian*, but then they frequently say that a *Mogh* is *Atesh-pereste* and *Zindik*, that is, *a fire-worshipper* and a *Sadducee*; for among other calumnies with which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is one; however, though they may amongst themselves destroy their good name, yet with strangers their aspersions do the *Persians* no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of these poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and esteem: it would be an easy matter to support all that has been advanced in this note, by quotations from the best accounts we have

(3) *Clio*, *p.* 25. (4) *Q. Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. (5) *lib.* ii. *cap.* 11. (6) *Lord's history of the Persees*, *p.* 10. 44. (7) *Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroastris Præcepta & Canones continens: In usum Ecclesiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.*

Origin of the Persian religion.

a WE have heretofore shewn, that the original inhabitants of *Persia* descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem* [c], and from those two patriarchs, it is most probable, they derived the true religion, which at first flourished amongst them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites and heretical opinions, at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of *Zabiism*. From which some affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the superfluous doctrines they had adopted, left it them once more pure, and in the same

The Persians pretend to derive their religion from Abraham.

b condition, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendents [d]. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and ingaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in superstitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith (C).

They were always zealous in the service of One God.

HOWEVER the splendor of their religion might be darkened with these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*); for the *Persians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent God, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent, so that they could not bear, that he should be represented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the universe should be cir-

c cumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples [e]; on this account they overturned the statues and places of public worship among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the deity, and not from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the ancient *Persian* empire, the worship of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the *Magi* [f], who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one God*, and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

An account of the nature of that respect shewn by them to fire and to the sun.

THE only objection, to which the ancient and modern *Persians* have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire and to the sun: yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that

d there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest,

to

[c] Vol. I. p. 162. [d] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 313. [e] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 3. HERODOTUS, Clio, p. 25. [f] Hist. Relig. vet. Persar. p. 90.

have of *Persia* and the *Indies*; but, instead of fatiguing the reader, it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five precepts which these *Persians* acknowledge as the rule of life, which every *Behedin* or *Lay-man* is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. *Lord*.

I. "To have shame ever with them, as a remedy "against all sin; for a man would never oppress his "inferiors, if he had any shame; a man would ne"ver steal, if he had any shame; a man would ne"ver bear false witness, if he had any shame; a "man would never be overcome with drink, if he "had any shame. But because this is laid aside, "men are ready to commit any of these, and there"fore the *Behedin* or *Lay-man* must think of shame.

II. "To have fear always present with them, "and that every time the eye twinkled or closed "his lids together, they should stand in fear at those "times of their prayers, lest they should not go to "heaven; the thought of which should make them "fear to commit sin, for that God sees what man"ner of ones they are, that look up towards him.

III. "That whensoever they are to do any thing, "to think whether the thing be good or bad that "they go about, whether commanded or forbidden "in the *Zundavastaw*; if prohibited, they must "not do it; if allowed by the book of religion, "they may embrace and prosecute the same.

IV. "That whosoever of God's creatures they "should first behold in the morning, it should be a "monitor to put them in mind of their thanks"givings to God, that had given such good things "for mens service and use.

V. "That whensoever they pray by day they "should turn their faces towards the sun, and "whensoever they prayed by night they should in"cline towards the moon; for that they are the "two great lights of heaven, and God's two wit"nesses: most contrary to *Lucifer*, who loveth dark"nes more than light."

(C) That the *Persian* religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles, and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerate person. The *Persians* themselves confess it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver *Zerdusht* came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of *Zabian* heretics had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it cost this restorer of magism to root these foolish superstitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, which we shall give the reader at large in the history of the *Persians* from the *Oriental* writers, under the reign of that monarch in whose days he flourished; for to have inserted so long a digression here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the subsequent history.

to be the symbol to them of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jerusalem* [g], that God revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush [h], and chose to testify his presence in the host of *Israel* by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the day [i]. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the mistakes of ancient writers, or at the stories told us by some *Mohammedan* authors, on this head, since it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious customs and tenets of this people, because they were forbidden by their legislator *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*, as appears from the book *Sad-der*, to teach either their ancient language, or its character, to strangers, or to instruct them in their religion [k]. If any farther regard had been had to the sun in ancient times, it would certainly have descended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Persians*; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde* assures us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requested to enquire concerning the worship of *Mithra*, (so the *Persians* call the sun) he accordingly asked some of the priests of the *Persians* settled in *India*, *At what seasons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the sun?* They answered, *That they never adored the sun, or paid any sort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themselves towards the sun when praying, because they looked on it to come nearest to the nature of fire.* The same excellent author observes, that among the precepts of *Zoroaster*, his disciples are directed to pay daily to the sun certain *Niyâsh*, i. e. *salutations*, consisting only in words (and those too addressed to God) without any mention of *Prestish*, i. e. *worship*, by bowing of the body. Yet if any custom of this sort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of religious adoration; for the *Persian Mohammedans*, who are zealous detesters of that impiety, and the *Armenians*, who dwell in *Persia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the sign of the cross, and bowing profoundly low at the sight of the rising sun [l]. To say the truth, adoration, that is, prostrating or bowing of the body, was even among the *Hebrews* a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to speak more properly, the same word, *viz.* השתחויה *Hishtahhavaah* was used to express this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin says, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the sanctuary, that is, out of the temple [m]; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols; but as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to testify their respect to angels, and to persons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reason to suspect these *Persians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the *Oriental* nations, since the sun is no more than the *Kibla* of the *Persians*, as the temple of *Jerusalem* is to the *Jews*, and that of *Mecca* to the *Mohammedans*, who in this respect are so scrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca* [n] from whatever place they are in (D).

The Mithra *of the* Persians *never esteemed a deity.*

As to the notions which the *Persians* have of the sun, they are not, as we shall see hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; some believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the seat of paradise; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradise, but praying nevertheless towards the sun, as a symbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the *Persians* never called *Mithra* a god, or ascribed to it any name of the divinity; and so far from directing any petitions

[g] 2 CHRON. vii. 1. LEVIT. x. 1. [h] EXOD. iii. 2. ACTS vii. 30. [i] EXOD. xiii. 21. NUMB. xiv. 14. NEH. ix. 9. PSALM lxxviii. 14. 1 COR. x. 1. [k] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. [l] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 5. & 6. [m] IARCHI sup. LEVIT. xxvi. 1. [n] Hist. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 95.

(D) It may seem strange, how so odd a notion as this of the peculiar sanctity of one point of the compass ever established itself in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion so universally received as it is at present. If the inquisitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in such a note as this to give him, he may have recourse to the works of the learned Mr. *John Gregory* of *Oxford* (8), who, in treating of two texts of scripture which seem to have some relation to this point (9), hath shewn a consummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for such intricate and abstruse inquiries. For us it is sufficient, that the fact is as we have stated it, since, whether it be right or wrong, the *Persians* must be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(8) *4to, London, A. D.* 1684. *p.* 83.

(9) Zach. iii. 8. vi. 12.

a petitions thereto, they conſtantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the ſun with the praiſes of the moſt high God, to whom alone their prayers are addreſſed [o]. As to the fire, before whom the *Perſians* worſhip, taking that word in an extended ſenſe, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, eſteeming it a ſymbol of the deity, they firſt proſtrate themſelves before it, and then ſtanding up they pray to God. Thus among the ruins of the ancient palace at *Perſepolis* there are ſeen many marble ſtatues of kings, ſtanding praying to God before the figures of the ſun and fire, which are alſo placed on the wall before them, only one figure is ſeen kneeling with the ſame ſymbols before it as the reſt. As the fire in the temple
b was reputed ſacred among the *Jews*, ſo the *Perſians* might from them take this cuſtom of praying before ſacred fires; which is the more likely, ſince it was the manner of God's choſen people to proſtrate themſelves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was alſo a cuſtom among the *Perſians* to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar, in which alſo they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preſerving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which laſt caſe the *Perſians* went ſo far as to puniſh offenders with death. Their kings alſo and principal perſons were wont ſometimes to feed the ſacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, ſtiling theſe *Epulæ Ignis* or *fire dainties* [p]; but ſtill all things done to or by fire were performed to the honour of God, and ter-
c minated ſolely in him; at leaſt, if we may credit the concurrent teſtimony of *Perſic* writers yet remaining, and the conſtant aſſeverations of thoſe who ſtill profeſs this religion (E).

THERE is yet another point in which the *Perſians* are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader ſatisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongſt them, after the time of *Zoroaſter*'s reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the ſun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which ſymbolical repreſentations were called *mithriac figures*, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worſhip; but they were far from being ſo among the *Perſians*, who were a
d wiſe and well-inſtructed people; for with them they ſerved only as mathematical ſymbols for preſerving the true ſyſtem of the univerſe; for which end, and to no other, they were uſed, and perhaps invented, by *Zoroaſter* himſelf, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to prove at large, when we come to ſpeak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man [q].

HAVING thus ſhewn in general the nature of the *Perſian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the ſyſtems received in other nations, either in the eaſt or in the weſt, we ſhall proceed to ſhew what the *Perſians* themſelves have taught concerning the eſtabliſhment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to eſſential points, univerſally received amongſt them.

c THE great fame of *Abraham*, which from a concurrence of various cauſes had diffuſed itſelf throughout the whole eaſt, induced the *Perſians*, as well as the *Zabeans*, to

[o] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. v. [p] HYDE, c. xxii. p. 290. [q] HYDE, c. iv. p. 118. Sect. v. of this Vol.

(E) When we conſider the point in diſpute, which is plainly this, *Whether the ancient* Perſians *had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not?* and what degree of evidence there is on each ſide, it may ſeem ſurprizing, that it is yet made a matter of diſpute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elſewhere tells us ſtrange ſtories of the religious ceremonies of the *Perſians* on hear-ſay, ſpeaking expreſly on this head, ſays all that can be wiſhed or deſired in their favour; for he owns, that the ancient *Perſians* had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifeſtly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of ſpleen againſt *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſors, had written of their inhuman ſacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon*'s authority would be of great weight in the preſent caſe, if he had wrote deciſively, and ſpoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the *Perſians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded their laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the cuſtoms and manners of the *Perſians* (11). *Plutarch*, in a paſſage hereafter more fully cited, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of *Zoroaſter*, and aſcribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wiſe man. There were ſome, he tells us, of the ancients who aſſerted two ſupreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a demon from whom all evil proceeded; this, ſays he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaſter*, who flouriſhed four thouſand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The ſame author then proceeds to a ſuccinct account of the doctrine of the *Magi*, which we ſhall have occaſion to inſert in our text. Dr. *Hyde* has produced an authentic relation

(10) *Herodot. Clio.* (11) *Vid. Cyropædia.* (12) *De Iſid. & Oſir.*

to aſcribe the ſyſtem of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, a
ſtyling their faith at all times *Kiſh-Abraham.* They likewiſe aſcribe the books which they hold ſacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their *Soſh* or *bible*, as we believe the goſpel to have come to us from Chriſt, or the *Mohammedans*, that God revealed to *Mohammed* his *Koran* [r]. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews* and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter aſcribing to him no leſs than ten treatiſes, perhaps all with the like reaſon. The *Perſians* ſay farther, that *Abraham*, while he reſided amongſt them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they from thence ſtyle the city of *Abraham*. But though it muſt be allowed, that the old *Perſian* religion agreed in many great points with the religion of *Abraham*, and though it ſhould be admitted, that his fame b
might even in his life-time be with very advantagious circumſtances publiſhed throughout all *Perſia*, yet it is ſo far from being evident, that it is ſcarce probable, he went himſelf into that country, much leſs that he executed the office of a prophet there, and reſided at *Balch*. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took riſe from the ſuggeſtion of *Zoroaſter*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of *Moſes* and other ſacred books among the *Jews*, and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaſter*, on account of his making it the reſidence of the archimagus or high-prieſt of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being ſuppoſed to live there at all in antient time [s].

c
Though fire was held the ſymbol of the divinity among the *Perſians*, yet the other elements were alſo highly honoured by them, inſomuch, that the *Greeks* and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them *Cultores Elementorum* or *worſhippers of the elements*, a flagrant calumny, ſince all the reſpect they paid them, aroſe from their conceiving them to be the firſt ſeeds of all things, wherefore they ſtudied, by every method poſſible, to preſerve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill ſmells; and, for their officiouſneſs on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his uſual cuſtom, repreſents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (ſays he) *the whole expanſe to be* Jupiter [t]. That they might in like manner preſerve d
the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but ſuffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beaſts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preſerving all the elements pure was by them eſteemed an act of high piety, and as ſuch meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affectors of cleanlineſs, and ſtudious, in an eſpecial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, becauſe they were moſt liable to be contaminated, and hence the *Greeks*, miſtaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without ſcruple, worſhippers of thoſe elements, and tells us formal ſtories of the ſacrifices offered to e
both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and ſuch as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; ſo that it is not impoſſible, that ſome of the *Perſian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, becauſe the *Perſians* univerſally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water deſerved death in this world, and everlaſting puniſhment in that to come, and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For theſe reaſons the *Magi*, where-ever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, aſſigning them keepers,

[r] Hyde, c. ii. p. 28. [s] Connection of the old and New Teſtament, Vol. ii. p. 318. [t] Hyde. c. iii. D'Herbelot, Art. Balkhe.

lation of the ſentiments of the antient *Perſians* on this ſubject, as collected from their ſucceſſors the *Perſees* ſettled in *India*, an abſtract of which will likewiſe be inſerted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruſe the whole of it in the treatiſe of the excellent author above-mentioned. In the ſame place may be found the teſtimony of *Shariſtan*, who wrote in *Arabic* an account of the religions of the eaſt, and who, in ſpeaking of the faith of the *Perſians*, does them all the juſtice that can be (14);

but what is of far greater conſequence to us, than any authority of friends or enemies whatſoever, the book *Sadder*, containing the canon of the *Perſian* faith, is not only extant among the *Perſees*, but even amongſt ourſelves, and every page therein affords us inſtances of *Zoroaſter*'s wiſdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he eſtabliſhed, as to fundamental points, and eſpecially as to the belief of one infinitely wiſe, eternal, ſelf-exiſtent being (15).

(13) *Relig. veter. Perſar. c.* xxii. *p.* 292. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *Vid. Sadder liber Magorum ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Perſar.*

a keepers, whose sole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to see that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had stated and well-settled salaries. For abhorring, as they did, the representing of the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of stone or metal, they chose to preserve fire and water in their utmost purity, that they might serve for symbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the ministration of angels, so they believed, that one of these celestial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called *Ardisir* or *Ardusir*, for whom a particular *Niyâish* or *salutation* was prescribed, the title of which in their antient books runs thus, *Hymn to* Ardisur, *for the benefits received*
b *from the sea, rivers, wells, and fountains.* In this hymn they praised him for taking care of all these places, and prayed, that he might continue so to do, returning God thanks for the various uses made of water, and the mighty advantages resulting to mankind from his wise disposition thereof throughout the earth; they were of opinion, that in paradise such people were peculiarly blessed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this sense preserved a respect for that element during their lives, for which cause they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires and the water used in their houses; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to minister in religious matters, except in the mysteries of *Venus*, which, as we observed before, was a heresy, and as
c such detested by the orthodox magians. In their love to purity and their esteem of water, the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, especially if we consider, that in washing the hands, and putting on the girdle, solemn forms of prayer were enjoined the antient *Persians*, as indeed there were set ejaculations to be used in the performance of the most ordinary actions of human life [u].

With respect to the use they made of fire in their notional religion, the priests who attended it by no means deserved the appellation of *Igniarii Sacerdotes*, i. e. *fire-priests*, for they were truly *Sacerdotes Dei*, *priests of the almighty*, who though, like the *Jewish* priests, they waited on, and took care to preserve, the sacred fire from
d being extinguished; yet this was far from being their only duty; for these, as well as those, read every day publick prayers, and did other sacerdotal offices, as we shall hereafter declare more largely. Yet such has been the hard fate of these people, that, because their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill understood, they have been branded with the name of *Ateish-peresi*, i. e. *fire-worshippers*, so dangerous a thing it is to carry to any excess even innocent ceremonies. They never confessed their sins to any but to God, nor besought a remission of them from any but from him: yet they inclined to perform these publick acts of devotion before the symbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the sun, as the witness of their actions; in like manner the *Jews* confessed their sins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, so that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from superstition (F).

In

[u] Hyde. c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about these people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatise than this whole number; this is a bold assertion, but I will venture to give an instance of it, which I am positive will prove the truth of my observation. Mr. *Tavernier* has spent about fifteen pages in his account of these people, in which there are at least fifty capital mistakes, which any man may discover who is at all versed in *Oriental* literature. In his section of the original and prophets of this sect, he confounds *Zerdusht* with *Abraham*, in such a manner, that it would cost a great deal of time to determine what part of the story belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells us of a king, whom he calls *Newbrout*, probably *Nimrod*, and ascribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is sufficient to shew, how much he was confused on this subject, and consequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaurs* or *Gubres*, as he calls them. Their prophet's name, as set down by him, was *Ebrahim-zer-Atencht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of these people, and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But I must desire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier*'s sincerity as to facts which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the title of one of his sections: "The "*Gaurs* render no such honours to the fire as agree "with this term of worship, they are not idola- "ters, they acknowledge one God, the creator of "the heaven and of the earth, and him only they "profess to worship". In the rest of his sections he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not

In the most antient times the *Persians* had no temples at all, but rear'd altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places [x]. It was *Zoroaster*, who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *pyreum*, or *fire-temple*, but this had no relation to *Mithra* or *the sun*, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air, neither did it subvert their antient principle, that the lord of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls, for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and as it were a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this though many *Greek* and *Oriental* writers were entirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extensive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and testify'd to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshipped only one God, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever [y].

The *Persians* in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preserver of all things; him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*, also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*; joining this with the modern name they say *Hormizda Chodâ*, *O supreme God.* They acknowledge also an evil created being whom they stiled *Abariman*, *Abreman*, or *Ahriman*, and in verse *Ahrimanan*, which signifies amongst them *the devil.* To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name in the antient *Persian* books was thus wrote, *uɐɯıɹɥ∀* to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, so they maintained an everlasting enmity against him and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *Div* [z].

Some have asserted, that the antient *Persians* held a co-eternity of these two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *Abariman* was created out of darkness, and that *Oromasdes* first subsisted alone, that by him the light and darkness were created, that in the composition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated and reduced to its own sphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious and a very inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*, very conformable to what has been already said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, which were either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or were invented by *Zerdusht*, to account for those things which surpass human understanding [a]. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus. *Oromasdes*, say they, said once within his mind, how shall my

[x] Herod. Clio. [y] Shahristan, &c. ap. Hyde, c. iii. p. 105. [z] Hyde, c. xi, xiii. [a] Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir.

not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who, without all question, was one of the most intelligent men that ever obliged the publick with an account of his travels, speaks very contemptibly of these people, and would have us believe there is no sort of learning amongst them, but a little astrology; he says, their priests talk confusedly of their religion, and that they were not positive themselves as to the place where their sacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not so happy as to meet with intelligent persons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and satisfactory, nay and supported by undeniable evidence. M. *Le Brun*, by the interposition of the *English* agent, had a conversation with one of their priests, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needless to insert that conversation here, but it may not perhaps be amiss to give the answer of the priest to M. *Le Brun*'s first question, what he thought of the creation of the world and the power of God? He said, he believed God to be the being of beings, a spirit of light, above the comprehension of human understandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and against whose will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January* 1707 (18). As to the *pyrea* or *fire temples*, they were formerly frequent as parish churches in other countries; but since the destruction of the antient *Persians* these structures are by no means common. The *Persees* content themselves with saying their prayers before their common fires, and their priests officiate before them likewise. They have, however, fire-temples or fire-chapels still in some places, and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kirman*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Antiently their temples were splendid, and were dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets, in which, however, there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(16) *Tavern. lib.* iv. *c.* viii. *p.* 480. (17) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 179. (18) *Le Brun, tom.* ii. *p.* 387. (19) *Hyde Relig. veter. Pers. c.* xxix. *p.* 253.

a my power appear if there be nothing to oppose me? this reflection called *Ahriman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of God, and thereby in spite of himself contributes to his glory. The souls of man, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits, but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring against *Ahriman*, clothed them with flesh, promising them, that the light should never forsake them till *Ahriman* and all his servants were subdued; after which the resurrection of the dead is to follow with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good and
b the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the scripture on these heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they say ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion. That the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because without opposition his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do. That the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil one leave to chuse which three thousand years of the nine thousand yet
c to come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to *Ahriman*, man lived in a state of innocence; but that since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that these, however, shall in time pass away, and man live again for a certain space in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twenty thousand years; and as to the demand, they assert, that they shall be punished according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings: at last, however, even these are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that state from whence through the mercy of God they were freed [b] (G).

d The point in which the *Persians* differ most from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they style *Mid-yuzeram*, containing forty-two days; in this, they say, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The second they style *Mid-yusham*, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named *Pitishahim*, including seventy-five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called *Iyaseram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The last they style *Hamespitamidim*, comprehending seventy-five days, wherein was
e made man[c].

It is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Persees*, antient and modern, in the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted succession

[b] Hyde, c. ix. [c] Lord's Religion of the Persees, c. viii. p. 41.

(G) In the course of ages it is not to be wondered, that false notions crept into their religion in some places; as among the *Magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worshipped with idolatrous circumstances their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that heresy, which of all others threatened the religion of *Zoroaster* most was *Manechéism*; for *Manes* that arch-heretick resided long in *Persia*, and there broached his absurd notion of two eternal self-existent beings, and, by mingling the doctrines of *Magiism* and christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, these notions were rooted out, as will be hereafter shewn, by the authority of the civil magistrate, so that the present *Persees* have amongst them none of these whimsical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are a religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very reserved, from whence proceed the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they do speak they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help shewing on such occasions an inveterate dislike against two persons celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are *Alexander the Great* and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) *Hyde, R. V. P. c.* xxi. *p.* 275.

(21) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 180.

ceſſion of perſons inſtructed in their ſacred myſteries, from the time of *Zerduſht* to this day. Their ordinary prieſts are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more ſevere than thoſe given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the bottom of the page. Their high-prieſts were under ſtill ſtricter obligations, and all of them were bound to diſcharge their ſacerdotal offices with mighty exactneſs and devotion[d]. As to their publick worſhip, it was, and is ſtill, thus performed: in every pyreum, or fire temple, there ſtood an altar, on which burnt the ſacred fire, which was always kept alive by the prieſt. When the people aſſembled in order to their devotion, the prieſt put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauſe or cloth paſſing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgy*, which he held in one hand, ſpeaking very ſoftly, and in a whiſpering ſort of tone, holding in his left hand certain ſmall twigs of a ſacred tree, which, as ſoon as the ſervice was over, he threw into the fire. At theſe times all who were preſent put up their prayers to God, for ſuch things as they ſtood in need of, and when prayers were finiſhed, the prieſt and people withdrew ſilently, and with all other tokens of awful reſpects. All theſe rites are ſtill obſerved. But to prevent, as far as poſſible, the people from falling into idolatry, the prieſt now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reaſons why they worſhip before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This exhortation runs uſually in theſe words: "Foraſmuch as fire was delivered to *Zerduſht* by "the almighty, as the ſymbol of his majeſty, wherefore it was required that we "ſhould eſteem it holy, and reſpect it as an emanation from the fountain of light, "and that we ſhould love all things which reſemble it, eſpecially the ſun and moon, "the two great witneſſes of God, the ſight of which ſhould put us in mind of his "Omniſcience; therefore let us, without ſuperſtition, keep the command given us, "ever more praiſing God for the great uſefulneſs of this element, and beſeeching him "to make us always bear in mind the obligations we are under to do our duty towards "him, which is as neceſſary to the health and happineſs of the mind, as light and fire "are to the eaſe and welfare of the body"[e] (H).

They keep yearly ſix feſtivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the ſix ſeaſons, wherein all things were created; after each of theſe feaſts they keep a faſt of five days in memory of God's reſting five days, as they believe, at each of thoſe ſeaſons. As often as they eat either fleſh, fowl, or fiſh, they carry a ſmall part

[d] Hyde, c. xxviii. Lord's account of the *Perſian* religion. [e] Beauchamp's eſſays on important ſubjects, Sect. iii.

(H) Among the ancient *Magi* there were three degrees of prieſts, ordinary prieſts, overſeers of theſe, and an archimagus like our archbiſhop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowledged for the ſucceſſor of *Zoroaſter*, and held the ſupreme head of their church. Theſe in the old *Perſian* language were ſtiled *Mugh*, i. e. *Magus*, *Mubad*, i. e. *ſuperintendant*, and *Mubad Mubadan*, or *High-prieſt* (22). *Lord*, in his account of the religion of the *Perſians*, calls them by other names, *viz.* *Daroos*, *Herboods*, and *Diſtecoos*, the laſt he makes equivalent to *Mubad Mubadan*, and ſays there is never any more than one at a time; the chief of the clergy of the *Perſees*. As to the duty of their prieſts, the ſame writer tells us, that it is compriſed in the eleven rules following, *viz.* 1. The obſerving of the rites preſcribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaſter*, becauſe God is beſt pleaſed with that form of prayer which he has preſcribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's, for God having given to every man what ſeems meet for him in his eyes, to deſire that which is another's, is not only ſhewing a diſlike of God's providence, but is likewiſe affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to ſpeak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all prieſts therefore ſhould ſpeak truth, becauſe they are the ſervants of the God of truth, and as ſuch are credited in what they ſay. 4. To keep cloſe to his buſineſs, and not meddle with wordly matters, for it belongs to the layman to ſee the prieſt wants nothing that is neceſſary, and to the prieſt not to deſire any thing which is ſuperfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to inſtruct the poor layman, and that he may ſee juſt cauſe to reverence his prieſt. 6. To keep himſelf pure and undefiled, becauſe God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, ſhewing himſelf a pattern of meekneſs that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deſerve that he ſhould pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for publick benefits when they deſire it, and to perform conſtantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To ſpend the greateſt part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to aſſiſt all who come to him, becauſe thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerduſht*, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, ſeeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(22) *Hyde, R. V. P. c.* xxviii. *p.* 348.

(23) *Lord's religion of the Perſees, p.* 32.

a part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a very complaisant, as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swines-flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup[f].

When their children are initiated into their religion they send for a priest, and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; b afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, my child is called so or so, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the *Pyreum*, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseeching God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the first time before c the holy fire, after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by *Zerdusht*[g] (I). Of their marriages we are told by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts: First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, d that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young

[f] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 40. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxix.

[g] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 45. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxxiv.

(I) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties enjoined the priests in general, is directed to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must have a care of polluting himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others, as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tythe, *i. e.* the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use, for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and at the year's end must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his publick, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law but with all the sciences, seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating or strong liquors disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank, and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own cause but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though, in consequence of his high office, he may for his consolation receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the ever-living fire brought by *Zerdusht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

(I) It is very possible, that the reader in the perusal of this section may incline to wish, that in some things we had delivered ourselves more copiously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the *Persian* history, as delivered by oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Persians*, because much of their history depends upon them as to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; these we have purposely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their priests at confirmation sell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that the *English* saying, *ungirt, unblest*, has some allusion to this (26)

(24) *Hyde, R. v. Persar. c.* xiii. (25) *Lord's religion of the Persees, p.* 36. (26) *Relig. veter Persar. c.* xxxiii.

young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational. The parties, designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight, opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the new-married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore- b
finger on the woman's forehead, and says, *Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband*; the woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have many sons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in possession of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feast of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage h.

As to their burials two things are remarkable, first, the place; secondly, the man- c
ner. First, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, some affirm, that they have separate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on several towers, the reason of thus exposing them we have elsewhere given, *viz.* the preserving the elements pure, for they conceive that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of prey, they provide in some measure against the infection of the air. However, this custom was antiently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that one of the i apologists for the christian faith, speaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, men- d
tions this expressly, that the *Persians*, since they had received the christian doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this subject, it may not be amiss to observe what is practised among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a priest is in such a case always sent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the sick man: "O Almighty Lord, thou hast commanded that we should not offend thee, this "man hath offended; thou hast ordained that we should do good, yet this man "hath done evil; thou hast required that we should duly and exactly worship thee, "which, however, this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the hour "of death forgive him his offences, his misdeeds, and his neglects, and receive him e
"to thyself!" When he is dead the priest comes not near him; but the corpse is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to speak, as they go along, out of decency; and also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the priest standing at a distance performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus: "This our "brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take "his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire;" they suppose, that the spirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies on this occasion k.

Upon

h Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 48. i Theodor. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128. k Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 49.

a Upon so copious a subject as this, it would have been an easy task to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the desire we have of rendering the several parts of this work consistent with each other, and not to introduce tedious dissertations into a general history, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of so important a part of the *Persian* history, to tire the reader's attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious perusser, however, may, from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leisure an exact system as well of the practical point as of the theoretical tenets of the *Persees*, which would certainly prove an entertaining, as well as instructive, piece, though inconsistent with the design, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Persia.

b As we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*'s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn [a], that *Elam* or *Persia* was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful. *Chedorlaomer*, the first king of *Elam* mentioned in scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries [b]. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*, but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of *Elam* no sooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with *Amra-*
c *phel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of *nations*, he marched out against them, and having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam* loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* [c] informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his fa-
d mily, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus* we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at in the history of the *Medes*, viz. that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians*, but afterwards recovered their ancient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those
e greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record, is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [d].

Achæmenes.	*Teispes.*	*Hystaspes.*
Cambyses.	*Ariarammes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arsames.*	*Xerxes.*

Of

[a] Vol. II. p. 15. [b] Gen. xiv. 4. & Joseph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. [c] Joseph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 19.
[d] Herodot. l. vii.

Of this great family there were two branches; from the the first was descended *Cyrus* a *the great*, whose issue-male failed in his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner [e].

Perses.	*Cyrus.*	*Cambyses.*
Achæmenes.	*Cambyses.*	*Smerdis.*
Darius.	*Cyrus the Great.*	

They will have *Perses*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle [f]; and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was perhaps a copy. *Darius* is mentioned by *Herodotus* [g], and supposed by some to have b coined the famous *Darics* or *Stateres Darici*, which supposition is disproved by *Herodotus* [h], telling us, that the *Persians* had neither gold nor silver before the conquest of *Lydia*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyses* and *Atossa*; *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia* [i], and *Cambyses Mandane*, the so much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

Cyrus. The name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and profane history; in the latter his valour and conquests have rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his c kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their ancient state, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name [k] many years before he appeared in the world; an honour bestowed upon none, but him and that excellent prince *Josiah* [l] king of *Judah*. Profane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some d particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall in the first place hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprizing incidents, is what we shall examine afterwards.

Account of the birth, education, &c. of Cyrus, according to Herodotus.

Astyages, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son, who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyses*, sprung from an ancient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another dream portending a-new, according to the interpretation of the *Mages*, the empire e of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in *Media* puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the *Mages* had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane*, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the *Mages*, delivered to one *Harpagus*, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. *Harpagus* promised to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the f infant richly dressed, went home under great concern, as seeing himself employed in so cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as soon as he came home with

[e] Reinecc. hist. jul. p. 37. [f] Ælian. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. [g] Herodot. l. i.
[h] Herodot. l. i. c. 71. [i] Diodor. Sicul. in Fragm. l. xxxi. [k] Isa. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.
[l] 1 Kings xiii. 2.

(A) *Ovid.* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the 7th after *Belus*,

Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, *isque,*
Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.

As this king is no where to be found but in *Ovid*'s metamorphoses, what is said of him deserves no more credit than they do.

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kindom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia*.

(1) *Ovid. Metam. l.* iv.

a with what had passed between *Astyages* and himself, and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caspian* sea. The herdsman's name was *Mitradates*, and his wife's, in the language of the *Medes*, *Spaco*, which signifies *a bitch*, and answers her *Greek* name *Cyno*. *Mitradates*, without delay, waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The b herdsman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife just delivered of a son. During her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from *Harpagus*, who had never before sent for him; and therefore he no sooner set his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprize, why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such haste? He told her, he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that when he arrived, the house of *Harpagus* was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was struck with horror in seeing an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away c this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that at first he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of *Harpagus*, but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and son to *Cambyses* of *Persia*, and that *Astyages* had commanded it should be put to death [l].

Having thus spoke, he disclosed the child to his wife, who no sooner saw it, but being ravished with the innocent smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But d he, remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly enjoyned him, she suggested to him to take their own child that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficiently consult our own safety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulchre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death [m].

Mithridates approved of this expedient, and delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, e and carried it in the same basket, in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own [n].

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having distinguished them into several orders and f classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders. Whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized and whipt very severely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son, and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened with his son to the king's palace, and shewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his son had been abused by the son of a slave, entreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction, and commanding both the herdsman and his son

[l] Herodot. l. i. c. 107. & seq [m] Herodot. ubi supra. [n] Herodot. ubi supra.

son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the son of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, vested with that character, had commanded, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders, and for his disobedience suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mien and features, and thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him, that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him? *Mitradates* affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages*, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him, whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy [o].

Astyages was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent passion asked him in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane*. When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatned him, by any sort of falshood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding, that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body [p].

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson [q].

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of *Astyages*, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus* and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained? *Harpagus* replyed, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replyed, with a surprizing temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them [r].

Astyages, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and having again consulted the *Mages*, their answer was, that if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king, *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive, adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he

[o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem, ibid.

a he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigor and severity. Hereupon the *Mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events. They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in *Persia* [s].

Astyages, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into *Persia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from

b those of the poor herdsman *Mitradates* and his wife *Spaco* [t].

THUS *Astyages*, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which it is more easy to conceive than express. As they had long given him over for dead, they asked him in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, till those, who attended him on his journey into *Persia*, informed him of all that had passed. He related, how he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of

c *Cyno*, commended her on all occasions. And this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the *Persians*, that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch [u].

WHEN *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media* on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time he solicited the leading men among the *Medes*,

d who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing *Astyages*, and advancing his grandson *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs; whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to *Persia* were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domesticks, dressed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever [w].

e THE messenger executed his orders, and *Cyrus* opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation, against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the *Persians* to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined at all events to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. *Cyrus*, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the *Persians* to revolt, and after various schemes, fixed upon

f the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from *Astyages*, appointing him commander in chief of all the *Persian* forces; this he read in a general assembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commission commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in pursuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a spot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctancy, he dismissed them with orders to

[s] Idem, ibid. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Idem, ibid. [w] Idem, ibid.

to attend him again the next day. In the mean time he caused all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Persia* could supply him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, *Cyrus* ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would chuse to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all answered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleasure to toil and labour, so they did the condition of the present day to that of the precedent. Upon this answer *Cyrus* acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they should enjoy these and far greater pleasures, without any kind of servile labour; but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then disclosed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The *Persians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctancy, in subjection to the *Medes*, declared him with one accord their leader, and protested, that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives.

In the mean time, *Astyages*, being informed of what was doing in *Persia*, dispatched a messenger to *Cyrus*, enjoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus* by the same messenger returned this resolute answer, *That he would come sooner than* Astyages *desired*. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When *Astyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion, and vowing that *Cyrus* should not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the *Mages*, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the *Medes*, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. *Astyages* in this state was reproached and insulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who among other things asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled him to devour the flesh of his own son, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a prison. *Astyages* in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, asked him whether he had been instrumental in bringing about this revolution. He answered, that it was chiefly oweing to him, since he had the first encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replyed *Astyages*, you are the weakest and most unjust of all men: the weakest, in giving the kingdom to another, when you might have seized on it yourself since you have been able to effect this change; the most unjust, in inslaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depose me and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might with more justice have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity than a *Persian*. Whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Persia*, and no-ways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of slaves, and the *Persians*, who were servants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Astyages* was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the *Medes* became subject to the *Persians*, after they had ruled over all those provinces of *Asia* that lie on the other side of the *Halys* for the space of 128 years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him prisoner in his palace till he died, without practising any farther severity upon him [x].

This is the account which *Herodotus* gives us, and every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an arrant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took more delight in surprizing, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

What

[x] Herodot. ubi supra.

a WHAT the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him [y], invaded the *Massagetes*, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Spargapises* the son of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to *Cyrus*, entreating him to release the young prince; which he refu-
b sing to do, *Spargapises*, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the *Persians* battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both sides; but at last the *Massagetes* carrying the day, the greatest part of the *Persian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these words, *Glut thyself with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after.*

WHAT the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C),
c while he was on his march to besiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, the prince, highly resenting such an affront, immediately caused the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole summer, and obliged him to postpone the siege of *Babylon* to the spring ensuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of so great experience and such an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is, even by *Herodotus* himself, represented to have been, while he was marching to the conquest of *Babylon*, should so idly waste his time, and spend the ardour of his troops, in such an unprofitable piece of work?

d WE shall now give what we look upon as the true history of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chuse to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, seeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the standard of truth, than those of *Herodotus*. We are told, for instance, in scripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raises the *Persian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*, which is repugnant to scripture. It is true, that most of the ancients have chosen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*; but that we can easily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more strange and surprizing, and consequently more diverting and
e acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to those of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raise admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt such accounts as he thinks will prove most agreeable to the reader, has been greatly countenanced by *Plato* [z], who, in giving a character of *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia*, tells us, that he rather described in that work what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. From this passage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes [a], that *Plato* looked on the *institution of Cyrus* as a fiction. *Tully* passes the same judgment on this performance, saying [b], that *Xenophon*'s *Cyrus* was not intended for a true history, but to serve as a model of a just empire. Most of the modern critics have declared themselves of the same opinion;
f and we must own, that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and philosopher, he has woven into that history many of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the most material transactions he relates, may not be called a true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himself of *Cyrus*'s birth, education, and character; and that

[y] HERODOT. l. i. c. 214. [z] PLATO de legib. l. iii. [a] DIOG. LAER. in vit. philosoph.
[b] Epist. i. ad quintum fratrem.

(C) The river *Gyndes* rises on the hills of *Matiene*, and passing through *Dardania* falls into the *Tigris*.

that it is really ſuch, its conformity with holy writ ſufficiently ſhews. Wherefore a bating his military and political deſcants and digreſſions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true hiſtory. He was eſteemed by the ancients [c] a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of *Cyrus* the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than *Herodotus* could have; and as he confined himſelf to this ſubject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactneſs than the other, who wrote of ſo many different ſubjects and nations. And theſe are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon*, in what relates to *Cyrus*, rather than *Herodotus* or thoſe who have copied after him (D).

The true hiſtory of Cyrus. *Year of the flood* 2400. *Before Chriſt* 599.

Cyrus was the ſon of *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia* and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Aſtyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares* the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the firſt twelve years of his life with his parents in *Perſia*, where he was educated after the *Perſian* manner, and inured to hardſhips and ſuch exerciſes as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war (F). When he was twelve years old his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media* to his grandfather *Aſtyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a deſire to ſee him. During the time of his reſidence at this court, the ſweetneſs of his temper, his generous behaviour, and conſtant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and ſuch an intereſt among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded [d]. b

When *Cyrus* was about ſixteen years of age, *Evil-merodach*, the ſon of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to ſhew his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out *Aſtyages* with his forces to oppoſe the invader. On this occaſion *Cyrus* attending his grandfather firſt entered the ſchool of war, and behaved ſo well, that the victory, which the *Medes* gained over the *Babylonians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in *Perſia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the aſſiſtance of his uncle *Cyaxares* [e]. c

Aſtyages king of the *Medes* was ſucceeded, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of that people, by his ſon *Cyaxares* brother to *Mandane Cyrus*'s mother. This prince was ſcarce warm on his throne, when he was informed, that *Nerigliſſar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*, that he had already engaged ſeveral princes on his ſide, and amongſt others *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, and that he had diſpatched ambaſſadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to inſtil jealouſies into the ſeveral princes of theſe countries, and to ſtir them up againſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as aſpiring to an univerſal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus* out of *Perſia* to his aſſiſtance, and, upon his arrival with a body of 30000 *Perſians*, appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Perſians* (G) [f]. d

He

[c] See Diog. Laert. in vit Xenophon. [d] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 36. [e] Idem ibid. p. 44, 45, &c. [f] Idem, ibid. p. 58.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks, that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related alſo by *Herodotus*; and *Eraſmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a juſt government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: ſo fond are they of the ſurprizing incidents related by his antagoniſt *Herodotus*,

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, *viz.* that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane* daughter to *Aſtyages*; but *Cteſias* would have us believe, that *Cyrus* was no ways related to *Aſtyages*, or *Aſtigas* as he is pleaſed to call him.

(F) The name of *Perſia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the name of *Perſia*. For the whole *Perſian* nation could at that time raiſe but 120,000 men (2). But after the conqueſts of *Cyrus*, it took in that vaſt tract, which extended eaſt and weſt from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and ſouth from the *Caſpian* ſea to the ocean.

(G) This army conſiſted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the *Perſians* had yet no cavalry; but they were all choſen men, and raiſed after a particular manner. Firſt of all *Cyrus* choſe out of the nobility 201 officers: each of theſe was ordered to chuſe four more of the ſame rank which made a thouſand in all; and theſe were called ὁμότιμοι or *men of the ſame dignity*, and eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves on all occaſions. Every one of theſe was ordered to raiſe among the people ten pikemen lightly armed, ten ſlingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of theſe troops, was veſted with the command of the confederate army, thoſe begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Perſia* and *Media*, though the regal power was ſolely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(2) *Cyropæd.* l. 1. (3) *Idem, ibidem.*

He had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and shake off the yoke. Accordingly he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entered that country, before the inhabitants
b had any intelligence of his march, surprized the king and all his family, and having obliged him to pay the usual tribute and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media* [g].

Both parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations of war. In the beginning of the 4th year the confederate armies on both sides took the field, and being come in sight of each other, the *Babylonians* under *Nerigliſſar* their king encamped and fortified themselves with strong intrenchments, while the *Medes* and *Persians* under the command of *Cyrus* covered themselves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the *Babylonians* leaving their intrenchments, and
c drawing themselves up in battle array, *Cyrus* advanced to attack them. On the side of the *Assyrians*, the bow-men and slingers made their discharge before the enemy was within reach. But the *Persians*, animated by the presence and example of *Cyrus*, immediately closed in with the enemy, and broke through their battalions. The *Babylonians*, notwithstanding all the efforts used by *Crœsus* and their own king, were not able to stand so rude a shock, but immediately betook themselves to a precipitous flight. At the same time the cavalry of the *Medes* fell upon the enemies horse, which was likewise put to the rout. *Cyrus* pursued them close to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himself in a condition to force them, sounded the retreat. In this battle *Nerigliſſar* king of the *Babylonians* was killed; whereupon *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*, as being in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made
d as good a retreat as he could. But the next day *Cyrus* returned to the charge, drove the *Babylonians* from their camp, and with the assistance of the *Hyrcanians*, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many prisoners and the baggage of the whole army [h]. *Cyrus* reserved all the horses that were taken for himself, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Persian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richest and most valuable part of the booty he set apart for *Cyaxares*; and as for the prisoners, he allowed them to return home to their respective countries, without imposing any other condition upon them, than that they should deliver up their arms, and engage no more against him and his allies [i].

Babylonians *defeated.*

Nerigliſſar *killed.*

The death of *Nerigliſſar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and wisdom, the preparations he made for the war shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the *Babylonians* more sensible of the loss they had suffered, than the tyrannical government of his son and successor *Laborosoarchod*, who was in every thing quite the reverse of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice. Two acts of his
e cruelty towards two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobrias* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join *Cyrus*, and be very instrumental in the subversion of the *Babylonian* empire. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting-match, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he pierced with his dart a wild beast which the king had missed. The other he caused to be made an eunuch, because one of his concubines had commended him as an handsome man. These acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to *Cyrus*, and hastened the conquest of *Babylon*. For *Cyrus*, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken
f possession of the provinces, castles, and strong-holds, which the two injured princes had been trusted with, he got a footing in *Assyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* itself. The king took the field against *Gadates*, but being met by *Cyrus* he was put flight, and obliged to retire with great slaughter to his

[g] Idem. lib. 3. p. 62—76. [h] Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104. [i] Idem, ibid.

his metropolis. *Cyrus*, having thus spent the summer in ravaging the enemy's coun- a
try, and shewn himself twice before the walls of *Babylon*, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into *Media*, and on his march took three strong-holds on the frontiers [k].

As soon as *Cyrus* was retired, *Laborosoarchod*, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave a loose to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, insomuch, that his own subjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conspired against him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign [l]. *Nabonadius*, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himself, the *Babylonians* would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary b
parts, took the main burden of publick affairs upon herself, and, while her son followed his pleasures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preserve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which *Nebuchadnezzar* had begun for the defence of *Babylon*, raised strong fortifications on the side of the river, and caused a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, 12 foot high and 15 wide. This she did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were strong fortresses and separated by the river [m], that in case one of them should be distressed by the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a safe retreat to, the other.

While the queen was thus taking all possible precautions against the enemy, c
Cyaxares came to *Cyrus*'s camp, and after several consultations they determined to alter their method; and, instead of contenting themselves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was necessary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortresses, that so they might make themselves masters of the country, and distress the city of *Babylon* by intercepting their provisions [n]. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under subjection entire provinces, without meeting with any considerable resistance from the *Babylonians*. The progress *Cyrus* made in those conquests roused at last *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treasures, left *Babylon* and repaired to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, by whose assistance and interest he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, d
Grecks, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Lesser Asia*. These various nations under the conduct of *Cræsus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, assembled near the river *Pactolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus*, being informed of these vast preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deserter, put himself into a condition to oppose them; and having increased the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceless, and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to consume their forage, and e
disconcert their measures, by the quickness of his march and boldness of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus*'s army was 196000 strong, horse and foot, besides these troops he had 300 chariots armed with sithes, each chariot drawn by four horses abreast, covered with trappings that were proof against all sorts of missive weapons: he had likewise a great number of other chariots of a larger size, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower was lodged 20 archers. These chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreast. There was moreover a considerable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the f
other towards the hinder part of the camel. The army of *Cræsus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immense plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to surround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the *Egytians*, who alone made a body of 120,000 men and were the main strength of the army, in the center [o].

When

[k] Idem, l. v. p. 123—140. [l] Berosus apud Joseph. contra. Apion. l. i. Megasth. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix. [m] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. Philostrat. l. i. c. 18. [n] Cyropæd. l. vi. 156, &c. [o] Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172.

Battle of Thymbra. Year of the flood 2455. Before Christ 544.

a When the two armies were in sight of each other, *Cræsus*, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the center halt, and the two wings advance with a design to inclose *Cyrus*'s army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, so that *Cyrus*'s army was hem'd in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed like a small square drawn within a great one [p].

b This motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemies other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. The horses upon the approach of the camels were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders and trod them under foot, which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artageses*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the same time the chariots armed with sithes being furiously driven against them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates* his chief favourite to fall upon the center with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first

c ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued. *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the *Egyptians* advancing boldly obliged the *Persian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins discharged upon them from the towers, and at the same time the *Persian* rear advancing sword in hand obliged their archers and spear-men to return to the charge. In

d the mean time *Cyrus*, having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, pushed on to the center, where he had the mortification to find his *Persians* again giving ground, and judging that the only way to stop the *Egyptians* who were pursuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did so, and at the same time the *Persian* cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides, for the *Egyptians* facing about defended themselves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himself was in great danger; for his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies, but being saved by the *Persians*, who, alarmed at this danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus* admiring the valour

e of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with *Cyrus* that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Cræsus*, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and from that time served him with the utmost fidelity [q] (H).

The engagement lasted till night, when *Cræsus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*, and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to pursue them, but the next morning advanced towards *Sardis*. *Cræsus* hearing of his approach marched out with his *Lydians*, for the

f auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal strength consisted

[p] Idem, p. 173. [q] Idem, l. vii. 172—178.

(H) *Xenophon* observes here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Larissa* and *Cyllene* on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendents in his time; and adds, that these places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This observation, and many others he makes his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true history of *Cyrus*, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(4) *Idem. l.* vii. *p.* 179.

filled in cavalry, which *Cyrus* being sensible of, made his camels advance against them, whose smell the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the *Lydians*, who at that time were one of the most warlike nations of *Asia*, dismounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately closely besieged by *Cyrus*[r] (I).

Sardis *taken.*

The night after he invested the city he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a *Persian* slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the *Lydians* having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all *Asia*, from being plundered. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and *Crœsus* himself, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, set them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person[s] (K).

Cyrus after the conquest of *Lydia* continued in *Lesser Asia*, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that great continent, from the *Ægean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and having brought those nations likewise

[r] Herodot. l. i. 79—84. [s] Idem, l. vii. p. 181—184.

(I) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis* he performed the exequies of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Shusham* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, being induced thereto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea* out of grief slew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it was to be seen many ages after (5).

(K) The taking of *Crœsus* is differently related by *Herodotus* and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, *Crœsus* being shut up in *Sardis* dispatched ambassadors to all his allies, intreating their assistance. But in the mean time *Cyrus* pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city, before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And and accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The design of *Cyrus* in so doing was, according to *Herodotus*, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When *Crœsus* had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him, no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this *Crœsus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, he called upon the name of *Solon*. This raised in *Cyrus* such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compassion for *Crœsus*, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be mastered. In this distress *Crœsus* being informed that *Cyrus* designed to save his life, but seeing his *Persians* attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking *Apollo*, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had scarce ended his prayer when clouds were seen gathering in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing quite extinguished the flame. *Cyrus* understanding by this miraculous event that *Crœsus* was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that, upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Crœsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of* Crœsus. These were the first words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to speak readily till his death (7).

(5) *Idem, l.* v. & vii. (6) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 85. (7) *Herodot. ibid.*

a likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him. *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynitus*, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to *Babylon*, where he was immediately blocked up and closely besieged by *Cyrus*. The siege of this important place was no easy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city stored with all sorts of provisions for twenty years. However, these difficulties did not discourage *Cyrus* from prosecuting his design. But despairing to take the place by storm, he caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and
b deep ditch, reckoning, that if all communication with the country were cut off, the more people there was within the city, the sooner they would be obliged to surrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged, thinking themselves out of all danger by reason of their high walls and magazines, insulted *Cyrus* from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himself as so much unprofitable labour [t].

Cyrus having spent two entire years before *Babylon*, without gaining any considerable advantage over the city, at last resolved upon the following stratagem, which put him in possession of the place. He was informed, that a great annual solemnity
c was to be kept in *Babylon*, and that the *Babylonians* on that occasion were accustomed to spend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to surprise them in, and accordingly sent a strong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elsewhere described [u], with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the same time he posted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides of the river above the city, that the
d water might discharge itself into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was soon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by *Gobrias*, and the other by *Gadates*, and finding the gates all left open, by reason of the general disorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any opposition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, surprised the guards, and cut them in pieces. Those who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cause of this confusion, the *Persians* rushed in, took the palace and killed the king, who sword in hand came up to meet them. The king being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest volun-
e tarily submitted, and *Cyrus* without any farther resistance became master of the place, and concluded his conquests after a war of 21 years [w]. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel* had uttered against that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account [x].

Babylon *taken. Year of the flood* 2461: *Before Christ* 538.

The king of *Babylon* being killed, *Darius* the *Mede* is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom [y]. By *Darius* the *Mede* is meant *Cyaxares*, king of the *Medes* and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the history of *Media*. For *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. *Cyrus*, having
f settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia* to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were still alive [y], and after a short stay there went back to *Babylon* together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival they concerted together the settling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

The civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review he found, they consisted of 120,000 horse, 2000 chariots armed with scythes, and 600,000 foot. Of these having distributed into garisons

[t] Herodot. l. i. c. 177. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 186—188. [u] Vol. I. p. 961. [w] Idem. ibid. p. 189—192. [x] Vol. I. p. 973. [y] Dan. v. 31. vii. 1. viii. 1. [y] Idem. ibid.

garisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the *Red-Sea* and the confines of *Ethiopia* [z]. In this interval of time *Daniel* was by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media*.

Year of the flood 2463. Before Christ 536.

About two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyses* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to *Babylon* and took upon him the whole government of the empire [a], which he held for the space of seven years (K).

In the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiah* [b], naming him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judea* to be repossessed by their antient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of 4236 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for *Judea*. And thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). *Cyrus* restored at the same time to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nabuchadonosor* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his God *Baal*.

After the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter *Cyrus*'s decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the ministers to obstruct the execution of it; so that for several years the building went on but very slowly.

And it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that in the third year of that prince *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three years together [c].

But to return to *Cyrus*. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural subjects and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the east by the river *Indus*, on the north by the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas, on the west by the *Ægean*, and on the south by *Ethiopia* and the sea of *Arabia*. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon* by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months at *Susa* in the spring, and two months at *Ecbatan* during the heat of the summer [d].

Having

[z] Idem, l. viii. p. 233. [a] Idem. ibid. [b] Isa. xliv. 28. xlv. 1. [c] Dan. x. 1. 3. [d] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media* and *Cambyses* in *Persia*, seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Ezra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Israelites*; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

In the first year of Cyrus, *king of the* Persians, *that the word of the Lord might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of* Jeremy, *the Lord raised up the spirit of* Cyrus *the king of the* Persians; *and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying; Thus saith* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *the Lord of* Israel, *the most high Lord, has made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at* Jerusalem *in* Jewry. *If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to* Jerusalem *that is in* Judea, *and build the house of the Lord of* Israel; *for he is the Lord that dwelleth in* Jerusalem. *Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those I say that are his neighbours) with gold, and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle, and other things which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at* Jerusalem (12).

(8) *Cic de divinat. l.* 2. (9) *Ptolem. in Canone.* (10) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. (11) *Ezra*, i. 1. (12) *Esd.* ii. 1. 7.

a HAVING spent seven years in this state of tranquility, and established his empire with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation alone it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died in the 70th year of his age [e], equally regretted by all the nations of his vast-spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies, thirty years [f]; from the reduction of *Babylon* nine [g]; and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares*, or *Darius* the *Mede*, seven years [h]. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon*'s account, who makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own country, b seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, where *Xenophon* says he died, and his monument was to be seen there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been slain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Justin* relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at *Pasargada*? Besides, it is by no means probable, that such a wise man, as *Cyrus* is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking, as the *Scythian* expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after so great an overthrow the *Persian* empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor c as *Cambyses* was. For *Herodotus* tells us, that he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men, cut in pieces (M).

Cyrus *dies.* *Year of the flood* 2470. *Before Christ* 529.

On his death-bed he appointed his son *Cambyses* to succeed him, who accordingly took possession of that vast empire: To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyses*, known in scripture by the name of *Ahasuerus* [i], was scarce well settled on the throne when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. The occasion of this war, as related by *Herodotus*, seems fabulous [k]. 'Tis most likely, that *Amasis*, who was then king of *Egypt* and had submitted to *Cyrus*, upon the death of that great conqueror refused to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But be that as it will, *Cambyses* in order to carry on the d war with success made vast preparations both by sea and land. The *Cypriots* and *Phœnicians* furnished him with ships; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, especially of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, who were the main strength of his army. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes* of *Halicarnassus*, who, being commander of some *Greek* auxiliaries in the service of *Amasis*, took some disgust, and going over to *Cambyses* made such discourses to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the state of affairs in *Egypt*, as greatly contributed to the success of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that *Cambyses* contracted with an *Arabian* king, whose territories lay between the confines of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to furnish his e army with water during his march through deserts that parted those two countries. The *Arabian* fulfilled his agreement by sending many camels loaded with skins full of water, without which *Cambyses* could never have marched his army that way. [l].

Cambyses.

BEING

[e] CICERO de Divin. l. i. [f] Cic. ubi supra. [g] PTOL. in Can. [h] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 232. [i] EZRA iv. 6. [k] HERODOT. l. iii. cap. 1. and this hist. Vol. I. p. 272, 273. [l] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 4—9.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Massagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Ctesias* (14) says, that in a battle against the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Melela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book ascribed to *Pythagoras*, acquaints us, that he was slain in a sea-fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15), that after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion, and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media* revolted from *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Persians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Artabazus*, who had assisted *Cyrus* in subduing *Asia minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was sent by *Cyaxares* with an army against *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raised a new army, and was again defeated near *Pasargada* in *Persia*, and taken prisoner. By this victory, say they, the monarchy was translated from the *Medes* to the *Persians*. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing so well with holy writ, as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (14) *Ctesias, l.* xi. (15) *Suidas in Aristarchos.*

BEING thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that *Amasis* was just dead, and that his son *Psammenitus*, who had succeeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before *Cambyses* could open a passage into the country, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on that side. But as that was a strong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, *Cambyses* had recourse to the following stratagem, probably suggested to him by *Phanes*. Being informed, that the whole garison consisted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other animals that were looked upon as sacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The soldiers of the garison not daring to throw a dart, b
or shoot an arrow that way, through fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyses* possessed himself of the place without opposition [m].

Cambyses had scarce taken possession of this important place, when *Psammenitus* at the head of a powerful army advanced to stop his further progress; whereupon a bloody battle ensued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the *Greeks* and *Carians* who served under *Psammenitus*, to shew their resentment against *Phanes*, for introducing the *Persians* into *Egypt*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their fathers and in the presence of the two armies drank their blood. The *Persians*, enraged at so cruel a sight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with such fury that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest c
part of them in pieces. Those who saved themselves by flight retired to *Memphis* (N). *Cambyses* pursued them close, and arriving at *Memphis*, sent a herald into the city, on a vessel of *Mitylene*, by the river *Nile* on which *Memphis* stood, to summon the inhabitants to a surrender. But the people transported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyses* after a short siege having stormed the place, fully revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publickly executed for every one of those they had slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As for the king himself who was taken prisoner, *Cambyses* was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only spared his life, but appointed him an honourable d
maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind usage, did all that lay in his power to raise new troubles in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of six months, and with him died the antient splendor and liberty of *Egypt*, for all that country immediately submitted to the conqueror [n].

ON the news of this success the *Lybians*, *Cyrenians*, and *Barceans* sent embassadors with presents to *Cambyses*, declaring themselves ready to submit to him, and receive his forces in their strong-holds. From *Memphis* he marched to the city of *Sais*, the burying-place of the *Egyptian* kings. Here he caused the body of *Amasis* to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after exposing it to a thou- e
sand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of *Amasis*, shews the irreconcileable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cause of that aversion, he seems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade *Egypt* [o].

THE

[m] POLYÆN. l. vii. [n] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 13—15. [o] Idem, ibid. c. xvi.

(N) On occasion of this battle *Herodotus* (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumstance, whereof he himself was an eye-witness. The bones of the *Persians* and *Egyptians* were in his time still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the *Egyptians*, says he, were so hard, that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* custom of shaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness, there being fewer people bald in *Egypt*, as *Herodotus* observes, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were strengthened by this method, so those of the *Persians* were softned by the contrary custom. For they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbants. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at *Papremis* in those who, together with *Achæmenes* the son of *Darius*, were defeated by *Inarus* king of *Lybia*.

(16) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 12.

a THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions, the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But he was forced to drop the first project, by reason the *Phenicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two expeditions, he sent embassadors into *Ethiopia*, who under that character were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians*, being well apprized of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the *Ethiopian* king, in return for the presents
b they brought him from *Cambyses*, sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* embassadors, he addressed them with this speech. "'Tis not from any consideration of my friendship that the king "of *Persia* sent you with these presents; neither have you spoken truth, but are "come into my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man, he would "desire no more than his own, and not attempt to enslave a people who had never "done him any injury. However, give him this bow from me, and let him know, "that the king of *Ethiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make war upon the *Ethio-*
"*pians*, when the *Persians* shall be able thus easily to bend so strong a bow, and in
c "the mean time to thank the gods, that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians* with "a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country."

Cambyses, being informed by his embassadors of all that had passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his absence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detached 50,000 men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, while he with the rest of his army should
d march against the *Ethiopians*. But before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burthen. *Cambyses*, notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt, and the soldiers fed upon herbs and grass, so long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the sandy deserts, they were brought to such extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions, a food, says *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itself [d]. The king still persisted in his mad design, till at last being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having lost great part of his army in this
e wild attempt [e].

As for that part of the army which was sent against the *Hammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of *Oasis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and seven days march distant from *Thebes*. No-body doubts, as our author informs us [f], but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to *Egypt* or their own country. The *Hammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oasis*, and that after they had entered the sandy desart which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

f *Cambyses* on his return to *Thebes* caused all the temples, which in that superstitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples from the remains saved from the flames, which amounted to the sum of 300 talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that encompassed the tomb of king *Ozymandias*, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations [g].

FROM *Thebes Cambyses* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding

[c] Idem, ibid. c. xx—xxiv. [d] SENECA de Ira. l. iii. c. 20. [e] HERODOT. ubi supra. c. 25, 26.
[f] Idem, ibid. c. [g] DIODOR. Sicul. l. i. p. 43—46.

finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates to learn of them the cause of that publick mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom when their god appeared amongst them to celebrate his appearance, with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replyed, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him. a

The chief god of the *Egyptians* was *Osiris*, at *Memphis* called *Apis*. This god they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull to which they paid divine honours in his stead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the *Egyptians* believed, by thunder. We have spoke elsewhere[i] of the marks which were to distinguish him from all others. When he died, another with the same marks were sought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to *Cambyses*, who expected to see some deity, he flew into a violent passion, and drawing his dagger wounded the *Apis* in the thigh, and reproaching the priests for their stupidity in worshipping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipt, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis*, to be slain. The *Apis* after he had languished some time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyses*[k]. b c

The *Egyptians* say, that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyses* was immediately seized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions shewed that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances. We find the following upon record.

He had a brother by the same father and mother, called by *Xenophon Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin Mergis*. He attended *Cambyses* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the bow, which the king of *Ethiopia* had sent, within two fingers breadth, *Cambyses* from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into *Persia*. After his departure *Cambyses* dreamed, that a messenger arriving from *Persia* told him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, suspecting that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched *Prexaspes*, one of his confidents, into *Persia*, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed[l]. d

This murder was followed by another still more criminal. *Cambyses* had with him in the camp his youngest sister by name *Meroe*. As this princess was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was desirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his sister. The judges, being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer. That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but they found a law which gave the king of *Persia* liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer he solemnly married her, and thereby gave the first example of that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the *Ethiopians*. The occasion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner. As *Cambyses* was one day diverting himself in seeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched, another of the same litter breaking loose came to his assistance, by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, *Meroe*, who sat by him, began e f

to

[i] Vol. I. p. 206. [k] Idem, ibid. c. 30. [l] Idem, c. 30.

a to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed, that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom no-body had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child, gave her such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died [m] (N)

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly ap-
b plauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king, they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding, but whether this charge be true or not you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before. Then ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head; and turning to *Prexaspes*, if I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of thy son, the *Persians* you must own have slandered me, but if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoke the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than drawing his bow he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him
c to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character, by saying that wine deprived him of his reason? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dexterously [n] (O)

While he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government, which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sen-
d tence and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking, that, if *Cambyses* should enquire for him and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but if they found, that *Cambyses* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyses* was transported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders [o].

Cambyses in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left *Egypt* in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he met an herald sent from *Susa* to the army,
e to acquaint them, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. *Cambyses*, at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition, had left the administration of affairs during his absence in the hands of *Patizithes* one of the chief of the *Mages*. This *Patizithes* had a brother who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that *Cambyses* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out, that he was the true *Smerdis*

[m] Idem, c. 31, 32. [n] Idem, l. iii. c. 34, 35. [o] Idem. ibid. c. 36.

(N) The *Egyptians*, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyses* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an entire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was; whereupon *Meroe* reply'd, that he had represented the broken lettuce by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words *Cambyses* struck her with his foot, which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est quam missum.*

(17) *Idem*, c. 32. (18) *Seneca*, l. iii. *de Ira*, c. 14.

Smerdis the son of *Cyrus*, and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts a of the empire to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was dispatched to *Egypt*, finding *Cambyses* with his army at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the Orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyses* caused him to be seized, and having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes* who had received Orders to kill his brother, he found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that he who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyses*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out b in a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipt out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said in the presence of all, fate has decreed that *Cambyses* the son of *Cyrus* shall die in this place. For while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatan*; which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media* resolved to save his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called *Ec-* c *batan*, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and having represented to them the true state of the case, he earnestly exhorted them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the *Mage* was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians*, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and *Cambyses* dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly submited to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* d with his own hand [p].

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. And their application was not in vain, for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work [q].

Smerdis *the* Mage. *Year of the flood* 2477. *Before Christ* 522.

THIS prince is called in scripture [r] *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus Smerdis*, by *Æschylus Mardys*, by *Ctesias Spendadates*, and by *Justin Oropastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes e and all military service for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother, *Cambyses*, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the *Mage* pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only encreased the suspicion that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and f among the rest *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes* to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that, as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes* by a second message desired her to enquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from

[p] Idem. l. iii. c. 64—66. [q] EZRA iv. 4. 6. [r] EZRA iv. 7. 14.

a from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the *Mage* to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the *Mage*, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprise her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he
b would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes* upon this information imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution *Otanes*
c named *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas Megabyzus*, and *Aspathines Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, arriving at *Susa* from *Persia* where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. *Darius* at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in *Persia* but himself had known that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a *Mage*, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best-concerted designs easily disappointed. *Otanes* on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their
d design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprise till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him by disclosing the whole matter to the *Mage*, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt [r].

e While they were concerting their measures, the two *Mages* in order to remove all suspicion engaged *Prexaspes* in their interest, and with great promises prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prexaspes*, as we have related above, knew, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was not living, having by the command of *Cambyses* put him to death with his own hand. The *Mages* having engaged *Prexaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the palace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*. *Prexaspes* having taken upon him this office, the *Mages* summoned the *Persians* toge-
f ther, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prexaspes* began his discourse with the genealogy of *Cyrus*, and then put the *Persians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus* and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed, and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run by publishing the imposture had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, not being able to act any longer such a dishonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by *Cambyses* to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the person who possessed the throne was *Smerdis* the *Mage*. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had

[r] Idem, l. iii. c. 74, 75.

had committed by compulsion and against his will, and fulminating many imprecations against the *Persians*, if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty and punish the usurper, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot. 'Tis easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace [a].

In the mean time the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what *Prexaspes* had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize. But *Darius* still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians*, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two *Mages* were consulting about the late affair of *Prexaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow, soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas* that they broke into the room with him. *Gobryas* having seized him held him fast in his arms, but as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which *Gobryas* perceiving desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two *Mages*, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians*, being informed of what passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every *Mage* they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, called by the name of *Magophonia*, or *the slaughter of the Mages*. On that festival the *Mages* durst not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses [b].

Smerdis *the* Mage *murdered.*

Smerdis reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. For assoon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finish that work they would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side of the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they said concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, which they desired him to enquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis*, upon these remonstrances having caused the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, issued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to see it

[a] Idem, c. 74, 75. [b] Idem, c. 76—79.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven *Persians* observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched strait to the palace.

(19) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 76.

a it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aside till the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, that is for the space of near two years [u] (Q).

But to return to the conspirators; when the tumult and disorders, which attend such events, were appeased, they met to consult among themselves what form of government they should introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* spoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate, embraced by all except *Otanes*, who, finding his sentiments over-ruled, told them, that since they were resolved to set up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred, and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his b right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his posterity should be subject to the royal power. The other six granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his descendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther subject to the king than it suited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the customs and manners of the country [w].

Upon his departure the other six began to deliberate in what manner they should proceed to the election of a new king. But in the first place they unanimously agreed, that whosoever of them should be chosen, he should every year present *Otanes* and his posterity with a *Median* vest, a mark of great distinction among the *Persians*, because c he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, that the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to the Gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the rising of the sun on horse-back, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city, and that he, whose horse first neighed, should be king; for the sun being the chief deity of the *Persians*, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of d *Darius*'s horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Persians* repairing to the place pursuant to their agreement, *Darius*'s horse remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors dismounting adored him as king [x].

The *Persian* empire being thus restored by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the first to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors privileged in the same manner, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were e transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in scripture [y].

Darius. *Year after the flood*, 2477. *Before Christ*, 522.

Darius was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called in the writings of the modern *Persians* *Gushtasp*, and his father *Lohrasp*, and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius*, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the *Mage*, but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the *Mage*. Having f thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. *Persia* alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the *Ethiopians* and

[u] Ezra iv. 7—24. [w] Herodot. l. iii. c. 83. [x] Herodot. c. 84—87. [y] Ezra viii. 14. Esth. i. 14, &c.

(Q) That *Cambyses* was the *Ahasuerus* and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of scripture is plain from their obstructing the work of the temple. For they are said in the sacred history to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius* except *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, we must conclude, that none but *Cambyses* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* (20) to have put a stop to this work.

(20) Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

and inhabitants of *Colchis* were enjoined to make only some presents, and the *Arabians* to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment *Darius* received the yearly tribute of 14560 *Euboic* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence.

Darius in the very beginning of his reign put to death *Intaphernes*, one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion. *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above-mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was stopt by the door-keeper and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes* not believing them drew his scymetar, and having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. *Darius* apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked whether they approved the action. But finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, lest his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius* touched with compassion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She after some deliberation chose her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children if she should be deprived of those she had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deserts [z].

In the beginning of the second year of *Darius*, the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* [a]. Which the *Samaritans* understanding applied themseves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, that the *Jews* were not authorized to pursue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances *Tatnai* accompanied by *Setharboznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*, and after viewing the work enquired of the elders by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular, and having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai* enjoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* was entirely restored (R) [b].

Year of the flood 2482. *Before Christ* 517. Babylon *revolts.*

About the beginning of the fifth Year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians*, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their ancient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *Assyrians*. With this

[z] Idem, c. 117. [a] Haggai i. 1. [b] Ezra vi.

(R) From the 19th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 17th according to the *Babylonian* computation) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the 4th Year of *Darius Hystaspis*, when the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, just seventy years passed according to the canon. So that sacred and profane chronology exactly agree in this particular.

a this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of *Cambyses*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years, and at last broke out into an open rebellion, which drew *Darius* with all his forces to besiege the city. The *Babylonians*, seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous reso-
lution, that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the
b women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house [c].

Darius, having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place, among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus* one of his chief commanders put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and having mangled his
c body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians* thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius* for advising him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians*, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*, and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius* by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success *Zopyrus* acquired such cre-
d dit, that the guard of the city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians* mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time *Zopyrus*, opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who without this stratagem could never have mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time, Babylon *taken.*
and *Darius*, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of these walls only *Strabo* [d] is to be understood to speak, where he tells us, that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he
e pardoned the rest. And because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to send 50000 women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have become depopulated. As for *Zopyrus*, he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, rather than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without shedding many tears [e].

The Scythian *expedition.*

After the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the
f *Scythians*, inhabiting those countries which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in subjection for the space of 28 years, as we have related in the history of *Media*. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, to which his ambition alone and desire of extending his conquests prompted him. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*; from *Thrace* he advanced to the *Ister* or *Danube*, where he had appointed his

[c] Idem, c. 150. [d] Strab. l. vi. [e] Herodot. ibid.

his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, a and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the meaſures they ſhould take to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themſelves from the frontiers in proportion as the *Perſians* advanced, laying waſte the country and filling up the wells and ſprings. Purſuant to this reſolution they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and finding him diſpoſed to give them battle, they retired, drawing him from country to country, till his army was quite tired with ſuch tedious and fatiguing marches. At laſt he began to be ſenſible of the danger he was in of periſhing with all his forces, and having reſolved to give over that raſh enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and b ſick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all poſſible expedition in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians*, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a conſiderable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had ſent expreſſes before-hand to perſuade the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they preſſed them to it more earneſtly, repreſenting to them, that as the time preſcribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a c prefixed time, which was already elapſed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to conſult among themſelves, whether or no they ſhould comply with the requeſt of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, having the publick intereſt more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing ſo favourable an opportunity of ſhaking off the *Perſian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius*'s retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except *Hiſtiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who repreſented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, ſince it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depoſe them and recover d their liberty, if the *Perſian* power ſhould ſink or decline. This ſpeech made a deep impreſſion upon the *Ionian* generals, and private intereſt prevailing over the publick good, they determined to wait for *Darius*, but, in order to deceive the *Scythians* and prevent them from uſing any violence, they declared, that their deſign was to retire purſuant to their requeſt; and the better to impoſe upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius*, and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* requeſt, but miſſed *Darius* who arrived ſafe at the bridge, repaſſed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyſus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to com- e pleat the conqueſt of that country. With the reſt of his troops he repaſſed the *Boſphorus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he ſpent the winter and the greateſt part of the year following to refreſh his army, which had ſuffered extremely in that raſh and unſucceſsful expedition [f].

Megabyzus, having brought all *Thrace* under ſubjection, diſpatched ſeven *Perſian* noblemen, that ſerved under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, enjoyning him to acknowledge *Darius* for his Maſter by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their requeſt, but received them into his houſe, and having prepared a ſumptuous feaſt entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the *Perſians*, being hated with wine, deſired *Amyntas* to bring in his f concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the cuſtom of the country, the king, fearing to diſpleaſe them, did as they required. But the *Perſians* not obſerving a due decency on that occaſion, the king's ſon, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to ſee his mother and ſiſters treated in ſuch a manner, contrived to ſend them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the ſame time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time he cauſed a like number of young men to be dreſſed like women, and armed with poniards under their garments. Theſe he brought into the room inſtead of the others, and when the *Perſians* began to uſe them as they had treated the women, they drew their poniards, fell upon the *Perſians*, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great ſearch was made by *Megabyzus* for theſe noblemen, but *Alexander* having

[f] Herodot. l. iv. c. 102-144.

a having with large presents bribed *Bubares*, who was sent to enquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled [g],

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having passed the *Danube* laid waste all that part of *Thrace* which had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellespont*, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any opposition.

Conquers India. *Darius*, having sufficiently refreshed his troops after the *Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards, and in order to facilitate his design resolved in the first place to make a discovery of those countries. With this view he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The b command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia* a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river, till he arrived at the southern ocean; from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax*, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red-Sea* by the straits of *Babelmandel*, and on the 30th month from his first setting out landed in *Egypt* at the same place, from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians*, who were in his service, to sail round the coast of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. c *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the *Persian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only says, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Persian* year at that time [h] (S).

The revolt of the Ionians. *Darius*, after his return to *Susa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace* and the adjacent countries along the sea-coast, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time a sedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the d populace, were banished the island. In their distress they had recourse to *Aristagoras*, beseeching him to restore them to their country. *Aristagoras* at that time resided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Histiæus* (T), to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxus*. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being powerful

[g] Idem, l. v. c. 17—21.

[h] HERODOT. l. iv. c. 44—40.

(S) This payment was made according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, the same with the *Attic*, and therefore, according to the lowest computation, amounted to one million and ninety-five thousand pound sterling.

(T) *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis* after his unhappy expedition against the *Scythians*, being informed, that he owed his own safety and that of his whole army to *Histiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to destroy the bridge on the *Danube*, sent for that prince, and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him, *Histiæus* desired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted he returned to *Miletus*, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for *Thrace*, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis* represented to *Darius*, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both *Greek* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as *Histiæus*, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of *Persia* would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. *Darius*, being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Histiæus*, enjoining him to repair to *Sardis* in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending, that he wanted such an able counsellor and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Histiæus*, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21).

(21) *Herodot.* l. v. c. 1.

ful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxus*; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection; that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other would be an easy conquest, and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Artaphernes* was so well pleased with these proposals, that instead of the hundred ships, which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly having obtained the king's consent he sent the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a dissention arose between the two generals, which was carried so far, that *Megabates*, to be revenged on *Aristagoras*, gave the *Naxians* secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the *Persians*, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, *Megabates* threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*, and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay so large a sum, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from *Histiæus* who confirmed him in it. (U). *Histiæus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire. For he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as in effect it happened. *Aristagoras*, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of *Histiæus*, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking[i].

THE next year *Aristagoras* to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, re-instated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, and of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by sea and land for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year he went to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest. But not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send

[i] Idem, l. v. c. 35, 36.

(U) *Histiæus* being desirous to impart his design to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into *Ionia* were guarded, shaved the hair of one of his servants in whose fidelity he most confided, and having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at *Susa* till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to *Miletus* without any other instructions, than that upon his arrival he should desire *Aristagoras* to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ionians* were countrymen; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed of restoring the *Ionians* to their antient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a warlike People, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa* the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities, through which

(22) *Herodot. ibid. c.* 36.

a send him any succours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the *Athenians* were disposed to close with any measures against the *Persians*, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*; and having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, sent embassadors to *Sardis*, desiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer
b of *Artaphernes* to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recall *Hippias*. This haughty message incensed the *Athenians* to a great degree against the *Persians*, and *Aristagoras* arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*.

The *Ionians* having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ships and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they set sail for *Ephesus*, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an *Ionian* soldier having accidentally set
c one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reimbark at *Ephesus*. But before they reached that place they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The *Athenians*, who escaped, immediately hoisted sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war,
d which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, *Remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis* the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece*. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter [k],

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 99—105.

which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter, which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras*, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sun-set, for advising the *Spartans* to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Aristagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he desired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents in case *Cleomenes* would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you*. *Cleomenes* was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered *Aristagoras* that instant to depart his dominions (23).

(23) *Idem, l.* v. c. 51.

The *Ionians*, though deſerted by the *Athenians*, and conſiderably weakened by their late overthrow, did not loſe courage, but purſued their point with great reſolution. Their fleet ſailed to the *Helleſpont* and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and moſt of the other *Greek* cities on thoſe coaſts. As they were ſailing back they made a deſcent in *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of *Cyprus* likewiſe entered into the ſame confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Perſians*. The *Perſian* generals in thoſe quarters, finding that the revolt began to be univerſal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, and at the ſame time enjoined the *Phœnicians* to aſſiſt them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians*, as they were ſailing to *Cyprus*, fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked, and diſperſed them. But at the ſame time the *Perſian* troops, that were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Oneſilus*, the ſon of *Cherſis*, author of their revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by ſea; for the whole iſland of *Cyprus* was again brought under ſubjection[l].

After the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Dauriſes*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, three *Perſian* generals, and all ſons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways againſt the revolters. *Dauriſes* held his courſe to the *Helleſpont*, and from thence, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the revolted cities, marched againſt the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two ſucceſſive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuſcade he was ſlain with ſeveral other *Perſians* of diſtinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymees*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Myſia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coaſt, but falling ſick at *Troas* ſoon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the reſt of the *Perſian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the center of the *Ionian* confederacy, reſolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would ſubmit of their own accord. Purſuant to this reſolution they entered *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where their main ſtrength lay, and took the city of *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*, which was ſuch a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Ariſtagoras*, not finding himſelf in a condition after that loſs to make head againſt the enemy, reſolved to abandon *Miletus*, and conſult his own ſafety by retiring to ſome more diſtant place. Accordingly he embarked with ſuch as were willing to follow him, and ſet ſail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he ſeized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Hyſtiæus*. But as he was beſieging a place ſituated beyond thoſe limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras* an eminent citizen, who being informed, that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* deſigned to bend all their force againſt *Miletus*, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting it was agreed, that they ſhould not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and ſtore their city with all manner of proviſions for a ſiege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the *Perſians* at ſea, thinking themſelves, by reaſon of their ſkill in maritime affairs, moſt likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous was *Lada*, a ſmall iſland over-againſt *Miletus*, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 ſail. At the ſight of this fleet the *Perſians*, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emiſſaries they had ſecretly corrupted the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert the common cauſe. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Leſbians*, and ſeveral others, hoiſting ſail returned to their reſpective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not conſiſt of above 100 ſhips, they were quickly overpowered by the *Perſians*, and almoſt entirely deſtroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately beſieged both by ſea and land, and ſoon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground the ſixth year after the revolt of *Ariſtagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Thoſe that ſtood out were treated as they had been threatned before-hand; the handſomeſt of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women ſent into *Perſia*; their cities and temples were reduced to aſhes. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themſelves, by ſeconding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men, *Ariſtagoras* and *Hyſtiæus*[m].

The

[l] Idem, l. vi. c. 1—5.

[m] Idem, l. vi. 31—33.

a THE latter had his share in the general calamity; for, being taken by the *Persians* and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who hastened his execution without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well grounded; for when *Hystiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, restless, and enterprizing genius of his age; with him all means were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging
b no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he sacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene, in the history of *Ionia* and the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*.

Darius His Expedition against Greece.

THE *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of *Asia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardonius* the son of *Gobrias*, a young *Persian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* the burning of *Sardis*. *Mardonius*, having rendezvoused his forces at the *Hellespont*, marched, pursuant to his
c orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to reduce *Thasus*, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all the country, terrified at such a mighty army, submitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount *Athos* in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land-army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or
d land, marched back into *Asia*, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition [n].

Darius hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his own nephew, being the son of *Artaphernes*, the king's brother and late governor of *Sardis*. But before he would make any further attempts upon *Greece*, he judged it expedient first to sound the *Greeks*, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the *Persian* government. With this view he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the
e power of the *Persians*, complied with their demand; as did also the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a small island over-against, and not far from, *Athens*. But at *Athens* and *Sparta* they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent embassadors to the king of *Persia* at *Susa*, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But *Darius*, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the embassadors back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered them-
f selves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of [o].

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men [p], steering their course to *Naxus*, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all temples both of this and the

[n] Idem, l. vi. c. 43—45. [o] Idem, l. vii. c. 133. [p] PLUTARCH in Moral. p. 829.

the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Etreria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which a they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*, who, as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians*, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate surrender. The *Athenians* had sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire succours against the common enemy, which the *Lacedæmonians* granted, but they could not set out till some days after, by reason of an antient and superstitious b custom, which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to assist them, such a terror had the *Persian* armies struck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platæa* alone furnished them with a thousand men. In this extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their slaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occasions.

The *Persian* army commanded by *Datis* consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, that of the *Athenians* amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we shall have occasion to mention often in the history of *Greece*. These ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was assembled a dispute arose among them, whether they should venture an engage- c ment in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Militades*, who declared, that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. *Aristides*, convinced by the speech of *Miltiades*, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewise, who had been very sanguine at first against such a rash enterprise, fell in at last with *Miltiades*, and a resolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all sentiments of d jealousy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As soon as that came, he endeavoured to gain the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not surround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees which he caused to be cut down for that purpose, and to render the *Persian* cavalry useless. The *Athenian* forces were so drawn up that they were equal in front to the *Persians*; but because they had not a sufficient number of men in the center, that part was extremely weak, the main strength of the army consisting in the wings. All things being thus disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the e custom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades*, without waiting the motions of the *Persians*, commanded the signal for the battle to be given, when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy, with such courage and resolution as can hardly be expressed. The *Persians* seeing the *Athenians* advance imputed their resolution to folly and despair, being not only few in number, but entirely destitute of horse, and without stirring prepared themselves to receive them. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Persians* and *Sacæ* broke the center of the *Athenians*, having made their greatest efforts against that part. The center was commanded by *Aristides* and *Themistocles*, who with great intrepidity made head against the whole *Persian* army, till, being borne down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. f But the *Athenians* and *Platæans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their center, just as they were betaking themselves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for some hours. At their arrival the scale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they soon put them in disorder, and obliged them with great slaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they pursued them, took seven of their ships, and burnt a great many more. In this action several *Athenians* of great distinction were slain, and amongst others *Callimachus* and *Stasileus*, two of the chief commanders, with only 200private men, whereas the *Persians* left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and besides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their

The battle of Marathon. *Year of the flood* 2509. *Before Christ* 490.

their ships, and drowned in the sea, as they attempted to save themselves on board their vessels. *Hippias* was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth [q]. Immediately after the battle, an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens* to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the publick palace where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, *Rejoyce, rejoyce, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet [r]. The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to *Marathon* in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous *Phidias* in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions [s] (X).

After this defeat the *Persian* fleet, instead of sailing by the islands in order to return to *Asia*, doubled the cape of *Sunium* with a design to surprise *Athens* before the return of the army. But the *Athenian* troops, being apprised of their design, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched with such expedition, that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet, and by that means disappointed their measures [t].

Datis and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, that they might seem to have reaped some advantage from this expedition, sent the *Eretrian* captives to *Susa*. *Darius* had expressed great indignation against the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charg'd them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his prisoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Cissia* to inhabit, which was but a day's journey distant from *Susa* [u]. Here *Apollonius Tyaneus* [w] found their descendents a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched in so short a time 1200 *Stades* [x]; such was their eagerness to be present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought a day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy success of the battle, they returned home [y].

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccesful return of his army, was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive spurring him on to pursue the war with more vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person, and issued orders to all his subjects in the several provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedition. But after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a new

[q] Idem. l. vi. 102—120. [r] Plutarch. de glor. Athen. p. 347. [s] Paus. l. i. p. 62. [t] Herodot. ubi supra. [u] Herodot. l. vi. c. 29. [w] Philostrat. l. i. c. 17. [x] Isocr. in Paneg. p. 113. [y] Idem, ibid.

(X) *Justin* tells us (24), that the *Persians* lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by shipwreck 200,000 men; but we chuse to follow *Herodotus*, who flourished very near those times, and acquaints us, that in the battle were killed 6300 *Persians* and 192 *Athenians*. The whole *Persian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), consisted of 300,000 men. *Plutarch* seems to insinuate the same (26). *Justin* (27) and *Orosius* say, that they were in all 600,000 men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us, that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the *Athenians* there were 10,000, and 1000 *Plataeans*, say *Justin* and *Orosius*; but *Probus* assures us, that the *Athenians* with their auxilliaries were in all but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29), upon the 6th day of *Boedromion* the third month in the *Attic* calender, after the summer solstice, *Phænippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*, that is in the third year of the 72d olympiad four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Severus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* passed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Most authors tell us, that *Hippias* was slain in this battle; but *Suidas* says, that he escaped and died afterwards in the island of *Lemnos*. *Themistocles*, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one *Cynegyrus* an *Athenian* soldier, who having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

(24) *Justin. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 3. (26) *Plutarch. in Paral.* (27) *Justin ubi supra.* (28) *Emil. Prob. in Miltiad.* (29) *Plut. in Camill.* (30) *Sever. Sulp. l.* ii. *sacr. hist.* (31) *Thucyd. l.* i.

new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no small uneasiness; however, as he was wholly bent on this expedition against *Greece*, he resolved not to lay that aside, but at the same time to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and with the rest to march in person against his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y). But when he had prepared all things for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons concerning the succession. According to an ancient custom among the *Persians* the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor; a custom wisely established to prevent the many inconveniences that attend an unsettled succession. *Darius* thought himself the more obliged to comply with this custom as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just right to the crown upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the b daughter of *Gobryas* his first wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his succession to the throne. Of the first *Artabazanes* was the eldest, of the latter *Xerxes*; and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged, that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the Succession to the younger. On the other hand, *Xerxes* alledged, that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one, who was a descendent of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus*, king of *Sparta*, being driven c out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*, and hearing of this dispute secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested to the royal dignity, whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius* a private man; to him therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedæmonians*, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers accession, if they had any to succeed born after his advancement to the throne. These reasons appeared so just to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of d opinion, that *Xerxes* was named to the succession, not so much by the strength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who in this matter was entirely governed by her authority [z] (Z).

The succession being thus settled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died in the second year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wisdom, clemency, and justice are greatly commended by the ancients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ [a], as a favourer of God's people, prudent conduct of the two brothers on so nice an occasion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was absent when the king died, and *Xerxes* immediately took all the ensigns of royalty, exercising all the functions of the regal dignity. But upon his brother's returning home he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and shewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanus* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquiesce, without any farther appeal, to his decision. During the whole time this dispute lasted, all the demonstrations of an entire and fraternal affection passed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so the other did not repine or express any dissatisfaction at the sentence, but immediately prostrating himself before him, acknowledged him for his master, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his interest, and at last died in his service in the battle of *Salamis*.

[z] Idem, l. vii. c. 2, & 3.

[a] Ezra iv. Haggai and Zechar.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) seems to insinuate, that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded in the enterprize. That historian relates, that upon *Darius*'s desiring to have his statue placed before that of *Sesostris*, the chief priest of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* priest's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that *Darius* had several conferences with the *Egyptian* priests upon matters of religion and government, and that having learnt of them with what gentleness their antient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Persia*, to form himself upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only observes, that *Darius* resolved to make war at the same time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in person, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

(Z) *Justin* and *Plutarch* (33) place this dispute after the decease of *Darius*, and both take notice of the

(32) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* i. *p.* 54. & 85. (33) *Justin. l.* ii *c.* 10. *Plutarch. de frat. amo. p.* 448.

a ple, a restorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worship in *Jerusaiem*. His kindness towards the *Israelites* was rewarded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored and entirely settled the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyses* and usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests, namely, *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea (A)

Xerxes succeeding his father employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He b confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that, which assigned them the tribute of *Samaria* for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple [b]. Xerxes. *Year of the flood* 2514. *Before Christ* 485.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa*. Puffed up with this success against the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them c the design he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the same person who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping that the command of the army would be bestowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to set forth the indispensible necessity they all lay under of revenging the dishonour done to the *Persian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The rest of the council, perceiving that the flattering discourse of *Mardonius* pleased the king, durst not venture to contradict it, but all kept silence for some time. At last *Artabanus*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addressing *Xerxes*, used all his endeavours d to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached *Mardonius* with want of sincerity, and shewed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and self-interested views could tempt him to advise. He concluded with these words: "If a war be resolved upon, let the king remain in *Persia*, and our children be de- "posited into his hands. Then go on with your expedition, attended by the best "forces you can chuse, and in what number you think fit. If the issue be favour- "able, I am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of my children. But "on the contrary, if the event be such as I have foretold, then let your children "suffer death, and you also, if ever you return". *Artabanus* expressed his sentiments

[b] Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

(A) the *Jews* (34) have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the last year of *Darius*, and that on their death the spirit of prophecy ceased among the *Jews*, which was the *sealing up of vision and prophecy* spoke of by *Daniel* (35). And misled by the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of *Persia* ended the same year; for they confound this *Darius* with the other who was conquered by *Alexander*, and will have the *Persian* empire to have lasted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyses*, according to them the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, 32 years. This last *Darius* they take to be the same with *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, to restore the *Jews* to their antient state. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Persian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to those of *Egypt*. This shews how little they were acquainted with the *Persian* history; and their countryman *Josephus* seems as have been as much in the dark, with respect to *Persia*, as they were.

(B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who without any provocation had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples; the eager desire he had to wipe off the dishonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and lastly, the prospect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conquest of *Europe*, the most rich and fertile country in the universe. He added, that this war had been resolved on by his father *Darius*, that he meant only to execute his designs. He concluded his speech with promising ample rewards to such as should distinguish themselves in this expedition, and desiring them to deliver their opinion in this matter with freedom (36).

(34) *Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemachus. David. Seder, Olam, Zuta, &c.*
(35) *Dan.* ix. 24. (36) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 5. 6.

ments in very respectful and inoffensive terms; but nevertheless *Xerxes* was extremely a
offended, and replied with indignation, that if *Artabanus* were not his uncle he
should suffer that moment the due punishment for such an audacious behaviour, and
commanded him to stay at home among the women, whom he too much resem-
bled, while he marched at the head of his troops where his duty and glory called him.
However, when the first emotion of his anger was past, he owned, that he had been
to blame for treating his uncle with such harsh language, and was not ashamed to
repair his fault, by openly confessing, that the heat of his youth and want of expe-
rience had made him trespass against the regard that was due to a prince so worthy
of respect as *Artabanus* [c]. At the same time he declared, that he was ready to fol-
low his advice, and lay aside the design of invading *Greece*, notwithstanding a b
phantom had appeared to him the night before in his sleep, and warmly exhorted
him to undertake the war (C). All the *Persians*, who composed the council, were
overjoyed to hear the king speak in that manner, and prostrating themselves before
him, strove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did
not long continue in that mind; nay *Artabanus* himself, the only man who had open-
ly disapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's
displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war [d].

Xerxes, being now resolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which
could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the
Carthaginians, who were at that time the most powerful people of the west, whereby c
it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall
upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from
helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not
only raised what forces he could in *Africk*, but with the money sent him by
Xerxes hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army
consisted of 300,000 men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transport-
ing his forces and the necessary provisions [e]. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the
prophecy of *Daniel* [f], having *by his strength through his riches stirred all the nations
of the then known world against the realm of* Greece; that is, all the west under the
command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own banners, set out from *Susa* to d
enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in
making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spreading empire.
From *Susa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general
rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia
Minor* towards the *Hellespont*.

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the
one was a passage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great
way into the Sea in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an
isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea in this place is very tempestuous, and the
Persian

[c] Idem, l. vii. c. 6, 7; [d] Idem. ibid. c. 8, 9, &c. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 1. [f] Dan. xi, 2.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes*, reflecting in the night time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded at last, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his resolution he fell asleep, and saw in a dream a man of an uncommon stature and beauty standing by him, and uttering these words: Have you then changed your design of leading an army into *Greece*, after having ordered the *Persians* to assemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your resolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Resume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The *Phantom*, having pronounced these words, disappeared; and the next morning *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, summoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wished them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home, But the night following the same *Phantom* appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war with *Greece*, he should become little and contemptible in as short a time as he had been raised to greatness and power. The king, terrified with this second dream, sent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and entreated him to put on the royal robes, to sit on the throne and pass the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at first begged to be excused as not deserving the honour of sitting in the king's throne; but being pressed by *Xerxes*, who was perswaded, that if the dream was from the gods *Artabanus* would see the same vision, he at last complied with his desire and cloathed himself with the royal robes. As he slept in the king's bed, the same *Phantom* appeared to him, threatning him with the greatest calamities, if he continued to oppose the king's intentions. This so terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's first opinion, believing, that there was something divine in these repeated visions, and the war against *Greece* was resolved on (37).

(37) *Idem*, *l.* vii. *c.* 8, 9, *&c.*

a *Persian* fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster *Xerxes* caused a passage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two gallies, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he severed from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*. Our author observes, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the *Isthmus*, as was the practice in those days [f] (D).

He likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Hellespont*, for the passing of his forces from *Asia* into *Europe*. The sea, which separates *Sestos* b and *Abydus*, where the bridge was built, is seven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no sooner finished it, but a violent storm arising broke it in pieces, and dispersed or dashed against the shore the vessels of which it was composed; which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into such a violent transport of anger, that he commanded 300 stripes to be inflicted on the sea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining those who were trusted with the execution of his orders to pronounce these words: *Thou salt and bitter element, thy master has condemned thee to this punishment for offending him without cause, and is resolved to pass over thee in spite of thy billows and insolent resistance.* The extravagant folly and madness of this prince did c not stop here; he commanded the heads of those who had the direction of the work to be struck off [g].

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beasts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was compleated, and the vessels, which formed the bridges, secured against the violence of the wind and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydus*. When he arrived at that city, he desired to see all his forces together, and to that end ascending a stately edifice of white stone, which the *Abydenians* had built on purpose to receive him in a manner suitable to his greatness, he had a free d prospect of the coast, seeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The sea was covered with his ships, and the large plains of *Abydus* with his troops quite down to the shore. While he was thus surveying with his own eyes the vast extent of his power, and deeming himself the most happy of mortals, his joy being all on a sudden turned into grief, he burst out into a flood of tears, which *Artabanus* perceiving asked him, what had made him in a few moments pass from an excess of joy to so great a grief? The king replied, that considering the shortness of human life he could not restrain his tears; for of all these numbers of men not

[f] Idem, ibid. c. 34. & seq. [g] Idem, c. 33—36.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms; Athos, *thou proud and aspiring mountain, that liftest up thy head to the very skies, I advise thee not to be so audacious as to put rocks and stones, that cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen. If thou makest that opposition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the sea* (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of *Juvenal*'s opinion expressed in these words; *Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia.* The directors of this enterprise were *Bubaris* the son of *Megabyzus*, and *Artacheus* the son of *Arbæus*, both *Persians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of *Sana*, situated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerably sunk, those who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as stood higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes, (39) that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the *Phœnicians*, had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and sloaped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of justice and a market, furnished with corn and other necessaries brought from *Asia*. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* seems to insinuate, but behind mount *Athos*, where the *Isthmus* was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two gallies pass in front.

(38) *Plutarch. de ira cohib. p.* 455. (39) *Idem, ibid. c.* 34.

not one, said he, will be alive a hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected a no opportunity of instilling into the young prince's mind sentiments of kindness towards his people, finding him touched with a sense of tenderness and humanity, endeavoured to make him sensible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the sorrows and sweeten the bitterness, which the lives of their subjects are liable to, since it is not in their power to prolong them. In the same conversation *Xerxes* asked his uncle, whether, if he had not seen the vision which made him change his mind, he would still persist in the same opinion and dissuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* sincerely owned, that he still had his fears, and was very uneasy concerning two things, the sea and the land; the sea, because there were no ports capable of receiving and sheltering such a fleet, if a b storm should arise; the land, because no country could maintain so numerous an army. The king was very sensible of the strength of his reasoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made answer; that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into so nice a discussion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though subject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however safe; that great successes are no otherwise to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that if his predecessors had observed such scrupulous and timorous rules of politicks, the *Persian* empire would never have attained to so high a degree of glory and grandeur [h].

All things being now in readiness, and a day appointed, for the passing over of c the army, as soon as the first rays of the sun began to appear, all sorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way strewed with myrtle. At the same time *Xerxes* pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and addressing the sun implored the assistance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, so great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmost limits of *Europe*. This done he threw the cup into the *Hellespont*, with a golden bowl and a *Persian* scymetar, and the foot and horse began to pass over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beasts of burden passed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* sea. The bridges were boarded and d covered over with earth, having rails on each side, that the horses and cattle might not be frightened at the sight of the sea. The army spent seven days and seven nights in passing over, though they marched day and night without intermission, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the same time the fleet made to the coasts of *Europe*. After the whole army was passed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces through the *Thracian Chersonseus* to *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thrace*; but the fleet steered a quite different course, standing to the westward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes*, having encamped in the large plains of *Doriscus*, and e judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, dispatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent shore, that he might take an account both of his sea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muster was found to consist of one million and seven hundred thousand foot and fourscore thousand horse, which, together with twenty thousand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven large ships, and three thousand gallies and transports; on board of all these vessels there were found to be five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of sea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his passing the *Hellespont* to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to destroy *Greece*, in the f shape of a *Persian* and under the name of *Xerxes*, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is sufficient to do this without their assistance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this side of the *Hellespont*, that submitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thousand more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four-thousand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, was two millions six hundred and forty one thousand six hundred and ten men, without including servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and other people of that sort, who were computed to equal

[h] Idem, ibid. c. 45. & seq.

a equal the number of the forces: so that the whole multitude of persons, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty [f] (E). Among these millions of men there was not one that could vie with *Xerxes* either in comelineſs or ſtature, or that ſeemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly *Juſtin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *but this vaſt body wanted a head.* Beſides the ſubordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the whole army was under the command of ſix *Perſian* generals, *viz. Mardonius* the ſon of *Gobryas*,
b *Triatatæchmes* the ſon of *Artabanus*, *Smerdones* the ſon of *Otanes*, (the two latter were couſins to *Xerxes*), *Maſiſtes* the ſon of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*, *Gergys* the ſon of *Ariazus*, and *Megabyzus* the ſon of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thouſand *Perſians*, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Perſian* admirals, and likewiſe the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

Xerxes, having thus numbered his ſea and land-forces at *Doriſcus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Theſſaly* towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Where-ever he came he found proviſions prepared before-hand, purſuant to
c the orders he had ſent, and each city was obliged to entertain him, which coſt immenſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes* moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day [g].

In the mean time *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent embaſſadors to *Argos*, into *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete* to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedæmonians* in the command.
d The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta*; but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the embaſſadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſun-ſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* embaſſadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a
e fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they waited

[f] Herodot. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187. [g] Idem, ibid. c. 108—132.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Iſocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43), *Ælian* (44), and others fall ſhort of this number, making the army, which *Xerxes* led againſt *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. Theſe probably miſtook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the moſt antient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather, becauſe we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greateſt army that was ever brought into the field, and the account of *Herodotus* beſt agrees with the verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe *Greeks* that were ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, where it is ſaid, that they fought againſt three millions, as we read the inſcription in *Herodotus*, or againſt two, as we find it in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Joſephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a paſſage out of *Chærilus* (47), where it is ſaid, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *People who uſed the* Phœnician *language, and dwelt in the* Solymæan *land on hills near a great lake.* As *Jeruſalem* was alſo called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabout was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Aſphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), underſtand thoſe verſes of the *Solymi* in *Piſidia*. However, *Salmaſius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to ſend their quotas of men, the *Jews* alone ſhould be exempted. Whether therefore thoſe mentioned by *Chærilus* were *Jews* or not, it muſt be allowed, that they alſo bore part in this expedition.

(40) *Plutarch. in Themiſt.* (41) *Iſocr. in Panathen.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. (43) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 10. (44) *Ælian. var. hiſtor. l.* xiii. *c.* 3. (45) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. *p.* 26. (46) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* i. (47) *Chæril. ibid.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad frag.* (49) *Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (50) *Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, Part II. l.* i. *c.* 2. (51) *Salmaſ. in Linguæ Helleniſticæ oſſilegio.*

waited the issue of an engagement, designing to side afterwards with the conqueror. a
The people of *Crete*, having consulted the oracle to know what resolution they should take on this occasion, absolutely refused to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Thespians* and *Platæans*, who sent small bodies to their assistance. The first thing they took care of in so critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all intestine divisions and discords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Ægina*, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chusing *Themistocles*, and the *Spartans* conferring the supreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas* one of their kings. The only thing that now remained was, to determine in what place they should meet the *Persians*, in order to b
dispute their entrance into *Greece*. After various proposals and disputes it was resolved, that they should send a body of four thousand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow pass, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Attica*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the 300 *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself.

IN the mean time *Xerxes*, advancing near the straits, was strangly surprised to find c
that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage. For he had always flattered himself, that on his approach they would betake themselves to flight, nor attempt to oppose his innumerable forces with so small a body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedæmonians* were, some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, *Xerxes*, entertaining still d
some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public spirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas*, in a stile and with a spirit truly *Laconical*, answered him in a few words; *Come thyself and take them* [h]. *Xerxes* at this answer, transported with rage, commanded the *Medes* and *Cissians* to march against them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes*, not able to stand the shock of the brave *Greeks*, soon betook themselves to flight, and shewed, as our author e
observes, that *Xerxes* had many men but few soldiers. In their room *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body which was called *immortal*, and consisted of ten thousand chosen men. But when they came to close with the *Greeks*, they succeeded no better than the *Medes* and *Cissians*, being obliged to retire with great slaughter. The next day, the *Persians*, reflecting on the small number of their enemies, and supposing so many of them to be wounded that they could not possibly maintain a second fight, resolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the *Greeks* give way; on the contrary, they were themselves put to a shameful flight. The valour of the *Greek* exerted itself on this occasion in such an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending f
the entire destruction of his army [i].

Xerxes,

[h] PLUTARCH. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225. [i] Idem, c. 210. DIODOR. Sicul. p. 6. CTESIAS in Persicis, c. 23.

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprize, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court, but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king, could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution, and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) *Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p.* 220.

a *Xerxes*, having loſt all hopes of forcing his way through troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what meaſures he ſhould take in this poſture of affairs; when one *Ephialtes* a *Melian*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret paſſage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither with his ſelect body of ten thouſand *Perſians*, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantagious poſt. The *Phocians*, who defended this paſs, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes*, neglecting to purſue them, marched down the b mountain with all poſſible expedition, in order to attack thoſe who defended the ſtraits in the rear. *Leonidas*, being now appriſed, that it was impoſſible to bear up againſt the enemy obliged the reſt of his allies to retire, but ſtayed himſelf with the *Theſpians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, all reſolved to die with their leader, who, being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* ſhould be deſtroyed or the king loſe his life, determined, without the leaſt heſitation, to ſacrifice himſelf for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained againſt their inclination, being detained by *Leonidas* as hoſtages, for they were ſuſpected to favour the *Perſians*. The *Theſpians* with their leader *Demophilus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megiſtias*, who had fore- c told the event of this enterpriſe, being preſſed by *Leonidas* to retire, ſent home his only ſon, but remained himſelf and died by *Leonidas*. Thoſe who ſtayed did not feed themſelves with any hopes of conquering or eſcaping, but looked upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves. And when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take ſome nouriſhment, ſaid, that they ſhould all ſup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they ſet up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet [k].

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the riſing of the ſun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been adviſed by *Ephialtes*. Upon their approach, *Leonidas* advanced to the broadeſt part of the paſſage, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch an undaunted courage and reſolution, that the *Perſian* officers were d obliged to ſtand behind the diviſions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the ſea were drowned, others were trampled under-feet by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of thoſe who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmoſt efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*, which *Abrocomes* and *Hyparanthas*, and two of the brothers of *Xerxes* obſerving, advanced with great reſolution to ſeize his body and carry in triumph to *Xerxes*. But the *Lacedæmonians*, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulſed the enemy e four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of diſtinction, and reſcued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time the army, that was led by the treacherous *Ephialtes*, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narroweſt place of the paſſage, and drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, poſted themſelves on a riſing ground. In this place they made head againſt the *Perſians*, who poured in upon them on all ſides, till at length not vanquiſhed, but oppreſſed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who eſcaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and a traytor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of *Ariſtodemus the run-away* (G); but not long after he

[k] Idem 112. Diodor. Sicul. p. 7. Ctesias ubi ſupra. c. 24.

(G) Some ſay, as our author informs us (53), that *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent diſtemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there ſome time in ſuſpence whether they ſhould return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylæ*, and there die with the reſt of their countrymen. At laſt *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Perſians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his ſervant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almoſt quite loſt his ſight) where he was killed. But *Ariſtodemus* wanting courage ſtaid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned ſafe to *Sparta*. Others ſay, that both *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus* had been diſpatched ſome-whither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpoſe to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is alſo ſaid, that another of the three hundred *Spartans*, by name *Pantites*, ſurvived this action and returned to *Sparta*. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans* he laid violent hands on himſelf. As for

(53) *Herodot. ubi ſupra.*

he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner. Those who signalized themselves most among the *Lacedæmonians* were *Alpheus* and *Maron*, both sons of *Orisiphantus*, among the *Thespians Dithyrambus*, but above all *Leonidas* and *Dieneces*; *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and distinguished himself on this occasion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When the *Trachinian* told him before the battle that the army of the *Barbarians* was so numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the sun, he answered, without betraying the least fear, that he was glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes* enraged against *Leonidas*, to the last degree, for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put upon a cross, which barbarous treatment redounded more b to his own ignominy than to the dishonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylæ* in honour of those brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions, the one general and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus* to the number only of four thousand made head against the *Persian* army consisting of three millions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was composed by the poet *Simonides* to this purport: *Go, passenger, and acquaint the* Spartans, *that we died here in obedience to their just commands.* At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and publick games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thespians* had any share, to shew that they c alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylæ* [l] (H).

Xerxes on this occasion lost 20,000 men, and being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through *Bœotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellespont*.

THE very same day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylæ*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium* a promontory of *Eubæa*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of 271 sail; but the *Persian* fleet was the more numerous, though they had lost a few days before, in a violent storm which continued four days, above 400 d ships. Notwithstanding this loss they sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of *Eubæa* and encompass the *Grecian* fleet, that none of them might escape. The *Greeks*, having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having missed this squadron, they advanced to *Aphetæ* where the whole *Persian* fleet lay, and after several encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained considerable advantages, they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal. However, the *Greeks* found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place to refit, and accordingly steered their course to the straits of *Salamis*, a small island very near, and over-against, *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemisium* did not e bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible [m].

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themistocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were no-ways in a condition to defend. The *Persians*, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens*, wasted the whole

[l] Idem, ibid. c. 238. & seq.

[m] HERODOT. l. viii. c. 1—18.

for the *Thebans* and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for some time to fight against the *Persians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no sooner saw the *Persians* descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, and approaching the *Persians* with their arms stretched out, told them, that they had always favoured the *Persians*, that they had been the first among the *Greeks* to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylæ* against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained. Thus the *Thebans* saved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to surrender themselves. Many others were by command of *Xerxes* branded with the royal mark as slaves, and among these was *Leontides* their general (54).

(H) There was besides these inscriptions a third relating to the augur *Megistias*, expressed in these words: *Under this stone lies divine* Megistias *slain by the* Medes; *with an undaunted heart he saw his fate approaching, and refused to live, when the* Spartans *had resolved to die* (55).

(54) *Idem, ubi supra.*

(55) *Idem, ibid.* & *seq.*

a whole country, putting all to fire and ſword. A detachment was ſent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich, by reaſon of the many offerings and donatives ſent thither from all the parts of the eaſt. If we may believe what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Perſians* no ſooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnaſſus*, and cruſhed the greateſt part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens* found it deſerted by all its inhabitants, except a ſmall number of citizens, who, literally interpreting *Apollo*'s oracle, *That* Athens *ſhould be ſaved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and
b paliſadoes. They defended themſelves with incredible courage and reſolution, and at laſt, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatſoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *Suſa*, with the agreeable news of his ſucceſs, to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whoſe hands he had left the government during his abſence [n].

In the mean time the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ſhips, which joined them from ſeveral parts of *Greece*, to the number of 300 ſail, *Eurybiades*, commander in chief of the naval forces, ſummoned a council, in order to conſult about the meaſures that ſeemed moſt proper in the preſent ſtate of affairs. In this council a great debate aroſe among the commanders; ſome, and among
c theſe *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that paſſage under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themiſtocles* who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, were for remaining at *Salamis*, the moſt advantagious place they could chuſe to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the ſtraits of *Salamis* the *Perſians* could not, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ſea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*, and conſequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm diſputes, *Euribyades* with all the other commanders came over to the opinion of *Themiſtocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whoſe ſhips made up above
d one half of the fleet, would ſeparate from the allies, if they abandoned that poſt, as *Themiſtocles* in his ſpeech had inſinuated. It was therefore unanimouſly reſolved, that in the ſtraits of *Salamis* they ſhould wait for the *Perſian* fleet, and there engage them [o].

A council of war likewiſe was held on the ſide of the *Perſians*, in order to determine whether they ſhould hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, becauſe they knew this advice to be moſt agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemiſia* was the only perſon that oppoſed this reſolution. She was queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with five ſhips, the beſt equipped of any in the fleet, except thoſe of *Sidonians*. This
e princeſs diſtinguiſhed herſelf on all occaſions by her ſingular courage, and ſtill more by her prudence and conduct; for our author obſerves, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* ſo good advice as this heroine. She repreſented, in the council of war we are ſpeaking of, the dangerous conſequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Perſians*, alledging, that the loſs of a battle at ſea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by ſpinning out the war and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealouſies and diviſions among their enemies, who would ſeparate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, make himſelf maſter of *Greece*. This
f advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimouſly reſolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to encourage his men with his preſence, cauſed a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might ſafely behold whatever happened, having ſeveral ſcribes about him to write down the names of ſuch, as ſhould ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies. The approach of the *Perſian* fleet, with the news that a ſtrong detachment from the army was marching againſt *Cleombrotus* who defended the *Iſthmus*, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Peloponeſians*, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to ſtay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to ſea and ſail to the *Iſthmus*, *Themiſtocles*

[n] Herodot. l. viii. c. 51. [o] Idem, l. viii. c. 56. & ſeq.

stocles privately dispatched a trusty friend to the *Persian* commanders, informing a
them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round
the island in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured *Xerxes*, that
Themistocles, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the *Persians*, as soon as
the battle began, with all the *Athenian* ships. The king, giving credit to all he
said, immediately commanded a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night,
in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning, as the *Peloponnesians* were
preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the *Persian*
fleet, and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of *Salamis*, and ex-
pose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of
380 sail, that of the *Persian* of 2000 and upwards. *Themistocles* avoided the engage- b
ment, till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time and was
entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favour-
ed by this wind he gave the signal for battle. The *Persians*, knowing that they
fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution, but the wind blow-
ing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarassing
them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the *Greeks*
observing used such efforts, that in a short time, breaking into the *Persian* fleet, they
entirely disordered them, some flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay
encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands.
The *Ionians* were the first that betook themselves to flight. But queen *Artemisia* c
distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled, which
Xerxes observing cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women
with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians* were so incensed against
her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should
take her alive; but she in spight of their efforts got clear of the ships that pursued
her, and arrived safe on the coast of *Asia*. In this engagement, which was one of
the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the *Grecians* lost 40 ships,
and the *Persians* 200, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men
and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies dreading the king's cruelty made
the best of their way to their respective countries. *Xerxes*, being under no small ap- d
prehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellespont* and there obstruct his
return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece* with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with
the rest towards *Thrace* in order to cross the *Hellespont*. As no provisions had been
prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time
of his march, which lasted five and forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live
upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable
distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. The king, finding that his army
was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advan-
ced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind; but when he arrived at the *Hel-*
lespont, he found the bridge broke down by the violence of the storms, and was re- e
duced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the *Hellespont* he con-
tinued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year [p].

THE first thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle was, to send the first-
fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of
those who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward
those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in *Greece*, that
after an engagement the commanding officers should declare, who, in their opi-
nion, had most distinguished themselves during the conflict, by writing down the
names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second f
prize. On this occasion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his
own name in the first place, and in the second the name of *Themistocles*, which plainly
proved, that he deserved the preference to all. And accordingly he was distinguished
with honours, which to that time had never been bestowed upon any other, as we
shall have occasion to relate in the history of *Greece* [q].

ABOUT the same time that the actions of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis* happened, the
formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, consisting of 300,000 men, was entirely
defeated by *Gelo* king of *Syracuse*. We shall give a particular account of this victory
in the history of the *Carthaginians*.

ON

[p] Idem, c. 130. [q] Idem, 117. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 13.

a On *Xerxes*'s departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius*, having paſſed the winter in *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the ſpring into *Bœotia*. From thence he ſent *Alexander* king of *Macedon* with very advantagious offers to the people of *Athens*, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demoliſhed the year before in *Attica*; to ſuffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinſtate them in all their former poſſeſſions, and to add to them whatever other lands they ſhould deſire. *Alexander*, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own name to lay hold on ſo favourable an opportunity of reſettling their affairs, repreſenting, that they were not in a condition to ſtand out
b againſt ſo powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not by any means be prevailed upon to deſert the intereſt of *Greece*. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched with all his army into *Attica*, waſting and deſtroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians*, not being in a condition to withſtand ſuch a torrent, retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and the ſecond time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demoliſhed whatever had eſcaped the fury of his forces the preceding year. In the mean time the joint forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bœotia*. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow paſſes. On his return into *Bœotia*, he encamped on the banks of
c the *Aſopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither under the command of *Pauſanias*, protector of *Pliſtarchus* king of *Sparta*, and of *Ariſtides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Perſian* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, conſiſted of 350,000, according to *Diodorus* of 500,000 men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of 110,000. *Mardonius*, in order to try the courage of the *Greeks*, ſent out his cavalry, in which the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain ſuſtained the firſt onſet; but in ſpight of all their reſolution were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 *Athenians* with a ſmall number of bow-men advanced to their relief. *Maſiſtius*,
d general of the *Perſian* horſe, and one highly eſteemed in *Perſia*, ſeeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The ſhock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to ſhew by the iſſue of this encounter what might be the ſucceſs of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at laſt *Maſiſtius* being killed, the *Perſians* betook themſelves to flight. The death of *Maſiſtius* was greatly lamented by the *Perſians*, who, to ſhew their concern for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewiſe the manes of their horſes, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the ſpace of ten days only looking at one another. At laſt *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to
e bear any further delays, and his proviſions being almoſt conſumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they ſhould give battle, or retire till ſuch time as they were ſupplied with freſh proviſions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great diſtinction and experience, was of opinion, that they ſhould not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they ſhould be in a condition to lay in ſtores of proviſions and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might caſt a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by ſending rich preſents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the ſame opinion; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the reſult of their deliberations was, that they ſhould give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came ſecretly about midnight into their camp, and informed *Ariſtides* of all that had paſſed[r].

The *Greek* generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged, *Pauſanias*, thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might ſtand oppoſite to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he with his *Spartans* engaged the *Thebans* and other *Greeks*, who ſerved in

[r] Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & ſeq.

in the *Perſian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius*, a upon the intelligence he had of this new diſpoſition, make the like change, which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former ſtations; and the *Perſians* likewiſe ranged their army according to their firſt diſpoſition. Thus did all that day paſs without any action. In the evening the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was reſolved that they ſhould decamp, and retire to ſome other place more conveniently ſituated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring at the head of the bodies they commanded to make what haſte they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confuſion happened, ſome going one way, and ſome another, without obſerving any order in their march. At laſt they ſtopped near the little city of *Platæa*. *Mardonius*, being informed that the *Greeks* were b retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and purſued them with great ſhouts, as if he were not to fight, but to ſtrip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occaſion to inſult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the falſe notions he had conceived of the *Lacedæmonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having paſſed the *Aſopus*, he came up with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegæans*, who were ſeparated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. *Pauſanias*, finding himſelf thus attacked by the whole *Perſian* army, diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the *Athenians*, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themſelves on their march to ſuccour their diſtreſſed allies, but were attacked, c and to their great regret prevented by thoſe *Greeks* who ſided with the *Perſians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the firſt who broke into the very center of the *Perſian* army, and after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance put them to flight. *Mardonius*, mounted on a white horſe, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion, and, at the head of 1000 choſen men, made a great ſlaughter of the enemies, but he falling, the whole *Perſian* army was eaſily routed, which thoſe *Greeks* who had engaged the *Athenians* hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* maſters of the field. The *Perſians* fled to their former camp which they had fortified with an incloſure of wood. The *Lacedæmonians* purſued them, but were not able to force the entrenchment, not being accuſtomed d to beſiege towns or ſtorm fortified places. The *Athenians*, hearing that the *Perſians* were thus ſhut up in their camp, gave over purſuing the *Greeks*, and haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found buſied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than ſkill. Wherefore they took upon themſelves that labour, and ſoon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the *Lacedæmonians*, they made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 ſcarce 3000 made their eſcape. *Artabazus*, who from *Mardonius*'s imprudent conduct had but too well foreſeen the misfortune that befel them, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived ſafe at *Byzantium*, from thence paſſed e over into *Aſia*. During the whole engagement, the *Spartans* loſt but 91 men, the *Tegæans* 16, and the *Athenians* 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with moſt courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Ariſtodemus*, who was the only one that had ſaved himſelf at *Thermopylæ*, and had now wiped off the blemiſh of his former conduct by a moſt glorious death. The ſpoil was immenſe, conſiſting in vaſt ſums of money, in gold and ſilver cups, veſſels, tables, bracelets, rich beads, and all ſorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pauſanias*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the preſent, but all future invaſions of the *Perſians*, who hence- f forward never more appeared on this ſide of the *Helleſpont*[s].

THE ſame day that this battle was fought at *Platæa*, the *Grecian* fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Aſia*, over the remainder of the *Perſian* navy. For at the ſame time that the land-forces of *Greece* rendezvouſed on the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta* and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither embaſſadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Aſia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Perſian* yoke. On this invitation they immediately ſet ſail for *Aſia*, ſteering their

[s] Idem, c. 88.

a their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other embassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence, that the *Persian* fleet, which had wintered at *Cuma*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly entreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*, but the *Persian* fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of 100,000 men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks*, arriving at *Mycale*, found all their enemies ships within the circumvallation, and a b numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour that they obliged them to fly to their entrenchments, and pursued them so close that they entered the camp at the same time. When the enemy saw their entrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themselves to flight; but the *Persians*, though reduced to a small number, still continued to dispute the entrance of their camp against the *Greeks* pouring in on all sides. But in the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, who had taken a wider compass, arriving with other troops of the allies, the *Persians* likewise abandoned their post, and saved themselves by flying to the neighbour- c ing hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the *Milesians* to guard the narrow passages of the mountains, that they might have a safe retreat in case they were put to flight, and sure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Milesians* being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherously brought back by other ways to the enemy such as fled to them; by which means a very small number escaped the general slaughter of that day. The two *Persian* generals *Mardontes* and *Tigranes* died in the field, with many other commanders of great distinction. The *Greeks*, having made a great slaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the pursuit, set fire to their ships, burnt the whole camp, and set sail for *Samos* loaded with an immense booty consisting of 70 chests of money, besides many other things d of an ineſtimable value[t]. And thus ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, a small number of those millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellespont*.

THE battle of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend, that the victory at *Platæa* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though those two places were parted by the whole *Ægean*, a sea of several days sail. But *Diodorus Siculus*[u] clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides* observing his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Platæa*, lest they should be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raise their spirits and courage, caused a re- e port to be spread in the army, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Platæa*, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes upon the news of these two overthrows left *Sardis*, with the same hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that he might get as far as possible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he set out he gave orders, that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one temple was left standing, except that of *Diana* at *Ephesus* (I).

THE

[t] Idem, c. 102. [u] DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi. p. 28.

(I) He was prompted to this, not by any particular displeasure against the *Asiatic Greeks*, but by the institutions of the *Mages*, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by *Zoroastres*. For that religion expressing a great detestation of worshipping God by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* steady in their party, not only several of the chief Doctors of the *Mages*, but *Ostanes* himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of his expedition (56). At their instigation, *Tully* informs us (57), that all those temples were destroyed.

(56) *Clem. Alexandrin. in Protrept. Laert in Proæm. Pocok. Specim. Hist. Arab. p.* 148, 149. (57) *Cic. de legib. l.* ii.

THE *Grecian* fleet after the battle of *Mycale* steered their course first to *Samos*, and a
thence to the *Hellespont*, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had
caused to be laid over those straits; but finding them broke by storms, *Leotychides*
with his *Peloponnesian* forces sailed home. *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and their allies,
the *Ionians* remaining there, made himself master of *Sestus* and the whole *Thracian*
Chersonesus, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which on the
approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their respe-
ctive countries. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither
they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where
they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which
the *Greeks* obtained in this war. From this time the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off b
the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that
empire subsisted.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war,
and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* and the neighbouring
islands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which sailing to *Cyprus*,
under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island,
and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty [w].

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his
brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with
great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular c
value for her husband, she could by no sollicitations be prevailed upon to defile his
bed. However, the king, still flattering himself that by heaping favours upon her
he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed
his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta* this princess's daughter. As this was the
greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her
to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes*, finding her virtue proof against all tempta-
tions, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with
the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glo-
rious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carry- d
ing on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle,
presented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on when
he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her he desired her to
ask whatever favour she pleased, binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing.
Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes*, foreseeing the
bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request,
did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand.
He offered her immense treasures, with cities and an army to be solely at her dis-
posal, which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But
not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent
promise and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which
she immediately put on, and publickly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's
affections. *Hamestris*, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained,
was incensed to the higest degree; but instead of venting her rage against the
daughter who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she
looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it.
For the better executing of her design she waited the great festival, which was annu-
ally celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occasion the king according to
the established custom of the country, used to grant his queen whatever she demand-
ed. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be
delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck
with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he
knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request.
But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost re-
luctancy to her request, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, deli-
vered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamestris*, impowering her to
treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, *Hamestris* caused her breasts,
tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and
then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time
Xerxes

[w] DIODOR. Sicul. l. xi.

a *Xerxes* had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes* in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dismissed him. *Masistes*, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated
b to the highest degree, as the case deserved, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependents, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But *Xerxes*, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of *Hamestris*. She caused fourteen children of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

Upon the death of *Masistes Xerxes* appointed *Hystaspes* his second son to be go-
c vernor of *Bactria*, which, obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place [x].

Xerxes, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the *Ægean* sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyrcania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He
d prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third son, and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him. The next
e heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but as he was then in *Bactriana*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependents, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, couragious, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design, but while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes* being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death
f secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom [z] (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the *Greeks Macrocheir*, that

Xerxes *murdered. Year of the flood* 2535. *Before Christ* 464.

[x] Herodot. l. ix. c. 107, 112, Ctesias, c. 2. Justin, l. iii. c. 1.

[y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 53.

[z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 52.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of *Artaxerxes* are by *Eusebius* (58) assigned to *Artabanus*, perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(58) *Euseb. in Chron.*

that is *long-handed*, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but in scripture he bears the name of *Ahasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M). a

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

HAVING by the death of *Artabanus* removed one dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstacles in his way, *viz.* his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactria*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot. Those especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated, a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. *Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactria*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring with equal success to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, *Artaxerxes* drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, over powered *Hystaspes*, and by a complete victory secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects b c

(L) *Strabo* (59) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but, according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* Μακροχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion, that *Darius Hystaspis* was the king *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that *Atossa* had four sons by *Darius*, all born after he ascended the throne (63) and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he that king *Ahasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his death-bed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Ahasuerus* of scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion was, that *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther* (66) is said to have laid a tribute on the land and on the isles, and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus*, with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews, that *Darius* was there by mistake of the transcribers put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name, and what is said there of *Darius* is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

Scaliger is of opinion (69), that *Xerxes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of scripture, induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a far stronger proof that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by *Herodotus* (70), that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Ahasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint* throughout the whole book of *Esther* translate *Ahasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The apocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther*'s husband *Artaxerxes*, and from several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain, that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. *Josephus* (72) tells us in express terms, that *Esther*'s husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius* and many others, both ancient and modern writers, fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews* beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them.

(59) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Ussher. Ann. at the year of the J. P.* 4193. (62) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii. (63) *Idem, l.* vii. (64) *Esther* i. 3. (65) *Idem, ibid.* (66) *Esther* x. 1. (67) *Idem, l.* iii. (68) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 735. (69) *Scal. de emendat. temp. l.* vi. (70) *Herodot. l.* ix. (71) *Esther* xi. 16. (72) *Joseph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 6.

a subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire [a]. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of 180 days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like feast in her appartment for the women; and here the history of *Hadassah* or *Esther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

The Egyptians *revolt.* *Year of the flood* 2540 *Before Christ* 459.

In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign the *Egyptians* revolted, and, making *Inarus*, prince of the *Lybians*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that b invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power by driving them from so rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, *Artaxerxes*, having raised an army of 300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to *Achæmenides* one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in *Egypt* at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the *Nile*. In the mean time the *Athenians*, having defeated the *Persian* fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and landing their forces, under the command of *Charitimis* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*. They afterwards attacked with joint forces *Achæmenides*, routed his army, and killed 100,000 c of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third called the *White-wall*, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief [b].

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it, sent embassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the *Athenians*, and by that means oblige them to recal their troops to the defence of their own country. But d the *Lacedæmonians* rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending *Themistocles*, (who had taken shelter in the *Persian* court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of *Greece)* at the head of a powerful army to invade *Attica*. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And accordingly, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull; he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died [c]. Upon his death *Artaxerxes* ordered *Artabazus* governour of e *Cilicia* and *Megabyzus* governour of *Syria* to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White-wall*. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into *Egypt*, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. *Inarus*, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these *Persian* governours to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the *White-wall*, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the *Persians* within defended themselves with such bravery, that the *Egyptians* and *Athenians* made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place [d].

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of *Artaxerxes*, the *Persian* fleet being equipped, *Artabazus* took the command of it, and set sail towards the *Nile*, while *Megabyzus*, at the head of the land-forces, marched to *Memphis*. On his arrival he not

[a] Plutarch. in Artax. Ctes. c. 31. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54. [b] Thucyd. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. Ctes. c. 32. 35. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59. [c] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Plutarch. in Themist. [d] Ctes. & Diodor. ubi supra. p. 281.

(N) *Herodotus* (72) and *Diodorus Siculus* (74) confound *Achæmenides* brother to *Artaxerxes*, with *Achæmenes* brother to *Xerxes* and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to *Achæmenes*, who in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes* was governor of *Egypt*. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names, for *Ctesias* tells us, that *Artaxerxes* gave the command of the troops to the son of *Hamestris*, who could not be *Achæmenes*.

(73) *Herodot. l.* iii. & vii. (74) *Diodor. l.* xi.

not only obliged *Inarus* and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the *White-wall*, but a
in a pitched battle entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the *Egyptians*,
who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded
in the thigh by *Megabyzus*, retired with the *Athenians* and such of the *Egyptians* as
were willing to follow him to the city of *Biblos* in the island of *Prosopotis*, which
being surrounded by the navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenians* stationed
their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and a half. In the mean
time the rest of the *Egyptians* submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their
obedience, *Amyrtæus* alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ru-
led many years, the *Persians* not being able to reduce him by reason of the inacces- b
bleness of the place. *Inarus* and his auxiliaries in the island of *Prosopotis* defended
themselves with such vigour, that the *Persians*, despairing to reduce them by the
ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they
soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals,
that arm of the *Nile*, where the *Athenian* fleet lay, and by that means opened a
passage for the whole army to enter the island. *Inarus*, seeing all was now lost,
delivered up himself, the *Egyptians*, and about 50 *Athenians* to *Megabyzus*, on
condition their lives should be spared. But the rest of the *Athenians*, to the
number of 6000, refused to surrender, and, having set fire to their fleet, drew up in
battle-array, resolved to die sword in hand, and sell their lives at the dearest rate,
in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians* that fell at *Thermopylæ*. The *Persians*, perceiv- c
ing they had taken this desperate resolution, did not think it adviseable to attack
them; but rather to offer them reasonable terms, and come to a composition. The
terms were, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home by sea or
land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the island with the city of
Biblos to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*;
but most of them perished before they reached their native country. Neither
was this the only loss the *Athenians* sustained on this occasion. Another fleet of 50
sail, being sent by them to relieve those who were besieged in the island of *Prosopotis*,
arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile* soon after their countrymen had surrender- d
ed, and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the
same time attacked by the *Persian* fleet, and galled with such showers of darts and
arrows by the land-forces from the shore, that they were all killed, except some
few who broke through the enemy's fleet and escaped. Thus ended the fatal war,
which the *Athenians* had carried on for the space of six years in *Egypt*, and that
kingdom was a-new united to the *Persian* empire, and continued so during the
remaining part of the reign of *Artaxerxes*. *Inarus* and the other prisoners taken
in this war were sent to *Susa* and *Sartamas* appointed governor of *Egypt* [e].

Egypt *again reduced.* *Year of the flood* 2546. *Before Christ* 453

THE *Athenians* having equipped another fleet of 200 sail gave the command of
it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* in e
pursuance to his orders took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island,
and from thence sent 60 sail to the assistance of *Amyrtæus* in the fens of *Egypt*.
Artabazus being then in those seas with a fleet of 300 ships, *Cimon*, assoon as his
squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took 100 of his ships, destroyed
many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed
with this success, on his return landing his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus*
with an army of 300,000 men, he marched against him, and having put him to flight
with a great slaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph [f].

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved, with f
the advice of his counsellors and ministers, to put an end to so many calamities, by
coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he sent orders to his
generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude
a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus*
and *Artabazus* sent embassadors to *Athens* to propose an accommodation, which was
agreed upon by the deputies of both sides on the following terms. 1. That all the
Greek cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own
laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the
Cyanean and the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of
Pamphylia. 3. That no *Persian* general should come by land within three days
march

[e] CTES. c. 34. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 58, et seq. [f] PLUTAROH, in Cimon. THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. l. xi. p. 73.

a march of thoſe ſeas. 4. That the *Athenians* ſhould not commit any hoſtilities in the territories of the king of *Perſia*. Theſe articles being ſworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had laſted from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians* fifty one years compleat, and deſtroyed numberleſs multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Perſians* [g].

Artaxerxes being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her *Inarus* and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that ſhe might ſacrifice her to the manes of her ſon *Achæmenes*, yielded at laſt to her unwearied ſolicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princeſs, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greateſt ſolemnity ratified, cauſed *Inarus* Inarus *crucified.*
b to be crucified, and the heads of all the reſt to be ſtruck off. *Megabyzus*, who had Megabyzus *revolts.*
engaged his word that their lives ſhould be ſpared, looked upon this as a diſhonour done him, and therefore retiring to *Syria*, of which province he was governor, *Year of the flood* 2552.
raiſed there an army and openly revolted. The king immediately ſent *Oſiris*, one *Before Chriſt* 447.
of the chief lords of the court, with an army of 200,000 men to ſuppreſs this rebellion. But *Megabyzus* in a general engagement wounded him, took him priſoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken ſent a meſſenger to demand him, and *Megabyzus* generouſly releaſed him, aſſoon as his wounds were cured [h].

The next year *Artaxerxes* ſent another army againſt him under the command of
c *Menoſtanes*, ſon to *Artarius* the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better ſucceſs than the other; for he was in the ſame manner defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* maſter of the field and all the baggage. The king, being ſenſible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, ſent his brother *Artarius* and his ſiſter *Amytis* who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to perſwade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, fired with zeal and affection for his ſovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king ſtill retaining ill-will againſt him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in ſhooting firſt at the
d lion, commanded his head to be ſtruck off; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that *Amytis* his ſiſter and *Hameſtris* his mother prevailed upon him to change the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment. *Megabyzus* was therefore ſent to *Cyrta*, a city ſtanding on the *Red-Sea*, and ſentenced to lead the reſt of his life there under confinement. However, five years after he made his eſcape from thence, and under diſguiſe got ſafe to his own houſe at *Suſa*, where by the interceſſion of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinſtated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened ſome years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the beſt counſellor and greateſt general of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life and
e his crown at his firſt acceſſion to the government. But it is of dangerous conſequence in a ſubject to have too much obliged his ſovereign; for this was the true ſource of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus* [i].

In the 34th year of the reign of *Artaxerxes* a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, commonly called the *Peloponneſian war*, both parties ſent embaſſadors to the king imploring his aſſiſtance [k]. But we do not find, that *Artaxerxes* returned them any anſwer before the ſeventh year of that war, when he ſent an embaſſador to the *Lacedæmonians* named *Artaphernes* with a letter written in the *Aſſyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that ſeveral embaſſadors had come to
f him from them, but the purports of their embaſſies differed ſo widely, that he could not comprehend what they requeſted, and that therefore he had thought proper to ſend them a *Perſian* to let them know, that if they had any propoſals to make they ſhould ſend a truſty perſon along with him, by whom he might be informed what they deſired him to do. This embaſſador arriving at *Eion* on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken priſoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who ſent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, the *Athenians* being extremely deſirous to regain the favour of the king his maſter [l]. The year following, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed the *Athenians* to put

[g] Diodor. ubi ſupra. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. [h] Ctes. c. 35. [i] Ctes. 37—39 [k] Thucyd. l. ii.
[l] Idem, l. iv. p. 285, 286.

put to sea, they sent back the embassador in one of their own ships at the expence a of the publick, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Persia* with the character of embassadors. But when they landed at *Ephesus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the *Athenians*, not thinking it advisableto proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes* and returned to *Athens*[m].

Artaxerxes favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Persia*, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people as in a more
Xerxes II. proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Xerxes* the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seven-
teen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Ctesias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, b and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having drunk immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of, and, being let into the bed-chamber by *Pharnacyas* one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, slew him, after he had reigned 45 days, and possessed himself of the kingdom[n].

Sogdianus. SCARCE was *Sogdianus* seated on the throne, when he put to death *Bagorazus*, the most faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to superintend the interment of *Artaxerxes* and of the queen, *Xerxes*'s mother, who had died the same day as her royal consort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-
place of the *Persian* kings, he found on his return *Sogdianus* in possession of the c crown, with whom he had formerly had some small difference. This *Sogdianus* remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrel with him something relating to the obsequies of his father, caused him to be stoned to death. By these two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous lest some of his brothers might treat him as he treated *Xerxes*, he sent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly suspected, with a design to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrcania*, and being well apprised of his brother's design, under several pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Persia*, openly declaring, that he designed to revenge the death of his brother. This decla- d ration brought over to him many of the nobility and several governours of provinces, who, being highly dissatisfied with the cruelty and ill-conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the *Tiara* on *Ochus*'s head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus*, seeing himself thus deserted, contrary to the advice of his best friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who having him in his power caused him to be thrown into ashes (O), where he died a cruel death [o].

Ochus, *Ochus*, being setled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ochus*, and is by historians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the Bastard* (P).

Year of the flood 2575. *Before Christ* 424. *Arsites*, seeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and had been e afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the same manner. With this design, though he was his brother by the same father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion against him, being encouraged thereunto and assisted by *Artiphius* the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyrus*, one of his generals against *Artyphius*, while

[m] Idem, ibid. p 322. [n] CTES. c. 47. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 115. [o] CTES. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xii. p. 322.

(O) This punishment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Persia*. *Ochus* had swore, that *Sogdianus* should not die by the sword, by poison, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new sort of punishment; it is described in the 13th chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with ashes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was suffocated. Thus this wicked prince lost his life and his empire, after he had reigned six months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy*'s canon as the immediate successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* according to the stile of that canon, which constantly ascribes to the predecessor the whole year in which he dies, and places him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the ensuing year. As the reign of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and these did not reach to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are in the canon cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

(75) *Maccab.* ii. *c.* 13. *Val. Max. l.* ix. *c.* 2.

a while he marched in perſon againſt his brother *Arſites*. *Artyphius*, with the aſſiſtance of his *Greek* mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been ſent againſt him. But, theſe being gained over with large bribes, he loſt the third battle; and being reduced to great ſtraits ſurrendered himſelf to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Paryſatis* his wife and ſiſter. She was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greateſt importance. The council ſhe gave him on this occaſion was, to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that, by ſuch uſage of a rebelli-
ous ſervant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himſelf upon his mer-
b cy, and then diſpoſe of them both as he pleaſed. *Darius* followed her counſel, and had the ſucceſs he propoſed. For *Arſites*, being informed of the gentle uſage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded, that he, as a brother, ſhould be treated at leaſt with the ſame indulgence and good-nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king and ſurrendered himſelf into his hands. *Darius*, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by *Paryſatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death by ſuffocating them in aſhes [p].

He alſo put to death *Pharnacyas* for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monaſthenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on
c himſelf. Theſe executions did not procure him the tranquility he expected; for his whole reign was diſturbed with violent commotions, raiſed in various parts of the empire. One of the moſt dangerous was that which was ſtirred up by *Piſuthnes* governor of *Lydia*, who ſetting up for himſelf raiſed an army of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Againſt him *Darius* ſent *Tiſſaphernes*, appointing him at the ſame time governor of *Lydia* in his room. *Tiſſaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who ſerved under *Piſuthnes*, and inducing both them and their general to change ſides. Whereupon *Piſuthnes*, not being in a condition to carry on the war, ſurrendered upon promiſe of pardon. But the king the inſtant he was brought before him ſentenced him to death,
d and accordingly he was, purſuant to the king's order, ſuffocated in aſhes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raiſed; for his ſon *Amorgas* with the remainder of the army ſtill oppoſed *Tiſſaphernes*, and for two years continued to infeſt the maritime provinces of *Aſia Minor*, till he was at length taken priſoner by the *Peloponneſians* at *Iaſus* a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tiſſaphernes*, who put him to death [q].

Darius had ſcarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himſelf involved in new troubles. His court, and, we may ſay, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs, *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*. Theſe he conſulted, and followed their advice, in all the momentous affairs of the government. But *Artoxares* was
e the chief favourite, and nothing was tranſacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of aſcending the throne; and accordingly formed a deſign of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a ſtrong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the *Perſians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of ſuch a huſband, diſcovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was ſeized and delivered up to *Paryſatis*, who cauſed him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death [r].

But the greateſt misfortune that befel *Darius*, during the whole time of his reign,
f was the revolt of *Egypt*, which broke out the ſame year that *Piſuthnes* rebelled. For though *Darius* got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce *Egypt*. *Amyrtæus*, who had reigned in the fens of *Egypt* ever ſince the revolt of *Inarus*, being appriſed of the diſcontents of the *Egyptians*, and finding them diſpoſed to enter into any meaſures for the recovery of their liberty, ſallied out of his fens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the *Perſians* quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in poſſeſſion of all *Egypt* by the total expulſion of the *Perſians*, he reſolved to attack them in *Phœnice* too, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this under-
taking.

The Egyptians *revolt.* *Year of the flood* 2586. *Before Chriſt* 413.

[p] Idem, c. 49. [q] Idem, c, 51. [r] Idem, ibid.

taking News of this being brought to the court of *Persia*, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions [s]. a

While *Darius* was carrying on the war against the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case [t]. *Darius* seems to have been likewise successful against the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of six years, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us [u], in the kingdom with the consent of the *Persians*, which shews that they were masters of *Egypt*.

Cyrus the younger *appointed governor of* Asia Minor

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, invested *Cyrus* his youngest son with the supreme command of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so much power, for, being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission. But as he was the darling of his mother *Paryssatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter [w]. On his receiving his commission he was ordered to assist the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who, by sometimes helping one side and sometimes the other, had so ballanced matters between them, that they continued to harrass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics. For the *Lacedæmonians* having, with the assistance given them by *Cyrus*, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agesilaus* their king to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*, which obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall their troops for their own defence [x]. b c d

Cyrus having put to death two noble *Persians*, sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the *Persians* in the presence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed and desired to see him. *Cyrus*, well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he set out he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to *Lysander* general of the *Lacedæmonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats-river* on the *Hellespont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power and the *Peloponnesian* war, after it had lasted twenty-seven years [y]. *Darius* was highly incensed against *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father's accession to the throne, which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but, however, bequeathed him the government of those provinces which he ruled before. Not long after *Darius Nothus* died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by *Arsaces* his eldest son by *Paryssatis*, who on his ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the *Greeks Mnemon*, that is *Rememberer*. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that by following the same rule he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, that *he had ever done, to the best of his knowledge, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* [z]. e f

Darius Nothus *dies.* *Year of the Flood* 2594. *Before Christ* 405.

Upon

[s] Thucyd. l. viii. init. Justin, l. v. c. 2. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 160. [t] Xenoph. Hellenic. l. i. Herodot. l. ix. [u] Herodot. l. iii. [w] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. Plutarch. in Artax. & Lysandro. Justin, l. v. c. 5. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 368. [x] Xenoph. Diodor. Justin. ibid. Thucyd. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro. [y] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro. Diodor. l. xii. [z] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. ubi supra. Justin, l. v. c. 8. & 11, Athenæus, l. xii.

Artaxerxes Mnemon.

a UPON the death of *Darius* his ſon *Artaxerxes* went to *Paſargada*, to be there inaugurated after the *Perſian* cuſtom by the prieſts of *Bellona*. He was no ſooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the prieſts, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information *Cyrus* was ſeized and ſentenced to death. But his mother *Paryſatis* prevailed upon the king, not only to ſave his life, but to ſend him back to the government of *Aſia Minor*, which his father had left him [a].

Artaxerxes was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of an account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiaſtes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This
b quarrel had its riſe in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, inceſt, and murder, which raiſed great diſturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hydarnes* a *Perſian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arſaces*, falling in love with her, married her, and at the ſame time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hameſtris*, one of the daughters of *Darius* and ſiſter to *Arſaces*, by reaſon of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to ſucceed him in his government. But falling in love with his own ſiſter *Roxana*, no ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*, that he might without any conſtraint enjoy her, he reſolved to diſpatch his wife *Hameſtris*, and raiſe a rebellion in the kingdom.
c *Darius* being acquainted with his wicked deſigns, engaged *Udiaſtes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates*, the ſon of *Udiaſtes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards and greatly attached to his maſter, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations againſt him, and to ſhew his abhorrence of ſo vile an action, ſeized on the city of *Zaris*, and openly revolting declared for the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of *Zaris*, and with him the ſon of *Teriteuchmes*; all the reſt of the family of *Hydarnes* were apprehended and delivered to *Paryſatis* to execute her revenge upon them, for all the ill uſage done or intended againſt her daughter. That cruel princeſs began with *Roxana*, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of
d all this miſchief, and cauſed her to be ſawed in two, the others were all beheaded except *Statira*, whom ſhe ſpared at the earneſt entreaties and thro' the importunate tears of her huſband *Arſaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her that ſhe would afterwards have occaſion to repent it. Thus the caſe ſtood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arſaces* was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiaſtes* into her hands; whereupon ſhe cauſed his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His ſon *Mithridates* ſhe appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had ſhewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Paryſatis*, bitterly reſenting this fact, poiſoned the ſon of *Teri-*
e *teuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herſelf, as we ſhall hereafter relate [b].

Cyrus, returning to his government of *Aſia Minor* full of reſentment for the ſentence of death, which his brother had pronounced againſt him, reſolved to revolt and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employ'd *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian* general to raiſe a body of *Greek* troops for his ſervice, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedæmonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, being well appriſed of the true end for which theſe levies were made, paſſed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with a deſign to proceed from thence to the *Perſian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole ſcheme.
f Had he arrived there, a diſcovery of ſuch importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-eſtabliſhment of his country. But the partiſans of the *Lacedæmonians*, at *Athens*, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of ſo ſuperior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death, whereby the *Athenians* loſt the great hopes they had conceived of ſpeedily recovering their former ſtate [c].

Cyrus *deſigns a war againſt his brother.* *Year of the Flood* 2596. *Before Chriſt*

THE cities that were under the government of *Tiſſaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the ſecret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming againſt *Tiſſaphernes*,

[a] PLUTARCH. in Artax. XENOPH. de exped. Cyri. l. 5. JUSTIN. l. 1. c. 5. 11. [b] CTES. in PERS. 403.
[c] XENOPH. de exped. Cyr. l. 1. PLUT. in Artax.

phernes, assembled troops openly, and to amuse the court more speciously, made a grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being deceived by these appearances, believed, that all *Cyrus*'s preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased [d].

THE young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of *Greece*, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the b accomplishing of it. The *Lacedæmonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral. But they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother they might justify themselves to him for what they had done [e].

THE army, which *Cyrus* had raised, consisted of 13000 *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Achæans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Bœotians* were under *Proxenus*, a *Theban*, and c the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, and 25 commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet [f]. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks* except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprise might discourage the officers as well as the soldiers. *Proxenus*, between whose family and *Xenophon*'s an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries [g]. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis* directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to d be employed: For *Cyrus* had only given out, that he was marching against the *Pisidians*, who with frequent incursions harassed his province. However, *Tissaphernes*, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprise, set out with all possible expedition from *Miletus* to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes*, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus* advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syennesis*, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against *Tamos* and the *Lacedæmonian* fleet which appeared upon the coasts [h].

WHEN they arrived at *Tarsus* the *Greeks* refused to proceed any farther, suspect- e ing that they were marching against the king, and protesting, that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. *Clearchus* at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill success; and therefore desisting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed. By this artful evasion he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen for one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, answered that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march distance encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly saw that this was f not his true design, but nevertheless shewed themselves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increased. This *Cyrus* willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared that he marched against *Artaxerxes*. Upon this some complaints were heard at first, but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises to the army [i].

Cyrus

[d] XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in Artax. c. 11.
[e] XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUTARCH, ibid. JUSTIN, l. v.
[f] XENOPH. ubi supra. p. 252.
[g] XENOPH. l. ii. p. 294.
[h] Idem, l. i. p. 248—261.
[i] XENOPH. & PLUT. ibid.

a *Cyrus* arriving, after a long march, in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes* with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to stand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice *Cyrus* rejected with indignation, saying that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them, was at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who
b stood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with 600 chosen horse, killed *Artagerses*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*, and spurring on his horse engaged him with great resolution, which in some degree turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards
c observing they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the same time throwing himself headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot, and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to chuse his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus*, was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates* a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. *Artarxerxes*, after having caused his head and right hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed
d himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's left wing commanded by *Tissaphernes*, and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The *Greeks* under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither *Cyrus* himself nor any messenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determi-
e ned therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without any sort of refreshment. The next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army. Whereupon they sent deputies to *Ariæus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors the crown of *Persia* in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early the next morning on his return to *Ionia*, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of *Clear-*
f *chus* began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to *Greece*[k]. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Persian* empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemies country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; and in spight of a powerful army, which pursued and haraſſed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march and most memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it first, but he being cut off by the

Cyrus *slain.*

Year of the flood 2598. *Before Christ* 401.

[k] Xenoph. ibid. 272—292. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, *Xenophon* was chosen in his room, and to his valour a
and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into *Greece*. As the
same *Xenophon* has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the
Greeks from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall refer the reader to
that inimitable performance, and return to what passed in the court of *Artaxerxes*
after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

As he believed that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that
as the most glorious action of his own life, to dispute that honour with him was
wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed, that the *Carian*
soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him
to be delivered to *Parysatis*, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were b
any ways concerned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer
the most exquisite torments she could invent during ten days, and then put him to
a most cruel death. *Mithridates* likewise, having boasted that it was he who gave
Cyrus his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we
spoke of the punishments used among the *Persians*. *Masabates*, one of the king's
eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*, being delivered
to *Parysatis*, was flead alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes upon two stakes
prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of *Parysatis* stop
here; for having conceived an implacable hatred against *Statira* for reproaching
her, as if she had countenanced her son *Cyrus*'s revolt against his brother, that re- c
vengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. *Pa-*
rysatis, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper, and a cer-
tain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, she divided
it between *Statira* and herself with a knife which was poisoned on one side only:
the sound part she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her
guard, to eat the other; whereupon she was that instant seized with horrible con-
vulsions and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes* being greatly afflicted for the loss
of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be
put to the rack, when *Gygis* one of her confidents discovered the whole. *Arta-*
xerxes caused *Gygis*, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and d
confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling her, that he would never set his foot within
the gates of that city while she was there; but at length, time having alleviated his
grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will,
she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death [1].

AFTER the death of *Cyrus*, *Tissaphernes* being sent back to his former govern-
ment, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to *Cyrus*,
he began to harass and oppress the *Greek* cities, that were within the verge of his
authority and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent embas-
sadors to the *Lacedæmonians* imploring their assistance and protection. The *Lacedæ-*
monians, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, e
laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro*
with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those
forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissa-*
phernes. But *Thimbro* being soon recalled upon some complaints and sent into
banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave
general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his pre-
decessor. Upon his first arrival finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, gover-
nors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made
a truce with the former, and marching against the latter with all his forces drove
him quite out of *Æolis* and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus*, fearing f
he might invade *Phrygia* the chief province of his government, was glad to make a
truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce
he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being
chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the
Persian court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes*, for concluding
a peace with *Dercyllidas* instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He
likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the
Athenian, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him, that as *Conon* was the best

The Lacedæmonians make war upon the Persians.
Year of the flood 2599. Before Christ 400.

sea-

[1] PLUTARCH. in Artax.

a sea-commander of his time, he might by that means obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it [m].

In the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided. For the *Lacedæmonians*, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither. This *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no sooner heard but they united against *Dercyllidas*, whom they came
b up within so disadvantagious a post, that had they charged him immediately, he must inevitably have perished. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him, but *Tissaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but sent heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals for a peace being offered on both sides, they made a truce till the answer of their respective masters should be known. Thus *Dercyllidas* and his army were saved from utter destruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing else could have delivered them [n].

In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, receiving accounts from *Asia*, that the king of *Persia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coasts of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and
c *Cilicia*, and supposing it to be designed, as it truly was, against them, resolved to send *Agesilaus*, one of their kings, into *Asia*, in order to make a diversion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Agesilaus* set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of this design; with such secrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Agesilaus* upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse, and, finding no body in a condition to oppose him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* sent a messenger to enquire for what end he was come into *Asia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Agesilaus* replied, that he was come to assist the *Greeks* inhabiting *Asia*, and restore them to their ancient liberty. *Tissaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, assured *Agesilaus*, that his master would grant him what
d he demanded, provided, he committed no acts of hostility till the return of an express which he had sent to court. *Agesilaus* believed him, and a truce was agreed on and sworn to on both sides. But *Tissaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to assemble troops on all sides, and send to the king for more forces, and soon as he received them, he sent word to *Agesilaus* to depart *Asia*, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. This message greatly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians* and their confederates, as not believing themselves in a condition to oppose the now numerous army of *Tissaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Persian* empire. As for *Agesilaus* himself, he heard *Tissaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and easy air, and desired them to tell their master,
e that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to *Persia* and friends to *Greece*. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but soon as he understood, that *Tissaphernes* had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he over-ran great part of that province without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia*, and wintered at *Ephesus* [o].

Agesilaus passes into Asia. *Year of the Flood* 2603. *Before Christ* 396.

Early in the spring *Agesilaus* took the field, and gave out, that his design was to invade *Lydia*. But *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former
f campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But *Agesilaus* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* recalled his forces from their former rout, with a design to relieve the place. But *Caria* being a very mountainous country and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind on the borders of that province. Whence, on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis*, the horse being some days marches before the foot, *Agesilaus* took the advantage of so favour-

able

[m] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 417. Justin. l. vi. c. 8. Pausan. in Atticis. [n] Diodor. ibid. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. [o] Xenoph. Hellenic, l. iii. Plut. & Cor. Nep. in Agesilao.

able an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The *Persians* were routed at the very first onset, and *Agesilaus*, becoming by this victory master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians* [p]. a

Tissaphernes *put to death.*

THE loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against *Tissaphernes*, and encreased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view besides his master's interest. At the same time *Conon*, arriving at the *Persian* court, heighten'd the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board *Conon*'s fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen *Parysatis*, actuated by an irreconcileable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son *Cyrus*, did not fail on this occasion to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in *Asia*, he charged *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him at the same time two letters; the one directed to *Tissaphernes* and impowering him to pursue the war against the *Greeks* in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to *Ariæus* governor of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes*, with his counsel and all his forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Ariæus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized and put into the hands of *Tithraustes*, who caused his head to be struck off and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Paryssatis*, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper [q]. b c

UPON the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithraustes*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agesilaus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the *Lacedæmonians* required when they first began the war. *Agesilaus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*. However, as he was willing to give *Tithraustes* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithraustes* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the publick good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved [r]. d e

Agesilaus, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of *Pharnabazus* in great affluence. From thence he marched into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the king. There he concluded a league with *Cotys* king of that country, and returning into *Phrygia* took the strong city of *Dascylium*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions [s]. *Tithraustes*, finding that *Agesilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the *Lacedæmonians*. This stratagem produced the intended effect, for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring as *Agesilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus*, after f

expatiating

[p] XENOPH. ibid. p. 501—657. PLUT. in ARTAX. p. 1022. & in Agesil. p. 601. [q] XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 220. POLYÆN. stratag. l. vii. [r] PAUSAN. in Laconicis. XENOPH. & PLUTARCH. ubi supra. [s] PLUT. in Agesil. XENOPH. HELLENIC. l. iv. p. 507. 510.

a expatiating on the ſervices he had done the *Lacedemonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude, ſince, in return for ſo many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Daſcylium*, which were his hereditary eſtate. As what he ſaid was true, *Ageſilaus* and the *Lacedæmonians*, that attended him, were to ſuch a degree aſhamed in ſeeing themſelves ſo juſtly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to anſwer, nor how to excuſe ſuch an ungenerous proceeding. However, to make him the beſt amends they could, they obliged themſelves by a ſolemn promiſe not to invade any of the provinces under his government, ſo long as there were others into which they might carry the war againſt the *Perſian* king. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with

b a deſign to invade the upper parts of *Aſia*, and proſecute the war in the very heart of the *Perſian* empire. But while *Ageſilaus* was projecting this expedition, a meſſenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him, that the *Ephori* recalled him to defend his own country, againſt which ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* had formed a ſtrong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made all the haſte thither he could, complaining at his departure, that the *Perſians* had driven him out of *Aſia* with 30,000 archers, alluding to the *Perſian Darics*, which were pieces of gold ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an archer [t]. *Ageſilaus recalled. Year of the flood* 2605. *Before Chriſt* 394.

Conon, on his return from the *Perſian* court, having brought money enough to pay the ſoldiers and mariners their arrears, and ſupply the fleet with arms and pro-

c viſions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith ſet ſail in queſt of the enemies. The *Perſian* fleet conſiſted of 90 veſſels and upwards; that of the *Lacedæmonians* was not ſo numerous, but their ſhips were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Aſia Minor*. *Conon*, who had in ſome meaſure occaſioned the taking of *Athens* by loſing the ſea-fight at *Ægoſpotamos*, or the *Goats-river*, was determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface by a glorious victory the diſgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, *Piſander* was deſirous to juſtify by his conduct and valour the choice which *Ageſilaus* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at firſt ſome advantage. But *Conon* having boarded

d his ſhip and killed him with his own hand, the reſt of the fleet betook themſelves to flight. *Conon* purſued them, took fifty of their ſhips, and, having gained a compleat victory, put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in thoſe parts. The conſequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of *Sparta*; ſome declaring for the *Athenians*, and others reſuming their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the *Lacedæmonians* declined daily, till at length the over-throws, which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, compleated their downfal [w]. *The* Lacedæmonians *defeated at* Cnidos.

After this victory *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* being maſters at ſea ſailed round the iſlands and coaſts of *Aſia*, reducing the cities, which in thoſe parts were ſubject to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Seſtus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out againſt

e them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by ſea; but neither ſucceeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving *Conon* to take care of the fleet, and ſtrengthen it with as many ſhips as he could aſſemble, from the cities on the *Helleſpont*, againſt the enſuing ſpring [x].

Conon having aſſembled, purſuant to his commiſſion, a powerful fleet againſt the time appointed, he took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and ſteering his courſe thro' the iſlands, landed in *Melos* the moſt diſtant of them all. Having reduced this iſland, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedæmonians*, he made from thence a deſcent on the coaſts of that province, pillaged all the maritime places, and loaded his fleet with an immenſe booty. After

f this *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair to *Athens* with 80 ſhips and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having firſt convinced him, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of *Sparta*, than putting *Athens* again in a condition to rival its power. He no ſooner arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was ſeconded by the zeal of all thoſe that were well inclined to the *Athenians*, was ſoon compleated, and the city not only reſtored to its former ſplendor, but rendered more formidable than 393. Conon *rebuilds the walls of* Athens. *Year of the flood* 3606. *Before Chriſt*

[t] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. p. 513. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604. [u] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. p. 518. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 302. Justin, l. vi. c. 2, 3. [x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 534. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 441.

than ever to its enemies. Thus *Athens* was rebuilt by the *Persians*, who had destroyed a
it, and fortified at the expence and with the spoils of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had dismantled it. *Conon*, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and those which led from the former to the latter, and were called the *Long-walls*, distributed the 50 talents, which he had received of *Pharnabazus*, among his citizens, and offered the gods a sacrifice of an hundred oxen, in thanksgiving for the happy re-establishment of his native country [y].

THE *Lacedæmonians* could not behold without great concern so glorious a revolution, and finding themselves unable to maintain a war, with men as brave as themselves assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas* one of their citizens to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, enjoining him to conclude a peace with b
Artaxerxes upon the most advantagious terms he could. The other cities of *Greece*, in alliance with the *Athenians*, sent at the same time their deputies, and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms, which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands and other cities in *Greece* should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantagious to the king and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other embassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedæmonians*, bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus* of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking of c
Æolis and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them a-new to the republic of *Athens*. Upon these accusations *Tiribazus* seized him, and, having supplied the *Lacedæmonians* underhand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms which the *Lacedæmonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations which the *Lacedæmonians* had brought against *Conon*. Whereupon he was, according to some writers [z], sent to *Susa* and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his contemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event [a]. d

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Suthras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion observing the havock, which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to send *Thimbro* into *Asia* to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia* after the battle of *Cnidus* being but faint struggles of a e
declining power. In the mean time *Tiribazus* returning from *Susa* summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros* should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them to the utmost of his power against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantagious and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name; however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestick divisions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*, for he was the first that proposed it, giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agesilaus* had so long contended [b]. f

The peace of Antalcidas. Year of the flood 2612. Before Christ 387.

Artaxerxes, being now quite disengaged from the *Grecian* war, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to drive

[y] XENOPH. & DIODOR. ibid. [z] CORNEL. NEP. in Cononc. [a] XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 442. [b] XENOPH. l. v. p. 548—551. DIODOR. ubi supra. p. 447.

a drive out of that island, but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. *Evagoras* was descended from the antient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the island of *Cyprus*. His ancestors had held that city for many ages in quality of sovereigns; but were at last driven out by the *Persians*, who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine* for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean
b time *Conon*, by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*, the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a manner, of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, alone of those *Islanders*, held out against him. These had recourse to *Artaxerxes*, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support. But being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace
c with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Persians*, and the many favours received at their king's hands, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them, with all possible expedition, under the command of *Philocrates* to assist him. But the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, commanded by *Teleutias* brother to *Agesilaus*, falling in with them near the isle of *Rhodes*, surrounded them, so that not one ship could escape [c]. The *Athenians*, determined to assist *Evagoras* at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a considerable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new supply arri-
d ved safe, and in a short time obliged the whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked with all their forces the island of *Cyprus*, not doubting, but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from *Greece*. The king's army consisted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ships. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the son of *Tamas*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, seeing himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes who were at enmity with the *Persians*, receiving supplies, both
e of men and money, from the *Egyptians*, *Lybians*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many small vessels, he intercepted all the enemies ships that brought provisions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such straits, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers. But the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from *Cilicia*. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn and fifty ships from *Egypt*, which, together with those he had fitted out himself, making up a fleet of 200 sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the *Persians*. At
f first he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of the enemies ships; but *Gaus* advancing with a few ships attacked him with such vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the *Persian* fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, reurned to the charge, and at last obtained a compleat victory, driving the enemy's ships into their harbours. *Evagoras* with a few ships escaped to *Salamine*, where he was immediately closely besieged both by sea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained 2000 talents for the use of the army, he returned with that new supply to carry

The Persians invade Cyprus with 330,000 men. Year of the flood 2613. Before Christ 386.

[c] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. l. xv. p. 459.

carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, a leaving the defence of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ships and sailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Achoris*, king of that country, to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were; that he ſhould abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he ſhould hold of the king, as a ſervant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to conſent to that of holding of *Salamine*, as a ſervant under his maſter, and b perſiſted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwiſe than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the leaſt alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretenſions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die ſword in hand rather than yield to ſuch terms, broke off the conference, and applied himſelf entirely to the defence of the city [d].

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the ſuperiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intruſted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the ſucceſs that attended him, wrote ſecretly to court, accuſing him amongſt other things of forming deſigns againſt the king's intereſt, and holding a private correſpondence with the *Lacedæmonians*. Up- c on the receipt of theſe letters, *Artaxerxes* immediately diſpatched orders to *Orontes* to ſeize *Tiribazus* and ſend him priſoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. But the army being very much diſſatisfied with the change, many left the Service, and others refuſed to obey their new commander. Whereupon *Orontes* was obliged to renew the treaty with *Evagoras*, and conclude it upon terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he conſented, that he ſhould hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a ſmall tribute to the king of *Perſia*. Thus the ſiege was raiſed, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras*, after a war which had coſt the *Perſians* above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money [e]. For the elogy and character of this prince we d refer the reader to *Iſocrates*.

The peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in thoſe parts. For *Gaus*, reſenting the unjuſt uſage of *Tiribazus*, whoſe daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the ſame proſecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare ſuſpicions, ſent deputies to *Achoris* king of *Egypt*, and having concluded an alliance with him againſt the king of *Perſia*, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, moſt of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewiſe ſollicited the *Lacedæmonians* to come into the league, aſſuring them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them maſters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably e to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy ſuch an opportunity of making war upon the *Perſians*, being highly diſſatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But, before matters were ripe for execution, *Gaus* was treacherouſly ſlain by one of his own officers, and *Tachos*, who took upon him to carry on the ſame deſign, ſoon died; whereby the vaſt preparations they had made came to nothing; and the *Lacedæmonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Aſia* [f].

Artaxerxes *invades the* Caduſians *with ill ſucceſs. Year of the World* 2615. *Before Chriſt* 384.

Artaxerxes had no ſooner finiſhed the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another againſt the *Caduſians*, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are ſilent as to the occaſion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were f accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in perſon againſt them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horſe: But, the country by reaſon of its barrenneſs not affording proviſions ſufficient to maintain ſo numerous an army, they were ſoon reduced to feed upon the beaſts of burden which accompanied the army; and theſe became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was ſold for 60 drachmas. The king's proviſions too began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained. In this ſad poſture of affairs, *Tiribazus* contrived a ſtratagem which ſaved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a priſoner,

[d] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [e] ISOCRAT. in Evag. [f] DIODOR. l. xv.

a priſoner, being in diſgrace by reaſon of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have ſaid above. The *Caduſians* had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed in the enemy's camp, found, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that the jealouſy and miſtruſt, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he adviſed the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himſelf the whole management of it, went in perſon to one of the kings, and ſent his ſon to the other. Each of them informed the king, to whom he applied, that the other had ſent embaſſadors to treat ſeparately with *Artaxerxes*, and adviſed him to loſe no time, but make his peace as ſoon as poſſible, that the
b conditions might be the more advantagious. Their negotiations had the deſired effect, and both princes were brought ſeparately to ſubmit to the king, which ſaved both him and his army from impending deſtruction [g] (Q).

The king loſt in this ill-projected expedition a great number of his beſt troops, and all his horſes. Among others who loſt their lives on this occaſion was *Camiſſares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was gover-
c nor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was ſucceeded in that government by his ſon *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner. *Datames* was the greateſt commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius Nepos*, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldneſs, and abilities for contriving and executing military ſtratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occaſioned his ruin, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter.

On the king's return to *Suſa*, the eminent ſervice which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cauſe thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpoſe he appointed three commiſſioners, who were all of eminent rank and diſtinguiſhed probity. Theſe, after an impartial diſcuſſion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king reſtored to his former honours, and *Orontes* his accuſer with diſ-
d grace baniſhed the court [h].

Artaxerxes, being now at leiſure from all other engagements, reſolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Achoris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, foreſeeing the ſtorm, was not wanting on his ſide to provide againſt it the beſt he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own ſubjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, ſent embaſſadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to ſerve againſt the king of *Perſia*, with whom the king of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republick with his maſter's reſentment, if he were not
e immediately recalled. He demanded at the ſame time *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the beſt general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Perſian* ſervice. The *Athenians*, who at that time had a great dependence on the *Perſian* king's friendſhip to ſupport them againſt their domeſtic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was ſent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Perſian* army. On his arrival having muſtered the forces he was to command, he ſo exerciſed them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Iphicrateſian* ſoldiers. And indeed he had time enough to inſtruct them before they entered upon action; for the *Perſians* being very ſlow in their prepara-
f tions, two whole years elapſed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Achoris*, king of *Egypt*, died in the mean time, and was ſucceeded by *Pſammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherites* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebis*, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years [i].

Artaxerxes

[g] Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024. Diodor. l. xv. p. 462. [h] Diodor. ubi ſupra, p. 463.
[i] Euseb. Chron. Syncell. p. 257.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the *Caduſians* were deſcended from the *Iſraelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Aſſyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the ſimilitude between the words *Caduſian* and *Kedueſhim*, which ſignifies *Holy People*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) *Fuller Miſcel. l.* ii. *c.* 5.

Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, a
sent embassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his
name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they
should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*, and
that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty,
and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure
by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all
Greece, refused to conform to it [k].

His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt. *Year of the Flood* 2625. *Before Christ* 374.

At length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian*
army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general b
rend zvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 *Persians*
under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and 20,000 *Greeks* led by *Iphicrates*. Their
forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 gal-
lies, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet
and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the
same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The
war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*; but *Nectanebis*, having had sufficient
time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it im-
practicable both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, c
as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the
Nile; for the *Nile* at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels,
and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garison. But the *Mendesian*
mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was
expected, they landed their forces there without great opposition, carried the for-
tress that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword.
After this action *Iphicrates* was for reimbarking the troops without loss of time, and
attacking *Memphis* the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed, before
the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion and
the blow already received had thrown them into, they would have found the place
without any defence, and must have certainly taken it and re-conquered all *Egypt*.
But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would under- d
take nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favour-
able an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing
instances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his
command. But *Pharnabazus*, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would
redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means
hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their cou-
rage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any further attempts. For *Nec-*
tanebis having lodged a sufficient garison in *Memphis*, with the rest took the field,
and so harassed the *Persians*, that they could not advance farther into the country;
and the *Nile* at the accustomed period overflowing the land, the *Persians* were e
obliged to return into *Phœnice*, having lost great part of their army in this unsuc-
cessful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole
years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless an attempt.
The only effect that it produced was, an irreconcileable enmity between the two
generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscar-
riage upon *Iphicrates*, and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*; but being well
apprised, that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and
remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate,
privately hired a ship and retired to *Athens*. *Pharnabazus* sent embassadors to *Athens*,
accusing him of making the *Egyptian* expedition miscarry, and requesting the repub- f
lick to punish him according to his demerit. The *Athenians* made no other
answer, than that if he were found guilty he should undergo the punishment he
deserved. But, it seems, they were so well convinced of his innocence, that they
never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed sole
admiral of their whole fleet [l].

Twelve years after this expedition, *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the
thoughts of subjecting *Egypt*, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt,
began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had
succeeded

[k] Diodor. l. xv. p. 355. [l] Diodor. l. xv. p. 478.

a succeeded *Nectanebis*, drew together what forces he could to defend himself against so powerful an enemy. To strengthen himself the more, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians*, who were at that time exasperated against *Artaxerxes*, for obliging them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, to send a good number of troops under the command of *Agesilaus*. This commission did no ways redound to the honour of *Agesilaus*, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of *Sparta*, and a great commander, who had acquired such reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himself to a *Barbarian*. However, *Agesilaus*, either out of vanity to be still at the head of an army, for *Tachos* had promised to make him commander in chief of all
b his forces, or out of a prospect of great gain, willingly accepted the commission, and set sail for *Egypt*. On his landing he was met by *Tachos*, who in their first interview conceived such disadvantagious ideas of him, that he ever after slighted his counsels and despised his person. For both he and his *Egyptian* generals expected to see a great and magnificent prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aspect, and drest in an old robe of coarse stuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward shew. This hasty and ill-grounded impression proved the ruin of *Tachos*; for he would allow *Agesilaus* no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been sufficient to disgust so great, so old, and so experienced a commander, and was the first cause of
c his aversion to *Tachos*. The charge of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias*, reserving to himself the chief command over all. Having joined the *Egyptians* and mercenaries into one body, he resolved to march into *Phœnice*, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. *Agesilaus*, being apprised of the bad consequences that might attend this resolution, advised him against it, remonstrating, that his affairs were not so well settled in *Egypt* as to admit of his absence, and that it would be more for his interest to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom to be at hand in case of any disturbance. *Tachos* despised this wise counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. But the event shewed, that *Agesilaus*'s advice was the
d result of a very prudent forecast; for, while *Tachos* was in *Phœnice*, the *Egyptians* revolting set up *Nectanebus* his cousin, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, his son, in his stead. *Agesilaus*, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his resentment against *Tachos*, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of *Egypt*. The dethroned prince fled first to *Sidon*, and from thence to the *Persian* court, where he was not only received with great kindness, but entrusted with the command of the troops against the rebels [m] (R).

Year of the flood 2637. *Before Christ* 362.

Towards the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concu-
e bines, and three by his queen, *viz. Darius*, *Ariaspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared *Darius* the eldest his successor, and the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the *Tiara*, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him in

[m] Diodor. l. 15. 397.—401. Plut. in Agesil. p. 616, 618. Corn. Nep. in Ages. c. 8.

(R) *Plutarch* condemns *Agesilaus* as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms against the prince who had hired him. But *Agesilaus* alledged in his justification, that he had been sent to assist the *Egyptians*, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms against *Tachos*, he could not serve against them without new orders from *Sparta*. He accordingly dispatched messengers thither, and the instructions he received were, to act as he should judge most advantagious for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for *Nectanebus*. Thus *Agesilaus* pretended to cover so criminal a conduct, says *Plutarch*; but if we remove that delusive blind of the publick good, the only true name that can be given to this action, is that of perfidy and treason (77). *Xenophon* endeavours to palliate this conduct by saying, that *Agesilaus* joined that king who seemed the best affected to *Greece* (78).

(77) *Plut. in Agesil.*

(78) *Xenoph. de reg. Agesil.* 663.

in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, a
and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that
likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus* to such a degree, that to
revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The
number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the
execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered
it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the
king's palace, and all put to death.

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his
being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers
were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arsames*. The two first claimed the crown b
in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the
king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus*,
prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For
Ariaspes being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the
palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that, expecting every mo-
ment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death.
But *Arsames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom
and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and all others, the most wor-
thy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*.
This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, over- c
whelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with such grief, that, not being able
to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign [n].
He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice;
whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire.
This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him,
the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and
people. To avoid the inconveniences that might attend this general hatred and
aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's per-
son, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving
orders, and issuing decrees in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive; d
by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed
king throughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months,
believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his
father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians,
however, most frequently call him *Ochus*, and under this name we shall speak of
him in the sequel of this history.

Artaxerxes Mnemon *dies.* *Year of the flood* 2640. *Before Christ* 359.

Ochus.

It was no sooner known that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the
throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces openly
revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt, were *Ariobarzanes* governor of
Phrygia, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Autophradates* e
governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged
in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may
call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted
into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the
war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. But they did not long
keep firm to each other, and those, who had been the first and most zealous in
shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby
make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor* on withdrawing
their obedience had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen
Orontes for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to f
their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them. But when
he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising of those forces and maintaining of
them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those
who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rheomitres*, another of the
chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt* to negotiate succours in that kingdom,
was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50
ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia*
Minor,

[n] Diodor. l. 15. p. 327—401. Plut. in Artax.

a *Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was without striking a blow settled on the throne[o]. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos* [p] and *Polyænus* [q], it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*.
b For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles with an hundred of his sons and grandsons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows [r]. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Sysigambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*. For Q. *Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused 80 of her brothers, together with
c their father, to be massacred in one day. With the same barbarity he treated all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

But all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of 70,000 men against the rebels; but they were by *Chares* and his *Athenians* all cut in pieces. *Artabazus*, in reward of so great a service, gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had
d on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and as they were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians*, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece* [s].

Artabazus, being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, had recourse to the *Thebans*, who sent to his assistance a body of 5000 men under the command of *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans* and their commander [t]. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. *Artabazus* thus de-
e stitute of all support was at last overcome and forced to take refuge with *Philip* of *Macedon* [u].

This rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*. The *Persians* were then making vast preparations to reduce *Egypt*; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through *Phœnice*, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of *Egypt*. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of
f 4000 *Greek* mercenaries under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian* to join them, in hopes of making *Phœnice* a barrier to *Egypt*, and keeping the war at a distance. The

Year of the Flood, 2648. *Before Christ*, 351.

[o] Diodor. l. xv. p. 506. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii. [p] Corn. Nep. in vita Datam. [q] Polyæn. stratagem. l. vii. [r] Justin, l. x. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [s] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 527, 528. [t] Diodor. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 438.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diodor. l.* xv. *p.* 400.

The *Phœnicians* encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia* that were sent to reduce them, they drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories [w]. a

THE *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance [x]. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* an *Athenian* and *Evagoras*, (T) to make a descent in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land [y]. b

Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horse, marched at the head of them into *Phœnice*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who was then at *Sidon* with the *Greek* mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of so great an army, sent privately one of his intimate friends to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. *Ochus* glad of this proffer spared no promises to draw him over to his party, knowing what signal service he could do him in the *Egyptian* war, as being thoroughly acquainted with the country. And accordingly *Mentor*, having received such assurances as he desired, engaged *Tennes*, king of *Sidon*, in the same treacherous design, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* up to the *Persians*. The *Sidonians*, seeing themselves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, shut themselves up, with their wives and children, in their houses, and setting fire to them consumed themselves, to the number of 40,000 men, besides women and children. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his subjects, for *Ochus* seeing he could do him no farther service, and detesting in his heart the treachery of the man, caused his throat to be cut, lest he should out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country, as we have related elsewhere [z]. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* [a]. e

Sidon *betrayed by* Mentor *the* Rhodian.

BUT before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the *Thebans* sent him 1000 men under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* 3000 commanded by *Nicostratus*; the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonianians* excused themselves, telling the king's embassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master, but could not at that time spare him any succours [b]. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*. For *Ochus* from *Sidon* marched into *Judea*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrcania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea [c]. d

Ochus at the same time put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*. He willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments [d]. e

Ochus

[w] Idem. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533. [x] Idem, ubi supra. p. 532. [y] Idem, ibid. Vol. I. p. 411, 412. [a] DIODOR. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c. [b] Idem. ibid. p. 533. [c] SOLIN. c. xxxv. SYNCELL. ex Africano, p. 256. OROS. l. xxxi. c. 7. JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion. [d] DIODOR. ibid. p. 534.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians* in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(80) *Isocrat. in Evag. & Nicol.*

(81) *Diodor. l.* vi. *p.* 532.

a *Ochus*, having thus ſettled the affairs both of *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, ſet out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he loſt a great many men, drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*, which lies between *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, and extends about 30 miles. When the ſouth-wind blows, the whole ſurface of the water is covered with ſand from the deſart, in ſuch manner, that no one can diſtinguiſh it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus*'s army, for want of good guides, were loſt in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the ſame fate [e]. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Perſian* and a *Greek* general. The firſt was led by *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Roſaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the ſecond by *Nicoſtratus* the *Theban*, and *Ariſtazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas*
b one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himſelf, and encamped near *Peluſium*, with a deſign to watch there the events of the war. In the mean time *Nectanebus* drew together an army of 100,000 men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Lybia*, and the reſt *Egyptians*; but they did not all amount to a third of the *Perſian* army. With ſome of theſe he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The firſt *Perſian* detachment, under the command of *Lachares*, ſat down before *Peluſium*, gariſoned by 5000 *Greeks*. While the ſiege
c was carrying on, *Nicoſtratus* with his detachment embarked on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, and ſailing up the *Nile* landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a ſtrong encampment. Hereupon all the gariſons of the neighbouring caſtles, taking the alarm, joined *Clinias* of the iſland of *Cos* in order to diſlodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the *Egyptians* were put to flight, having loſt *Clinias* with above 5000 of his men; the reſt were utterly broken and diſperſed, which, we may ſay, determined the fate of this war. For *Nectanebus*, fearing leſt *Nicoſtratus* ſhould ſail up the *Nile* with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, haſtened thither, and left open the paſſes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The *Greek* mercenaries, who gariſoned *Peluſium*, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for loſt, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, delivered up the city to
d him, upon condition, that they and their effects ſhould be ſafely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the paſſes deſerted, entered the country, and giving out, that *Ochus* would graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted, and utterly deſtroy ſuch as reſiſted, treating them as he had treated the *Sidonians*, both the *Egyptians* and *Greeks* ſtrove which ſhould firſt make their ſubmiſſion. *Nectanebus*, ſeeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treaſures he could carry, and withdrew into *Ethiopia*. *Ochus*, having thus reduced all *Egypt*, diſmantled their ſtrong-holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with immenſe treaſures [f]. Henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Perſia*, till *Alexander* overturned that monarchy, and delivered the *Egyptians* from the *Perſian* ty-

Egypt *reduced by* Ochus. *Year of the Flood*, 2649. *Year before Chriſt*, 350.

e ranny.

Ochus, having ended with ſuch ſucceſs the *Egyptian* war, ſent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their reſpective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conqueſts were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he diſtinguiſhed him above all the reſt, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other preſents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coaſts of *Aſia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was ſtill carrying on againſt ſome provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. Theſe, what by cunning and ſtratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and reſtored the king's authority in all the parts of that vaſt empire.

f All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace eſtabliſhed throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himſelf up to eaſe, luxury, and pleaſure, leaving the adminiſtration of public affairs entirely to his miniſters. The chief of theſe were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Aſia*, and the latter thoſe of the lower [g]. *Bagoas*, being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conqueſt of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but, in ſpite of all his endeavours,

[e] Idem, 534, 535. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Idem, p. 537.

Bagoas *the eunuch poisons* Ochus, *and raises* Arses *to the throne.* *Year of the flood*, 2661. *Before Christ*, 338.

Arses.

Darius Codomannus. *Year of the flood* 2663. *Before Christ* 336.

vours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records a
that were lodged in them; and in contempt of their religion slew the god *Apis*, that
is, *the sacred bull*, which they worshipped under that name. This irreligious beha-
viour *Bagoas* deeply resented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of re-
venging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great
sum of money and sent them back into *Egypt*; but the injury done to his god he
thought could be no otherwise atoned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death;
which he did accordingly with poison in the twenty-first year of his reign. Nor did
his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried
instead of it; and, because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of the
Apis, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his b
bones handles for swords. Having in this barbarous manner dispatched his master
and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed
Arses, the youngest of the dead king's sons on the throne, and put all the rest to
death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped.
For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the
whole power and authority of the government [h].

Arses did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Ba-*
goas, who, finding that the king, well apprised of his wickedness and treachery, was
taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was before-hand with him,
putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign [i]. c

THE throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not
yet usurp it himself, placed it on *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before
his accession to the crown he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of
the blood-royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him.
However, he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose
grandson *Arsames* marrying his own sister *Sysigambis* had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*,
the son of *Darius Nothus* and father to *Arsames*, was put to death by *Ochus* on his
first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons [k].
How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of
Ochus he made but a very poor figure, being only an *Astanda*, that is one employed d
to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment
for one of the royal family [l]. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*,
towards the latter end of his reign, one of these *Barbarians* having challenged the
whole *Persian* army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat,
Codomannus accepted the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the
Cadusian. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia* [m],
and thence raised to the throne by *Bagoas* in the manner we have already related. But
he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, when *Bagoas*, finding that he would
not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the
crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; e
and accordingly provided a poisonous potion; but *Darius* being acquainted with his
design, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himself drink it, and
having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the
throne, without any further difficulty or opposition [n]. Authors represent *Darius* as a
prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his sta-
ture and shape far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire. But having such
a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able with all his
good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on
the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, having settled his affairs in *Macedon*, and used all imaginable f
precautions to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set
out for *Sestus*, and thence passed over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, in the second year
of *Darius*'s reign. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time
before, in a general assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to revenge the many injuries,
which *Greece* had received from the *Barbarians* during the space of 300 years, and
Philip king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined
for this expedition. But *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander*
summoned

[h] DIODOR. p. 564. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. iv. c. 8. SEVER. SULPIT. l. ii. [i] DIODOR. ibid.
[k] DIODOR. ibid. PLUT. in Artax. [l] PLUT. de vita & fortuna Alexandri. [m] DIODOR. l. xvii.
p. 564. JUSTIN. l. x. c. 3. [n] DIODOR. ubi supra.

a summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet at *Corinth*, and having prevailed with them to chuse him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 3000 horse. But they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry; *Philotas* his son had the command of 1800 horse, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*, the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Thessalian* cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of his own nation.

b With this army he crossed the *Hellespont*, as we have hinted above, and, pursuing his march, arrived at the River *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with a design to dispute his passage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coasts of *Asia*, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into *Europe*. But *Arsites*, governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting, that he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic council prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected to hold

c intelligence with the enemy, or at least to be desirous of spinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself [o].

The *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front in order to oppose *Alexander*, where-ever he should attempt a passage; and the foot, consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. *Parmenio*, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised *Alexander* to incamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to rest, and not to attempt the crossing over till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and those of the enemies quite fresh, as having been in-

d camped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least impression on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the *Hellespont*, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet; for so, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus* [p].

The battle of Granicus. Year after the flood, 2665. *Before Christ*, 334.

The two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians* waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to cross in, which they no sooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself follow-

e ing with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Persians* let fly such showers of arrows, against the detachment of the *Macedonian* horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank a most bloody engagement ensued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Persians* pushing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were intirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite

f of all opposition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance to give way. However, *Spithrobates*, governor of *Ionia* and son-in-law to *Darius*, being surrounded by forty *Persian* lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the *Persians* back to the charge. *Alexander*, seeing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, advanced full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline the combat,

[o] Arrian. l. i. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. ubi supra.

[p] Diodor. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt.

(U) *Justin* and *Orosius* tell us, that the *Persian* army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; *Arrianus* makes it amount to 200,000 foot. We have chosen to follow *Diodorus*'s account, which to us seems the most rational. *In page* 325 *the authors follow* Justin *and* Orosius.

combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spithrobates*, having a
thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scymetar. But *Rosaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander* at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus* with one stroke of his scymetar cut off *Rosaces*'s head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour, who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not pursue b
them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot, who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the *Macedonian* phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost 20,000 foot, and 2500 horse; of the *Macedonians* 25 men of the c
king's own troop fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander* some time after caused to be set up in *Dia*, a city in *Macedon*, whence they were many years after carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About 60 others of the horse were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens [q].

THIS victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected. For *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was by *Alexander* declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where d
he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus* the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*, which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but after various fruitless attempts they sailed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong hold, with a considerable number of his men who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaling e
ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place. But his men being every where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms; the *Milesians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon* with his *Greeks* to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword or sold for slaves [r]. f

HAVING thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria*, in order to besiege the city of *Halicarnassus*, which refused to submit. The place was both by nature and art one of the best fortified in all *Asia*; and besides *Memnon* had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage and attachment to the interest of *Darius*. And accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war,

was

[q] PLUT. in Alex. DIODOR. p. 503. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 18. [r] DIODOR. ubi supra. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 19.

a was practiſed on this occaſion, both by the beſiegers and the beſieged. After the *Macedonians* had, with the utmoſt difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought heir engines near the walls, their works were all demoliſhed in an inſtant, and the engines ſet on fire by the beſieged. No ſooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raiſed in its ſtead, the *Macedonians* finding themſelves no farther advanced after an immenſe labour, than they were when they firſt ſat down before the place. The city held out ſo long, and the beſiegers had ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with, that any general beſides *Alexander* would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to purſue the undertaking, by thoſe very difficulties, which would have diſheartened others; and their patience
b at laſt proved ſucceſsful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the ſea was open, he placed a ſtrong gariſon in the citadel, which was ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and going on board the *Perſian* fleet, whereof himſelf was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the iſland of *Cos*, not far diſtant from *Halicarnaſſus*. *Alexander*, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to beſiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was deſtroyed [s].

After the reduction of *Halicarnaſſus*, all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out where-ever he came, that he had undertaken this war with
c no other view but of freeing them from the *Perſian* bondage. In the ſecond year of this war he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, and appointed ſuch of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. Theſe tranſactions we ſhall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

In the mean time *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* adviſed him to carry the war into *Macedon*; and a wiſer reſolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedæmonians* and ſeveral other *Greek* ſtates, that were diſaffected to the *Macedonians* and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Aſia*, and
d return to the defence of his own country. *Darius*, being well appriſed of the reaſonableneſs of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for *Memnon* was by far the beſt general in his ſervice, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Perſian* intereſt, not abandoning his ſovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unſucceſsful. Having received this new commiſſion, he aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the iſland of *Cos*,
e where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the iſlands of *Chios* and *Leſbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he deſigned to paſs over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the ſeat of the war; but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could befal the *Perſian* empire, having defeated the wiſe meaſures which he had propoſed; for *Darius* not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, the only one that could have ſaved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eaſtern armies. Theſe he appointed to aſſemble at *Babylon*, and having ſet up his ſtandard there, and muſtered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or ſix hundred thouſand
f men, according to the various accounts of authors [t].

The news of *Memnon*'s death confirmed *Alexander* in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Aſia*. Accordingly he marched with all poſſible expedition into *Cilicia*, and arriving at a place called *Cyrus*'s camp (whether from *Cyrus* the Great, as *Curtius* tells, or from the younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain), about fifty ſtades diſtant from the ſtraits of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important paſs with a conſiderable body of troops. Whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in perſon at the firſt watch to ſurprize them; but the *Perſians*, having intelligence of his deſign, be-

took

[s] Diodor. Arrian. ibid. [t] Vide Plut. in Alexand. Arrian. l. ii. c. 6. Justin. l. xi. c. 9. Curt. l. iii. c. 8.

took themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass, which *Alexander* entered, and, a
after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass a-breast, and so broke in several places, and encumbered with large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a numerous army. From the straits of *Cilicia* the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*; where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress b
of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction [u].

In the mean time, *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast plains of *Mesopotamia*. Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous parts of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement [w].

The order he observed in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on silver altars *the sacred and eternal fire*, as they called it, attended by the *Mages*, singing hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty-five c
youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses; and followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called *the horse of the sun*; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the van-guard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horse was followed by another of foot, called by the *Persians immortal*, because if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another; they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves gar- d
nished with precious stones. About 30 paces distance came the king's relations or cousins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the *immortal* body in the pomp and richness of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this body. After these came *Darius* himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold; from the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread-eagle of the same metal. The king was clothed with a garment of purple striped with silver, wearing over e
that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious stones; and the scabbard of his scymetar, as our author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipt with gold; after these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and lastly 400 led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance followed *Sysigambis*, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horse-back, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal con- f
cubines to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bow-men; the march was closed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot lightly armed [x]. One would take this to be the description of a masquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that *Darius*'s chief care was not to provide for his own safety, but to set out his own glory and riches, as though the *Macedonians* were to be dazled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

Alexander

[u] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii. c. 8. [w] Arrian. & Curt. ibid. [x] Arrian. & Curt. ubi supra.

a *Alexander*, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates* in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio* to possess himself of another narrow pass (W), leading from *Assyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himself, he marched from *Tarsus* to *Anchialos*, and thence to *Soli*, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius* with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of *Sochus* in *Syria*, within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for

b *Darius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*; which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two small armies to act in, reduced both in some degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Persian* camp, that *Alexander* had halted in the midst of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders, who served in *Darius*'s army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy; whereas, within those straits, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Persians* not the

c twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counsel, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholesome an advice; nay, the courtiers traduced those who had suggested it, as traitors, telling *Darius*, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands what-ever should be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe that *Alexander* was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march

d forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in those straits, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the *Persian* generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes, the Gods, says our historian [y], blinding that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the *Persian* empire. *Darius*, having sent his treasures and most valuable moveables to *Damascus* in *Syria* under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the straits of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Issus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great disorder into *Syria*.

e In the city of *Issus* he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought *Alexander* word of *Darius*'s approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of *Issus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here *Darius*, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the narrowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one be-

f hind the other. But the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground,

The battle of Issus. Year of the flood 2666, Before Christ 333.

[y] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. iii. c. 11.

(W) For the clearer understanding of *Alexander*'s march and that of *Darius*, we must distinguish three straits, the first leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the second leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took possession of; and the third called the straits of mount *Amanus* lying to the north of the pass of *Syria*; through this *Darius*'s army from *Assyria* entered *Cilicia*.

ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, which was made in the flight of a so numerous an army, was very great, those who fell that day were for the most part trampled to death, by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horse-back, and pursued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him by the *Greek* mercenaries, who, charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus* with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men, and, though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in person, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty reduced to eight thousand; they retired then in good order over the mountains b towards *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where finding the transports, that had conveyed them from *Lesbos*, lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the rest to prevent their being pursued. *Alexander* no sooner saw them put to flight than he hastened after *Darius*; but growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. *Sysigambis*, *Darius*'s mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus* not full six years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and besides some noblemens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius*'s treasure and all the rich furniture, which the *Persian* monarch used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only c three thousand talents of silver; but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio* at his taking the city of *Damascus* [z]. In this engagement the *Persians* lost, according to *Arrian* [a], 10,000 horse, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horse; but as to the foot they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and some to 120, thousand, adding, that 40,000 were taken prisoners, while *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but 300 men [b].

THE next day *Alexander*, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be d buried with great pomp in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank, and allowed *Darius*'s mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her and the other captive princesses with great humanity; they were, says *Plutarch* [c], in *Alexander*'s camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple designed for the asylum of virtue, they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius*'s consort and her two daughters were prin- e cesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander* after the first visit resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians* who had abused the wives of some captives. In short, he used them with such respect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune [d].

Alexander, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius*'s treasures were lodged, with the *Thessalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day f *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused by day-break a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and save them for his master, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces, which this general headed, the *Persians*, who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left

[z] PLUT. in Alex. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. l. xvii. [a] ARRIAN. ubi supra. [b] DIODOR. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra. [c] PLUTARCH. de fortuna Alexandri. [d] PLUT. ibid.

a left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow; the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus* or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his son *Ilioneus*; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast; three daughters of *Mentor*; the wife and son of *Memnon*, that illustrious and renowned commander; insomuch, that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia* which did not share in this calamity. Besides the immense treasures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion,
b which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 prisoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The *Thessalian* horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by *Alexander* on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest in the late engagement [e]. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius* [f].

After this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius*'s governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathus*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he stiled himself
c king without bestowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than entreated him to ask what sum he pleased for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but if he were still capable of wholesome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right; that for the future they should live in friendship and amity, and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive *Alexander*'s oath. This letter, which was wrote with such an unseasonable pride and haughtiness, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who
d therefore in his answer began thus; *Alexander the king to Darius*; he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had suffered from the *Persians*, reproaches that nation with the base and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*, and *Darius* in particular with setting a price upon his own head; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggressor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his country; and that the gods, who always declare for the just cause, approved of this war, he shews from the success that attended it, since with their protection he had already subdued great part of *Asia*, and defeated the mighty host of the *Persians* in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would restore to
e him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a suppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, assuring him, that he might do it without the least danger. He concluded by desiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addressed a king, but his king. *Thessippus* was ordered to carry this letter [g].

Alexander marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Byblos* opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, whose city *Ochus* had laid in ashes about eighteen years before, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword. Since that time they bore such a hatred to the *Per-*
f *sian* name, that they were over-joy'd at this opportunity of shaking off the yoke; and indeed were the first in *Phœnice* who submitted to *Alexander* by their deputies, in opposition to *Strabo* their king who was in the *Persian* interest. *Alexander* deposed him, and permitted *Hephæstion* to elect in his room whomsoever of the *Sidonians* he should judge worthy of so exalted a station [h], as we have elsewhere related at length [i].

While *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, some of the *Persian* generals, who had escaped from the battle at *Issus*, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with

[e] Plutarch, de fort. Alex. & Curt. l. iii. c. 25. [f] Curt. ibid. [g] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [h] Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [i] Vol. i. p. 412.

with the assistance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians* to recover *Lydia*; but were in several engagements routed, and at last intirely dispersed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the same time the *Macedonian* fleet sailing from *Greece* fell in with that of the enemies commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellespont*, and attacked them so briskly that not one single ship escaped [k]. a

ALL *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*, which he besieged and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice* [l].

WHILE *Alexander* was carrying on the siege of *Tyre* he received a second letter from *Darius*, who at last condescended to give him the title of king; he offered him ten thousand talents by way of ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the *Euphrates*; he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune, and set out in most pompous terms the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field; he represented the difficulties he might meet with in crossing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were so many barriers to the *Persian* empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, some time or other, to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* summoned a council, in which *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring, that he would agree to them were he *Alexander*; and so would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed, nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost; that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it; that he should not be frightened with rivers after having crossed the sea, and would not fail to pursue *Darius*, and come up with him at last to what place soever he should think proper to retire [m]. *Darius*, upon the receipt of this letter, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war. b c d

The City of Gaza *besieged and taken by* Alexander.

Alexander having reduced *Tyre* marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city he found it defended by a strong garison under the command of *Betis*, or, as some call him, *Babemesis* [n], one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against *Alexander* till he was reduced to the last extremities. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he was become master of it, and therefore was forced to besiege it. But notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he sold the rest with their wives and children for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector*'s dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and for no other reason but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity in the post committed to his charge, which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had e f

[k] CURT. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Vol. i. p. 418. [m] PLUT. in Alex. p. 681. CURT. l. iv. c. 5. ARRIAN l. ii. p. 101. [n] JOSEPH, antiquit. l. xi. c. ult.

a had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions; but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune [o]. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra* and his friends, and having left a garison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and in seven days arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, and seemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain
b their god *Apis*, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner; which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Persians*. *Alexander* therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from *Amyntas*, and on this consideration they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazæus*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates
c to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture [p]. Thus *Alexander*, without any opposition, became master of all *Egypt*. Egypt *submits to* Alexander.

At *Memphis Alexander* formed a design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and in his way thither built *Alexandria*, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence in the beginning of the spring to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice* he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he set out to make
d new conquests; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his whole army arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius* in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding, that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose having assembled at *Babylon* an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Issus*, (for it consisted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards *Niniveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates* commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus* governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*,
e and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, *Alexander* having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged against the will of the gods to the utmost extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon

[o] Curt. l. iv. c. 10. Arrian. l. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alex. p. 679. [p] Curt. l. iv. c. 20. Justin. l. xi. c. 11. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 526—529.

(X) This *Amyntas*, having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*, from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got safe to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where he embarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, which city he seized, making the garison believe that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces*, who had been killed in the battle of *Issus*. Assoon as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined him, and he having formed a considerable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, and shut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his soldiers to straggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the *Persians* sallied out upon them thus dispersed, and cut them all to pieces with *Amyntas* their leader (82).

(82) *Arrian. l.* ii. *Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Diodor. l.* xvii. *p.* 587, 588.

Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army into his tent, commanded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses, but, without entering into such enquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*, whence as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer, being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander*, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left [q]. At day-break the scouts, he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horse, which, as the *Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who having defeated that body and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at *Alexander*'s feet, telling him, that in his country such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold; *Alexander* replied smiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine [r]. Not long after *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time he intercepted some letters wrote by *Darius* to the *Greeks*, solliciting them with great promises either to kill or betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself whether he should read them in full assembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks* as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising of such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward [s]. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira* *Darius*'s wife was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where *Sysigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence, which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander* [t]. And although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderness and humanity, which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as embassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantagious than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former propofals offered him all the provinces of *Asia* as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellespont* and the *Euphrates*, that is, whatever *Alexander* was already master of, and offered 30000 talents by way of ransom for his family. *Parmenio* again advised *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellespont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*, and that the *Persian* prisoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treasure offered for their ransom might be employed for the use of his troops, or to reward the services of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following answer to the embassadors; that the clemency he had shewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their master; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon such only as appeared in arms against him; that if *Darius* had sued for peace in good earnest, he would have hearkened to his propofals; but since he continued to spirit up, with large bribes, his own soldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were sincere, and therefore was determined to pursue him, with the utmost vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and assassin; that as to

[q] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 24. [r] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 23. Plut. in Alex.
[s] Curt. l. iv. c. 25. [t] Curt. & Plutarch. ibidem.

a to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already crossed, he might then offer them as his; that he proposed to himself, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all those kingdoms which *Darius* still enjoyed; wherein whether he flattered himself with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement should determine; he concluded by telling the embassadors, that he was come into *Asia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two suns, and therefore if *Darius* would submit to him, acknowledging him his lord and sovereign, he would then hearken to proposals [u]. The embassadors returned back, and told *Darius*, that he must prepare for an engagement; whereupon that prince encamped
b near a village called *Gaugamela*, in a large plain at a considerable distance from the city of *Arbela*, having before-hand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army, and surrounded it with deep trenches and palisades, being determined to leave there his baggage and such of his men as were indisposed. He set out about the second watch with a design to engage the enemy at break of day, and arriving at a rising ground, whence he could discover their whole army, he halted, and summoned a council, being in doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might
c easily be defeated, if taken by surprize and in the dark, but the king answered, that it did not become *Alexander* to steal a victory, and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repose the remaining part of the night, but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards the morning, so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprized to find that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio*, after waiting some time, thought fit to call him, and seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound, when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of *Asia*; *Alexander* told him, that *Darius*,
d by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries [w]. He then without delay put on his armour, mounted on horse-back, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very small distance.

Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the center and the cavalry on the wings; *Darius*'s front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with scythes, and 25 elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space of ground than *Alexander*'s, his design was to surround and charge them at the same
e time in front and flank, which *Alexander* suspecting, ordered those who led the wings to extend them as wide as possible without weakening the center. His baggage and the captives, among whom were *Darius*'s mother and children, were left in the camp under a small guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemies should advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, *Darius* himself charging in the first line. *Arrian* and *Curtius* [x] describe this battle at length; they tell us, that the *Persians* were often repulsed, but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the
f left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that *Alexander*'s rear was put in disorder and the baggage taken; that both kings wrought wonders, *&c.* But after all *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only 300 men, and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain; whereas of the *Persians* there fell 40,000 says *Curtius*, 30,000 according to *Arrian*, and 90,000 if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians* at the very first onset betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians* pursued

[u] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. Justin. l. xi. c. 12. [w] Justin. l. xi. c. xiii. Curt. l. iv. c. 3—31. Plut. in Alex. [x] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 25. & seq.

purſued them: for had the ſeven or eight hundred thouſand men, which *Darius* brought into the field, thrown each one dart or ſtone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the eaſt at ſo eaſy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the *Macedonians* were in the greateſt danger, *Ariſtander* the ſoothſayer, cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the firſt ranks, and in concert with *Alexander* to have cried out, that he ſaw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a ſure omen of victory; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird, and the ſoldiers believing him, and ſome even fancying they ſaw it, renewed the attack with more courage and reſolution than ever. We are told, that *Darius*, ſeeing his numerous army put ſo ſhamefully to flight, drew his ſcymitar, and was ſometime in ſuſpence whether he ſhould lay violent hands on himſelf, rather than fly in ſo ignominious a manner, but at laſt reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the ſame night (Y). After he had paſſed the *Lycus*, ſome, who attended him in his flight, adviſed him to break down the bridge in order to ſtop the enemy's purſuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were haſtening to paſs over the ſame bridge, replyed, that he had rather leave an open way to a purſuing enemy, than ſhut it to a flying friend [y] (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them that he deſigned to leave all for the preſent to *Alexander* and fly into *Media*, from whence and from the reſt of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* purſued him as far as *Arbela*, but, before his arrival there, *Darius* was by the quickneſs of his flight got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by ſome of his relations, and a ſmall body of guards called *Melophori*, becauſe each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their ſpear. In *Armenia* he was joined by 2000 *Greek* mercinaries, who, under the command of *Pharon* an *Ionian* and *Glaucus* an *Æolian* had eſcaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he ſeized on immenſe ſums of money, with all *Darius*'s rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army ſome days of reſt, he ſet out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the ſcattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of *Alexander*'s victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppoſe him; marching therefore out to meet him he delivered the city and himſelf with his children into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes* governor of the caſtle, where all *Darius*'s treaſures were lodged, did the ſame, and *Alexander* entered the city at the head of the whole army, as though he had been marching againſt an enemy. After a ſtay of 30 days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province, but giving the command of the caſtle and gariſon to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Suſa*, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew near the city, *Abulites* governor of the place, ſent his ſon to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treaſures into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindneſs, and, uſing him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaſpes*, where *Abulites*, himſelf met with preſents worthy of ſo great a prince; among other things he preſented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible ſwiftneſs, and twelve elephants, which

[y] Curt. l. iv. c. 36, 37. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela* near the river *Beumelus*, as *Ptolomy Lagi* and *Ariſtobulus*, who were preſent, aver; they are followed both by *Strabo* (83) and *Plutarch* (84), and nevertheleſs becauſe *Gaugamela* was only a ſmall village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, ſignifying the *camels houſe*, the battle is ſaid to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in thoſe parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a conſiderable diſtance from each other; for between the river *Beumelus*, on which ſtood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was ſituated, *Curtius* reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to *Strabo*'s deſcription of thoſe places *Arbela* in *Ptolemy*'s fifth map of *Aſia* ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(Z) In *Juſtin* we read *Cydnus* inſtead of *Lycus*, which laſt river runs through the city of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Oroſius*, who ever follows *Juſtin*, was led into ſo groſs a miſtake as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarſus* (88).

(83) *Strabo, lib.* 26. p. 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l.* 6. *p.* 101. *Strabo, ubi ſupra.* (86) *Curt. l.* iv. c. 22. (87) *Vide Strab. l.* ii. p. 79. (88) *Oroſ. l.* iii. c. 17.

a which *Darius* had ſent for out of *India*. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 in bullion, and 40,000 talents in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immenſe value. Here he found part of the rarities which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely the brazen ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, which he ſent to *Athens*, where they were ſtill ſtanding in *Arrian*'s time. As for the purple and ſcarlet robes, he ſent them all to *Syſigambis* together with ſome others curiouſly wrought, which had been ſent him out of *Macedon*, adding in his meſſage to her, that if ſhe liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would ſend her thoſe who had wrought them, that her grand-children might learn the art by way of amuſement. At theſe words ſhe could not help betraying ſome concern and uneaſineſs, it being looked upon by the *Perſian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themſelves in works of that nature; which when *Alexander* underſtood, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that ſhe would not conſider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the *Perſian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a preſent from his ſiſters, but wrought with their own hands [z].

Alexander having thus comforted *Syſigambis*, took his leave of her, and, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in the city of *Suſa*, advanced towards the province of *Perſis*. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the *Paſitigris*, which river he croſſed with c 9000 foot and 4000 horſe, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Suſiana* to the frontiers of *Perſis*, and was governed by one *Madates*, who had married the niece of *Syſigambis*. *Madates*, who was not, like the other *Perſian* governors, a time-ſerver, but faithful to his ſovereign, reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, and with this deſign retired into a ſtrong hold, in the midſt of craggy mountains, and ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep precipices. Here he held out for ſome time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by aſſault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, ſeeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he ſent 30 deputies to *Alexander* to treat of a ſurrender. The king, who was greatly provoked againſt *Madates*, would not at firſt hearken to any propoſals; but in the d mean time receiving letters from *Syſigambis*, wherein ſhe intreated him to pardon her relation, he not only complied with her requeſt, but ſet all the priſoners at liberty, reſtored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the *city* untouched, and the *citizens* in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges [a].

HAVING reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio* with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himſelf, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Perſia*. The fifth day he arrived at the ſtraits of *Perſia*. Theſe *Ariobarzanes* held with 4000 foot and 700 horſe, which he had poſted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. Aſſoon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Perſians* from the tops of the moune tains rolled down ſtones of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that they cruſhed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the paſs, where he lay encamped ſome time, not knowing how to advance, and being aſhamed to return; but in the mean time a *Greek* deſerter coming to his camp offered himſelf readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might eaſily ſo annoy the *Perſians*, as to oblige them to abandon the ſtraits and leave an open paſſage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander*, at the head of ſome choſen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which com- f manded all the hills where the enemies were poſted; which they obſerving betook themſelves to flight; and at the ſame time *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtraits. *Ariobarzanes* with part of the cavalry, breaking through the *Macedonians* with great ſlaughter both of them and of his own men, made his eſcape over the mountains, with a deſign to throw himſelf into *Perſepolis*; but, finding all the paſſes leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon thoſe that purſued him, and was killed with all thoſe that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians* [b].

BEING

[z] CURT. l. v. c. 8. [a] CURT. l. v. c. 9. [b] CURT. ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra & POLYÆNUS. l. iv. ſtratagem.

BEING now possessed of the straits, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Persis* or *Persia*, a
properly so called. When he was at some distance from *Persepolis* the metropolis
of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting
him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder
Darius's treasures with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march
with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the
receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the
head of the cavalry, and having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which by his
order had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs
of *Persepolis*. The next day having assembled the generals of his army, he repre-
sented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the b
antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs and the capital of their empire; that
from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste
great part of *Europe*, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge
on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors
had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their
soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who
were massacred in most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving
Craterus and *Parmenio* in the place, the king with a small body went to reduce the
neighbouring cities and strong holds, which all submitted at the approach of his
troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter quarters. In c
this city he is said to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treasury to defray
the expences of the war [c].

DURING his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking,
making daily great entertainments for his officers to refresh them after the great
fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments both the king and his
guests having drunk to excess, *Thais*, a famous *Athenian* courtezan, and at that time
mistress to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards king of *Egypt*, proposed the burning of
Darius's palace, telling *Alexander*, with a gay air, that it would be matter of inex-
pressible joy to her, were she permitted to burn the stately palace of *Xerxes*, who
had burnt *Athens*, and set it on fire with her own hands, that it might be said in d
all the parts of the world, that the women, who had followed *Alexander* in his
expedition to *Asia*, had revenged more severely the many calamities *Greece* had
suffered from the *Barbarians*, than all the generals that had been employed against
them. As the whole company was drunk, the proposal was received with general
applause and the king himself, rising from table, and taking a torch in his hand,
followed *Thais*. The rest of the *Macedonians*, crowding at this noise to the palace,
armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding
the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down to the
ground [d]. Thus the most stately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a
drunken strumpet, reduced to ashes. e

FROM *Persepolis Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolved
to pursue *Darius* who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had
still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 *Greeks*, who continued faith-
ful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers and 3000 horse, most of them
Bactrians, and commanded by *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*. When he heard, that
Alexander was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city with a design to
retire into *Bactria*, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced
when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the
forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the
engagement, *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, a *Persian* lord of great f
distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and, if
Alexander pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their
master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp
the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to
them, that *Darius* was dragging them to destruction, that they were no ways in a
condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably
perish if they followed *Darius*, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was
ready

[c] CURT. l. v. 13. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14. l. iii. JUSTIN. l. xi.

[d] CURT. l. v. c. 15. DIODOR. PLUT. in Alex. ARRIAN.

a ready to fall. Though theſe practices were carried on with great ſecrecy, yet they came to *Darius*'s ear, but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earneſtly entreated him to encamp among them, and truſt the guard of his perſon to men on whoſe fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather ſuffer any misfortune among thoſe of his own nation, than ſeek for ſhelter among ſtrangers, how faithful and affectionate ſoever he might believe them, and that he could not die too ſoon, if his own *Perſians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after *Darius* had occaſion to repent his not following *Patron*'s advice; for *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, ſeizing his perſon, bound him, out of reſpect to the royal dignity in chains of gold, and, ſhutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him
b towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with ſkins, and ſtrangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the priſoner was they had in their cuſtody [c]. *Beſſus* was proclaimed commander in chief in *Darius*'s room by the *Bactrian* horſe; but *Artabazus* and his ſons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron* retired from the body of the army under *Beſſus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthiene* [f]. In the mean time *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed, that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Theſſalians* ſhewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any further, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them over and above their full pay; to ſuch as were willing to continue in
c his ſervice he gave three talents apiece [g]. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up in the caſtle of *Ecbatan* the remaining part of the treaſures, which, according to *Strabo* [h], amounted to 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the *Thracians* and great part of the cavalry into the country of the *Caduſians*. He diſpatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen ſick at *Suſa*, to repair, aſſoon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia* with the cavalry and 6000 *Macedonians* that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander* with the reſt of his army purſued *Darius*, and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched in that ſpace of time 3300 furlongs. Moſt part of thoſe who accompanied him died through the fatigues of ſo long and expeditious a march; inſomuch, that, on his arrival at *Rages*,
d he could muſter but 60 horſemen [i]. Finding, that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already paſſed the *Caſpian* ſtraits, he ſtaid five days at *Rages* in order to refreſh his army, and ſettle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the firſt day at a ſmall diſtance from the *Caſpian* ſtraits, which he paſſed the next without any oppoſition. He had ſcarce entered *Parthia* when he was informed by *Bagiſthenes* a *Perſian* nobleman, that *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes* had conſpired againſt *Darius*, and deſigned to ſeize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced with a ſmall troop of horſe lightly armed, and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village where *Beſſus* with his *Bactrians* had
e encamped the day before. Here he underſtood, that *Darius* had been ſeized by the traitors, that *Beſſus* had cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cloſe cart, which he had ſent before that he might be the ſurer of his perſon, and that the whole army, except *Artabazus* and the *Greeks*, who had taken another rout, obeyed *Beſſus* and acknowledged him for their general. This was a freſh motive for *Alexander* to haſten his march; taking therefore along with him a ſmall body of light-armed horſe, for the others could not poſſibly proceed any further, he ſet out again the ſame night, and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes* two *Perſian* officers, who in deteſtation of the treachery of *Beſſus* had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to
f them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he ſet out again the ſame night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the ſon of *Mazeus* formerly governor of *Syria*, who informed him, that *Beſſus* was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in diſorder, and might eaſily be ſurprized and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and at laſt came in ſight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival ſtruck the *Barbarians*, though far ſuperior in number, with ſuch terror, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and becauſe *Darius* refuſed to follow

[c] Curt. l. v. c. 18. 22, 23. Arrian. l. iii. p. 67.
[e] Curt. l. vi. c. 3. Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.
[f] Curt. l. v. c. 23. Arrian. l. iv. p. 68.
[h] Strabo, l. xv. p. 741.
[i] Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

Darius Codomanus *slain. Year of the flood* 2658. *Before Christ.* 331.

follow them, *Bessus* and those that were about him discharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. This done they separated and took different routs, *Bessus* flying towards *Hyrcania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that by this means they might elude the pursuit of the enemy, or at least oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horse, the rest, now destitute of leaders, dispersing themselves up and down the country, as fear or hope directed their steps. *Alexander*, seeing what confusion the enemies were in, sent *Nicanor* with a troop of light-armed horse to stop their flight, and himself followed at the head of 3000 *Macedonians*. *Nicanor* put near 3000 of the stragglers to the sword, but could not come up either with *Bessus* or *Nabarzanes*, which *Alexander* observing sent him orders to give quarters to all those that should throw down their arms and submit. In the mean time the horses that drew the cart in which was *Darius* halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by *Bessus*, near a certain village about four furlongs from the highway, whither *Polystratus* a *Macedonian*, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself, at a fountain not far from the place where they stopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him discovered a cart with a team of horses, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he saw *Darius* lying in the cart and very near his end, having several darts still sticking in his body. However, he had strength enough to call for some water, which *Polystratus*, being by a *Persian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius* after drinking turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small comfort to him that his last words would not be lost; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander* for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children, and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe; he added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander* to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads; then taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give *Alexander*, said he, your hand, as I give "you mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give in "this condition of my gratitude and affection". Having uttered these words he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander* coming up a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius*'s body, burst out in tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloke and covered it, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sysigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs. Thus died *Darius* in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacifick prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Smerdis*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes* I, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes* II. *Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, *Darius Codomannus*[k]. Upon the death of *Darius* all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he distinguished *Artaxerxes*, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station and noble birth. He was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes*, who together with *Bessus* had murdered *Darius*. But *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria*, and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander* in the beginning of the next spring marched against him: but his march out of *Persia* into these northern countries is by authors described with great confusion, for after they had told us, that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria*, they make him take the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence wander northwards into the country of the *Mardi*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea, and after subduing the *Mardi* cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*. Be that as it will, he arrived at last after a long and

[k] CURT. l. v. c. 25. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 15. ARRIAN. p. 69. PLUT. in Alex.

a and tedious march in *Bactriana*, and having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against and reduced *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but 8000 *Bactrians*, who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus*, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army. In order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was no where fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were
b unsurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides, which covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river in the space of five days; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Catanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety by delivering him up to *Alexander*; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces
c his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*, and carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp. *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxathres*, *Darius'* brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict for so base and treacherous a murder [l]; *Plutarch* [m] has left us an account of this execution; he tells us, that several trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs fastened, the trees as they were let return to their natural
d position, flew back with such violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Bessus* suffered the punishment that was due to his treachery, and at his death *Alexander* saw himself in quiet possession of the whole *Persian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians of the best account, concerning the affairs of the ancient *Persians*: In the following section we shall hear the orientals on the same subject.

Bessus *put to death.* *Year of the flood* 2669. *Before Christ* 330.

[l] Curt. l. 7. c. 12. Arrian. l. 3. Diodor. l. 17. Arrian. l. iv. c. 7. Curt. l. 7. c. 10.

[m] Plut. in Alex. & Diodor. l. 17. p. 554.

In stating the times of the *Persian* empire we have followed all along *Ptolemy*'s canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors. For the *Jews* own such kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the *Old Testament*; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Persian* empire, from the building of the temple in the second year of *Darius Hystaspes*, flourished only 34 years. *Josephus* acknowledges only the following kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*; this *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomannus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*, and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The history of PERSIA *according to the* Oriental *writers.*

What degree of certainty may be expected in the following history.

WE have been so long used to hear every thing transcribed from eastern authors censured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling soever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory discourses, yet in this case there seems to be a necessity of saying somewhat in support of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Persian* writers is strictly fact, that would be to place them not on a level with the best historians of other nations, but in a class high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boast of such a faultless series of history? or why should we expect a greater degree of clearness in the history of *Persia*, as written by *Oriental* authors, than we find in the history of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were so proud of their own abilities, that they stiled all the rest of the world *Barbarians*? It is sufficient for our purpose, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Persian* history from eastern writers) that we shew there is as just reason to suppose they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of these early times, as can be produced in favour of any other history as ancient. In order to this we shall neither multiply arguments nor words. *In the first place*, we are told by *Moses*, [a] that there were kings in *Persia* in the age immediately following that in which the *Persian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that these writers are not wrong in making their kingdom so ancient as they do. But *secondly*, there is no just cause to doubt, that either as soon as, or within a small time after, the settling of regal government amongst them, histories, or at least historical poems, were also introduced. This was the custom in all places, at least as far as we are able to trace things back. First, a people lived miserably and without order, then some great genius reformed and reduced them into society, successive kings cherished and encreased that society, and men having leisure and ease considered these benefits, and gratefully sung the praises of their benefactors. *Moses* hath preserved two fragments of an *Ammoritish* poem, as old in all probability as the times we are speaking of; and if the bards of that country sung so early the praises of *Sihon* [b], why might not the *Persians* have persons among them as capable of transmitting to posterity the memorable deeds of their princes? *Thirdly*, it is universally allowed, that the present *Persians* have not only quick wits but are wonderfully studious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conservation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and the ancient *Persians* are not one and the same people; but hereto it may be replied, that the *Persees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are still more studious and more thoughtful than the present *Persians* [c]. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentick histories of the reigns of the most ancient kings of this realm, I say we may conclude this from the reasons already given if we had no other proof, but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, especially since it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in support of this assertion, that the ancient *Persians* kept authentick records of their affairs, may be reduced under these two heads, *viz.* sacred and profane. The authors of the books of [d] *Ezra* and [e] *Nehemiah* speak frequently not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies that they were recorded, but also of publick acts and registers. In the book of [f] *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to prophane writers, [g] *Herodotus* and [h] *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wisdom and virtue of the ancient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

Supposing

[a] GENES. xiv. 1. 9. [b] NUMB. xxi. 27. [c] CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 130. [d] vi. 2. [e] ii. 7. [f] ii. 23. vi. 1. [g] CLIO, p. 25. [h] CYROPÆDIA.

How the ancient histories have been preserved.

a SUPPOSING it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached these distant times. Of this, however, we are not positive ourselves; all that we can say is this, that the *Persians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Yezdegherd*, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their histories were frequent among them; for though the *Macedonians* might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they should destroy all the books in the empire; besides, we know that the modern *Persees* have the *Zend* or original *Code* of *Zerdusht* among them, with many other ancient books; now it being generally b agreed, that *Zerdusht* flourished in the days of *Darius Hystaspes*, it will be hard to assign a reason, why some of their ancient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But farther still, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschab* commonly called *Mirkhond*, or *Mirkhound*, with other modern *Persian* authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities, and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

On what authorities this history is founded.

IT is from the author beforementioned that we take, for the most part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the *Oriental* history of *Persia*. He is allowed to have been a person of great learning and judgment by such as are well versed in oriental history, and his works are esteemed as oracles throughout the east. We c may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without farther introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A Table of the kings of PERSIA, to the time of ALEXANDER the Great, according to MIRKHOND.

The first Race,

d

Or the Dynasty of the PISCHDADIANS.

1	*Kejomaras, or Cajoumarras*	40
2	*Siamek*	
	Kejomaras resumes the kingdom	
3	*Hûshangh, or Houschenk*	50
4	*Tahmuras*	30
5	*Gjemshîd, or Giamschid*	
	Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk	
e 6	*Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun*	
7	*Manugjahr, or Manougeher, surnamed Phirouz*	120
8	*Nodar*	7
9	*Apherâsiab, or Afrasiab*	12
10	*Zab, Zaab, or Zoub*	

The

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations; sometimes he is called *Mirchond*, sometimes *Mirkhond*, and sometimes *Chondemir*; he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the *Persian* antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. *Hyde* (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on *Persian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, published in *Spanish* by *Texeira*, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the history of the age in which he lived, and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) *D'Herbelot tit. Mirkhond.* (2) *Hyde rel. vet. Pers. cap.* viii. 152. (3) *Les Estats, Empires, & Principautes du Monde. Paris 4to,* 1662. *p.* 999.

a

The second Race,

Or the Dynasty of the KAIANITES.

1	*Kaikobad*	100
2	*Kaikaus*	150
3	*Kaikhosru*	60
4	*Lohrasp or Lohorasb*	120
5	*Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasp*	120
6	*Ardschir, sirnamed Bahaman*	112
7	*Queen Homai*	32 b
8	*Darab* 1.	4
9	*Darab* 2.	14

A Table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The first Race,

1	*Kejomaras, or Cajoumaras*	560
	Siamek slain after a short reign	
	Kejomaras resumes the kingdom, and reigned	30
	An interregnum	200 c
2	*Hasiang, or Houschenk, sirnamed Pischdad*	50
3	*Tahmuras*	700
4	*Gjemshid, or Giamschid*	30
5	*Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoak*	1000
6	*Aphridûn, Phridun, or Feridoun*	120
7	*Manugjahr, or Manougeber, sirnamed Phirouz*	500
8	*Nodar*	7
9	*Apheraslab, or Afraslab*	12
10	*Zab, Zaab, or Zoub*	30 d
11	*Gustasp son of Zoub*	30

The second Race,

1	*Kaikobad*	120
2	*Kaikaus*	150
3	*Kaihosru*	60
4	*Lohrasp, or Lohoras*	120
5	*Gushtâsp, or Gustasp, or Kischtasp*	120 e
6	*Ardschir, sirnamed Bahaman*	112
7	*Queen Homai*	32
8	*Darab* 1.	14
9	*Darab* 2.	

The nature thereof in point of stile, &c.

IT is evident enough from the years set down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of these princes reigns, but there may notwithstanding this be a great deal of truth in these relations, and, by comparing them with what the *Greek* and other writers of the *Persian* affairs have given us of the same times, it may be very possible to extract a better idea of the ancient *Persian* empire, than could have been had without considering the oriental writers at all. Reason will be everlastingly the supreme judge of facts, and if a history be attended with continual improbabilities or absurdities, men of sense will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the east, or in the west. On the other hand, where a history is composed of a series of mixt facts, some probable and some romantic, the candid reader will receive those, though he throw away these, and will not destroy the wheat, because there are tares amongst it. As to the stile of the following history, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Persian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourselves with the utmost plainness and perspicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our power lay, to rescue truth out of those metaphoric clouds. f

a clouds, which often obscure the writings of the eastern historians. Farther remarks of the same nature we leave to the discernment of our readers.

Keyomaras, or *Cajumarath*, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the first king of the first race, surnamed the *Pischdadians*, from *Pischdad*, which signifies a just judge, and was the surname given to *Hushangh* the second king of this race, afterwards, however, attributed to them all. The manner wherein *Keyomaras* ascended the throne was this. In the province of *Aderbayagjan* the inhabitants feeling the sad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleased, they unanimously resolved to elect one who should be obeyed by all, and to whose judgment they would submit as to an irb refragable law. His conspicuous virtues determined them on this occasion to *Keyomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, invested him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *Tagi* on his head, kissing his feet in token of submission, which customs last mentioned were preserved in use by his successors [i]. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himself to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of justice; he taught men to build houses and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, such as the making of woollen cloth, and spinning, and weaving silk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wisdom, justice, and goodness, that dignity, which, out of modesty and a foresight of the cares it would be attended c with, he for a long time refused [k]. The happiness enjoyed by such as lived under so excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, *viz.* thro' an opinion of his worth, and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of *Chorasan* he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that interview erected the city of *Balch* where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which signifies *to embrace*. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of *Persia*, d particularly *Kabulstan*, *Sigistan*, *Gom*, &c. [l]. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Keyomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings [m]. The other e son of *Keyomaras*, or rather his grandson, was *Siamek*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born *Keyomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that *Keyomaras* was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

Keyomaras.

Siamek proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where f fighting valiantly he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in so short a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Keyomaras* by this unlucky accident was forced to ascend the throne again. The first thing he did was to celebrate the obsequies of his deceased grandson with great magnificence, the next to take vengeance on those who had slain *Siamek*; after which he reigned for many years with great applause.

Siamek.

THERE

[i] Mirkhond, Proœm. Hist. [k] Tarik Montekheb, i. e. The select chronicle. [l] Mirkhond. Hist. Sect. I. [m] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. tit. Caiumarath.

THERE is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flourished. Some oriental writers have fancied him *Adam*, and because he was the first king would needs have him to be the first man also; but men of better judgments and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a mistake, and that the ancient *Persians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary Sirname, signifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as *Adam* of mankind. The most judicious among the *Persian* writers believe him to have been the son of *Aram*, the son of *Shem*, the son of *Noah*, and that he chose to erect the seat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat* and the countries first planted after the flood. His religion is another disputable point, some holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his son *Siamek* gave birth to the *fire-worship* ascribed to the *Magians*. But if we may credit graver authorities, *Keyomaras*, like most ancient kings, was at once both *prince* and *prophet*, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the existence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thousand years of life, and say, that of these he reigned five hundred and sixty. How long he reigned before he resigned his throne to *Siamek* is uncertain, but from his resuming the sceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years [n].

Hushang. *Hushang*, or *Houschenk*, sirnamed *Pischdad*, was a person of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the east, for the extent of his knowledge and his mighty feats of valour. He is said to have given a regular body of laws to his subjects, whence he was called *Pischdad*. He also divided his country, and established governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented most of the instruments of agriculture, as also the art of conveying water through subterraneous passages, for the moistening of their grounds; to him likewise they ascribe the taming of leopards and other beasts of chace, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flourish through his wisdom, so he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountain *Damavend*, by an army of *Barbarians* who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of *Chusistan* the seat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Susa* or *Shushan* [o].

THERE is hardly an ancient prince in the world whose name is more famous in romance than that of *Hushang*, there is a *Persian* book which bears the title of *Hushang Nameh*, i. e. *Hushang*'s *history*, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been translated into the *Turkish* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero bestrid a monstrous animal, called *Rakhsche*, which he found in the dry island, or new world, being the issue of a male *Crocodile* and a female *Hippopotamus*; this steed fed upon nothing but the flesh of *Serpents* and *Dragons*. After *Hushang* had made this animal submit to the saddle, there was no giant so terrible, no monster so frightful, but he attacked and subdued; amongst the rest of his conquests he reduced the people of *Mahiser*, so famous in the eastern romances for their having fishes heads, and thence esteemed a race of formidable monsters. The truth seems to be, that this prince subdued that people on the *Persic* gulph, called by the *Greeks Ichthyophagi* from their living upon fish, whence the fruitful imagination of eastern poets deduced a people with fishes heads. The same fabulous writers ascribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. *the wisdom of all times*; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very ancient, and has been translated into various languages, particularly into *Arabic*, by the son of the vizier of the *Caliph Almamon*, and into *Turkish* under the title of *Anvar Sohaili*, it has also been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itself a very excellent treatise, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, so famous for giving laws and teaching wisdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatise beforementioned at the bottom of the page [p] (B).

Tahmuresk

[n] SHARISTANI ap. HYDE rel. vet. Persar. c. xxv. p. 175. [o] Leb. Tarik. MIRKHOND, hist. sect. iii.
[p] D'HERBELOT. Art. HOUSCHENK.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthusiasm natural to eastern writers; there are in it, however, some very fine sentences, amongst others these which follow:

"Great

a *Tahmuraſb*, ſirnamed *Diùbend*, i. e. *the humbler of the devil*, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſon, by others the grandſon, of *Huſhang*, and by a third party his couſin, ſucceeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation. For finding that the wars of his predeceſſor had introduced both poverty and confuſion in his dominions, he to remedy the firſt remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order made new laws, and took care that the magiſtrates ſhould every-where put them in execution. He is the firſt *Perſian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime miniſter; it is very poſſible, that the diſorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make uſe of ſuch an officer. The king fortified the frontiers of *Perſia* to prevent ſudden invaſions, and ſhewed ſo happy b a mixture of wiſdom and valour in his diſpoſition, that ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, ſtruck with the felicity of his ſubjects, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to him, and acknowledged him for their ſovereign. At laſt, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a peſtilence, which raged throughout his dominions and deſtroyed with equal rapidity both man and beaſt, cut the thread of his life at *Balch* to the great grief of his ſubjects [q]. Tahmuraſb.

Gjemſhid, or *Giamſchid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name being *Gjem*, to which *Schid* as a ſurname was added, becauſe of his wonderful beauty, *Schid* in the *Perſic* language ſignifying *the Sun*, his eyes having ſuch a luſtre that none could look him ſteadily in the face, tho' ſome authors are of opinion, that he received this addition c to his name, not from the beauty of his perſon, but from the glory which reſulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the ſon of his predeceſſor, his nephew, or his grandſon, but all agree, that he was of the family of *Keyomaras*, and had a juſt right to the throne. The reputation of his anceſtors inſpired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at leaſt, if not excelling, them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wiſe men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongſt the reſt were two perſons of ſingular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a *Jew*, ſays our author *Mirchond*, whoſe name was *Fael Iſſuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores*, i. e. *Pythagoras*; but this muſt be a miſtake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of d theſe times, yet it is eaſy to diſcern from the circumſtances of things, that *Gjemſhid* flouriſhed at a conſiderable diſtance from *Pythagoras*; but ſuch errors as theſe are not infrequent among *Oriental* writers, through their want of underſtanding thoroughly the hiſtory of *Greece*, of which, however, they have moſt of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of theſe wiſe counſellors, *Gjemſhid* divided his ſubjects into three claſſes; the firſt conſiſting of ſoldiers; the ſecond of huſbandmen; and the third of artizans [r]. In his time muſick, vocal and inſtrumental, and aſtronomy were firſt introduced in *Perſia*. He was alſo the firſt who built granaries in *Perſia*, into which he cauſed every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in caſe of any deficiency in their harveſts famine might not be felt. e In his time likewiſe wine came to be eſteemed, or rather brought into general uſe, throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman, who was much in Gjemſchid.

Gjemſhid's

[q] Mirkhond hiſt. Sect. iv. D'Herbelot tit. Tahmurasd. [r] Mirkhond hiſt. Sect. v.

" Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the " attributes of power, wiſdom, and mercy, in a " ſuperior degree, with reſpect to private perſons, " as the Almighty hath over them. Let not this, " however, encourage them to uſe their ſubjects " with rigour. Thunder is ſeldom heard, but the " ſun ſhines every day; we ſee ten thouſand inſtan- " ces of God's goodneſs, for one extraordinary act " of vengeance; let kings imitate him by doing all " the good they can, and always remember, that " though death is in their power, yet life is not; " they may order a man to be cut into a thouſand " pieces, but there their dominion ends, they can- " not call him into being again; beware therefore " of ſudden judgments, and of penitence coming " too late.

" Miniſters are as the hands or inſtruments of " kings; men look not for an account of their ac- " tions from them, but from their maſters; " a king therefore ſhould look well to his miniſters; " for it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes " upon them, when the people riſe in rebellion, as " it would be for a murderer to tell the judge, that " it was not he but his ſword that killed his neigh- " bour. Bad princes have ſometimes had good mi- " niſters, but good princes never have bad ones " long.

" The paſſions of men may by long acquaintance " be thoroughly known, but the paſſions of women " are inſcrutable; therefore they ought to be ſevered " from men, leſt the mutability of their tempers " ſhould infect others. Their natures, humours, and " conſtitution, require reſtraint; large and coarſe " ſtones are employed in ordinary buidings; mar- " ble and alabaſter in palaces; but diamonds we " lock up in cabinets; and as things are rare or " common, of ſmall value or of great price, we " ſet them to ſhew, or ſhut them up cloſe (4).

(4) *Humaioun Namch. ap. Beauchamp's eſſays, Sect.* iii.

Gjemshid's good graces was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the phy- a
sicians in the court of *Gjemshid* were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman
went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and
finding that it in some measure relieved her, she returned thither again after resting
herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which compleated her cure;
this she told to the king, and it being divulged through the court, every body began
to regard wine as a universal medicine, capable of removing the most stubborn
diseases. Among the most illustrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may
justly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, b
instituting two years, a civil or ordinary year and an ecclesiastick year, in which
there was in the space of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated [s] (C).
He likewise instituted the *Nauruz*. *i. e.* the solemn observation of the new year, con-
cerning which we are told that it had its rise thus; king *Gjemshid* going in progress
through his provinces arrived in *Aderbayagjan*, and shewing himself on a royal throne
to his people, the sun shone with such lustre on his crown adorned with precious
stones and feathers, that the people shouted aloud, and said, This is *Nauruz*, i. e.
the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of instituting a festival, wherein,
besides the presents made to the prince, 'twas usual for him to receive and grant the
petitions of all sorts of people, to release prisoners, and to do all other acts of cle-
mency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular c
ceremonies attending this festival, the reader may probably be pleased to know that
it lasted six days. On the first of these the king gratified his people, or, if the phrase
may be allowed, his commons. The second day he paid the same regard to the
learned men attending his court. On the third his priests and privy counsellors pre-
sented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the suits of his nobility and kindred.
On the fifth those of his children. The sixth belonged to himself. In the evening
of the fifth day a young man handsome in his person was picked out, and appointed
to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber with-
out ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity asked him whence
he came, whither he went, what his purpose, and his name, wherefore he came, d
and what he carried; to which the youth answered, *I am Al Mansur*, i. e. *August*;
my name is Al-Mobarek, i. e. *the Blessed, I come hither from God, bearing the new year.*
Then he sat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a silver
vessel, in which were wheat, barley, pease, vetches, pulse, a sugar cane, and two
pieces of gold fresh from the mint. Out of this bason first the *Wasir* or *Vizier*,
then the treasurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his
silver vessel to the king. At the conclusion of the ceremony a very great loaf made
of several kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eat-
ing some of it himself, intreated such as were present to eat the rest in these words,
This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year; it is fit therefore that
we renew our ties to each other. Then rising up in his royal robes he solemnly e
blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts [t]. The evening of this day the
Persians called *Phristaph*, on which they did every thing that might testify joy and
strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemshid* remained
in *Segjistan*, thinking it the properest province of his empire for his court, till affairs
in the east were thoroughly settled; then he changed it for the proper *Persia*, where
he erected the noble city of *Estechar*, which most take to be the *Persepolis* of the
Greeks, though some believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the antient *Persian*
writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Estechar* be true, *viz.* that it contained
a square of twenty four leagues, then it is possible that both opinions may be true; f
but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this
prince, such as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult
sciences,

[s] HYDE, rel. vet. Persar. c. xiv.

[t] CASUINI, ap. Hyde. p. 237.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was settled by *Gjemshid*; but as we shall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, *viz.* when we come to speak of the æra of *Yezdegherd*, we thought it needless to interrupt the series of our history here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourse to Dr. *Hyde*'s book, where he will find this intricate subject treated at large (5).

(5) *Relig. vet. Persar. c.* xiv.

a ſciences, and poſſeſſed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may ſafely reſtrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, eſpecially for thoſe times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the ſpace they have aſſigned it. It is univerſally allowed, that *Gjemſhid* gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of the arts of reigning, and ſome ſay, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by conſidering the tranſactions among the bees, and that he drew many cuſtoms from the hive into the court of *Perſia*. Among other inventions the ſignet ring is aſcribed to him, and that mode, which ſtill prevails throughout the eaſt, of preferring the left hand to the the right as the more honourable; he likewiſe directed, that the different degrees
b of people ſhould be diſtinguiſhable from their garb; in a word, he made it the whole buſineſs of his life to render his kingdom flouriſhing and his people happy, in which he ſucceeded to his utmoſt wiſh. But this great felicity proved the ſource of the deepeſt misfortunes; for, having reigned long and gloriouſly, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, ſent pictures of himſelf throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worſhipped with divine honours. This madneſs ſoon loſt him the hearts of the people, ſo that the province of *Sigjiſtan*, by the perſuaſion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king and whoſe name was *Abad*, took arms, and, when they had formed themſelves into a regular army, marched under the command of *Zoak* or *Dahâc* towards *Schiras*, where *Gjemſhid* met
c him with a powerful army which he had raiſed; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end *Gjemſhid* was defeated and taken priſoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately ſawn aſunder, which was performed in *Zoak*'s ſight. This is the account given by *Mirchond* and the beſt *Arabian* hiſtories; others ſay, that he eſcaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a ſon whoſe name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun* of three years old, whom his mother *Phramak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to aſcend the throne of *Perſia* [u].

Dehoc, *Dahac*, *Zahak*, *Zoâk*; ſome authors affirm, that the name of this prince Dehoc.
is only an alteration of a nickname beſtowed on him by the *Perſians*, viz. *Deh-ak*,
d ſignifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was *Piurasb*. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; ſome report, that he was lineally deſcended from *Siamek* the grandſon of *Keyomaras*; others that he was an *Arabian*, the ſon of *Uluan*, deſcended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth ſeems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's ſide, but deſcended of the houſe of *Keyomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned, becauſe they are glaringly falſe; the one ſuppoſes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other that he was deſcended from *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the ſcriptures. It is very likely, that all
e theſe ſtories were invented to diſgrace a prince whoſe cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened through ſome miſtakes in reading or tranſcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his ſword, ſo he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his ſubjects. He was, however, a perſon of great genius, and deeply ſkilled in the occult ſciences, in one word, he is repreſented to us as a compleatly wicked man; one whoſe abilities anſwered the evil intentions of his ſoul, and whoſe perſon ſtruck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid viſage, eyes wild and ſparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the ſame time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural fourneſs of his temper was irritated by a ſharp and incurable diſeaſe, conſiſting in
f two painful ulcers, one on each ſhoulder, the anguiſh of which reſembled the pain following the bite of a ſerpent, whence the ſtory inſerted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at laſt as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiſs his ſhoulders, which being granted, an ugly ſerpent immediately took poſt in each, and gnawed itſelf a den in his fleſh. Either ſome ſorcerer, or the devil in a dream, ſuggeſted to *Zoak*; an inhuman remedy for this evil, *viz.* that of waſhing theſe ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others ſay, applying to them the brains of men newly ſlain. At firſt the tyrant put to death criminals of all ſorts; but when

[u] D'HERBELOT. tit. Gjemſchid.

when there were no more of these, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The priests and other persons in authority had recourse to all the arguments they could use to engage him to have recourse rather to the blood or brain of sheep, but to no purpose; those, however, who were intrusted with the care of these unhappy wretches destined to slaughter for the tyrant's ease, often out of mere pity let them slip through their fingers, so that flying to the mountains in order to preserve themselves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themselves into a particular nation, called since the *Curdes* [x]. All his reign long *Zoak* caused *Phridun*, the son of his predecessor, to be searched for, but to no purpose, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak*'s enemies. However, the tyrant discharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he suspected inclined to the interest of the young *Phridun*. The chief cause of these proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; these he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two loosened his girdle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavand*. Having applied to the most skilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this signified, they unanimously agreed, that it portended the loss of his kingdom and of his life, because amongst the *Persians* the girdle is a mark of dignity, now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun* and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, were the sons of a certain smith, whose name was *Gao*, or, as others write it, *Kaoh*. This man, driven to madness at the sight of his children's blood, ran up and down the streets, crying out for justice and help against the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a standard. In a short time the army he got together became very formidable, so that he made himself master of various strong forts and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capital of *Chorasan*, where he staid for some time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, assuring them amongst other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as soon as he had restored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the sovereignty to him, which he as positively refused, telling them, that as the sense he had of his own injuries had put him upon first taking arms, so he would never consent to injure others; that *Phridun* the son of *Gianshid* was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are easily turned; the army on this speech grew as loyal to *Phridun* as they had been grateful to the smith. *Phridun* observing the spirit of his people, and being informed that *Zoak*'s army was by no means hearty in his interest, marched with the utmost expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a brisk action *Zoak*'s troops abandoned him, and he was taken prisoner, whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavand*, and gave directions for his being imprisoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Persians* instituted a feast in memory thereof, which they called *Mihirgian*, or rather *Mihragjan* [y] (D). *Phridun*,

[x] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. vi. orient. art. FERIDOUN, GAOH.

[y] HYDE, rel. vet. Pers. c. viii. p. 158. D'HERBELOT, biblioth.

(D) The history of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Persian* romances; what is related in them of him being to us absurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpose to swell out a note with such stories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the most invidious characters of him they could devise, and heightened all the mischievous things he did with the utmost force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourselves poets writing with this view, and at the same time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loss for all the strange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the first authors of them to have been men of good sense too. Metaphors well understood, allusions readily apprehended, and allegories easily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at least as circumstances, of fact in ages which succeed; and hence it comes to pass, that a stroke of poetic satyr, or the rhetorical flourish of an author is misapprehended for a strict assertion, and so delivered by historians, who come after, and transcribe all they find, without weighing or considering how or in what manner it was wrote. The first historians in all countries were poets, the second race prose-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that ancient histories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be understood:

a *Phridun*, *Aphridun*, or *Feridoun*, this prince proved one of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt ſucceſsful monarchs that ever ruled in the eaſt; his firſt act, after being quietly ſeated on the throne, was to make *Kaoh* the ſmith general of his armies; after which he ſent him towards the weſtern parts of his dominions in order to reduce ſuch provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke. *Kaoh* ſpent twenty years in this enterprize, in which ſpace he added many fine countries to the *Perſian* empire; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years with equal ſatisfaction to the people and to his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who to do honour to his memory gave all his eſtates among his relations, and then b taking his ſons into his own court, bred them up there in a moſt honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater poſſeſſions than their father had acquired [z]. To ſhew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which *Kaoh* had hung upon a ſtick at the beginning of the inſurrection, the royal ſtandard of *Perſia*, calling it *Dirfeſch Kaviani*, i. e. *the ſtandard of Kaoh*, that he might perpetuate his name and ſervices to all poſterity. This ſtandard he adorned with precious ſtones, to which his ſucceſſors continually adding, it became at laſt of ſuch ineſtimable value, that being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadeſia*, it enriched the whole army [a]. As *Phridun* was deſirous of reſtoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he ſent perſons, not only of great parts but emi- c nent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married alſo with a view of intereſt only the daughter of his predeceſſor *Zoak*, by whom he had two ſons *Salm* and *Tur*, but theſe proving like their grandfather, haughty, obſtinate, and cruel, he took a *Perſian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a ſon named *Irege*, equally wiſe and courteous, ſo that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things paſſed on, till *Phridun*, feeling himſelf beginning to decline under the weight of age and illneſs, ſummoned his grandees together, and, having informed them of his deſign to quit the regal dignity, deſired to know which of his ſons they wiſhed he ſhould make his ſucceſſor; thoſe lords una- d nimouſly anſwered, that, if he would no longer govern himſelf, they deſired to have *Irege* for their prince, to which *Phridun* aſſented; but, to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to *Tur* all the eaſtern provinces of his empire, to *Salm* the provinces on the other ſide, and reſtrained *Irege* within the compaſs of *Perſia*, *Aſſyria*, and *Meſopotamia*. From this diviſion came the names of *Turon* and *Iran*, the one ſignifying that great extent of country which lies to the eaſt of *Perſia*, and the other *Perſia* itſelf and the provinces dependent thereon [b]. As for *Tur*, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after his own name *Turon*, and the country *Turqueſtan*; this city was ſeated in the province of *Mauar-alnahar* in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks* [c]. However large thoſe ſhares might e be which *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they ſtill hated him and their brother *Irege*, whoſe ruin they concerted together. Things being at laſt ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*, and having joined their armies, they ſent a ſort of manifeſto to their father, wherein they ſet forth, that with juſt reaſon they were diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which he had ſhewn *Irege*, whom they ſtiled a baſtard, and declared at the ſame time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was depoſed from

Phridun.

[z] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. vii. [a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Dirfesch. [b] Hyde. rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun. [c] Mirkhond. hiſt. ubi ſupr.

ſtood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Perſia*? But fiction, though it may obſcure, yet it does not abſolutely deſtroy truth. *Roak* was in all probability an *Arabian* invader, who, after making himſelf maſter of *Perſia*, uſed his new ſubjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be borne, and then they did what a people may always do, *viz.* threw them off their ſhoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be underſtood to mean no more than that he was kept there in ſome ſtrong caſtle. Theſe mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and conſequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the ſame licence here allowed them elſewhere, have feigned, that *Tahmurah* after overcoming the *Divs* or evil *Genii*, impriſoned them in theſe grottoes, and by degrees theſe expreſſions grew ſo frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily ſent to the mountains of *Damavand* as among our common people ghoſts are *chained*, or, to preſerve the true phraſe, *laid* in the bottom of the *Red-Sea*.

from the sovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his possession. *Phridun*, justly displeased at this undutiful behaviour, sent immediately his orders to *Irege* to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march against his brethren. *Irege*, however, desired the king to have recourse to milder measures, in hopes of preserving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. *Irege*, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him some of his wisest counsellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if possible amicably to adjust the differences between them. They, who wished for nothing more, immediately seized him and struck off his head, which having stuck on a pole, they insolently sent to their father. *Phridun* was excessively grieved at his son's misfortune; he resolved, however, to carry on the war against *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his son *Manugeher*, who immediately marched with an army against his uncles. They despising his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and lost their lives by the hand of *Manugeher*, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun*, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeher*, he asked who it was that presumed to enter his presence in such a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandson Manugeher, the avenger of the blood of* Irege, *who hath slain* Salm *and* Tur *with his own hand.* *Phridun* then received him with open arms, and with all the demonstrations of paternal fondness. Afterwards he took the *Tagi* or *Tiara* from his head and put it on that of *Manugeher* or *Manugjar*, declaring him thereby sovereign of *Persia*, appointing at the same time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a person of great wisdom and valour, to be his vizier [d]. Within a short space after this *Phridun* died, full of years and glory (E).

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the *Solomon* of *Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a manner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happiness to those whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshipper of the true God, and took such care to repress *Zabiism*, that some *Mohammedan* authors have not scrupled to assert that he was a mussulman. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor.

Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity [e]. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some *Persian* writers think, that *Phridun* was co-temporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortis* of *Herodotus* [f]; it would

[d] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Soham. [e] D'Herbelot. Art. Feridoun. [f] Hyde, relig. vet. Persar. c. viii.

(E) The oriental writers are universally agreed, that the terms *Touran* and *Iran*, expressive of the two great empires on the other and on this side the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihun*, took rise at this time. It may seem strange, that such large tracts of country should receive appellations from persons who lived and governed them so short a time; for it appears, that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a small space after the partition of his dominions amongst them. But when this is more thoroughly considered, the wonder will cease. The monarchs of these extensive kingdoms were, through a long course of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them. The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestor to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjahr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks* will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*, and yet many of them admit, that *Turqueslan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless and at the same time improper for us to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was stiled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side of the river, *i.e.* the *Euphrates*. Such difficulties amuse weak minds, but men of solid understandings easily pass by these doubts, knowing, that there is little more of certainty to be found in searching for the rise of denominations of far later date.

a would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here, and besides we shall have occasion to resume this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history at once; in the mean time let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun*'s grandson (F).

Manugjahr or *Manugeher*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of these opinions is true [g], certain it is, that he was a prince wise and of a mild disposition, and had a minister, *viz.* the vizier *Soham* beforementioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeher*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*; he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the b boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established in every great town or borough a mayor or provost, so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves, and the provosts were obliged to behave themselves prudently for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeher* considered every way of supplying this defect; he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* to refresh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To incourage his subjects to cultivate c their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apheraſiab* the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeher*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabreſtan*; some authors say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apheraſiab*, and that *Manugeher* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of *Persia* withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend d himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apheraſiab* besieged him with all his army, but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk*, being afraid lest his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commissioners were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms; that *Apheraſiab* should possess all the country east of the river *Gihon*, and that he should leave *Manugeher* without molestation in possession of *Persia* and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of *Persia* [h]. Soon as *Apheraſiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeher* began to provide against such invasions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quota's of troops; but these measures alarming *Apher* e *raſiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Persia*; but the *Turk* had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeher* perfectly answered his end, so that the enemy were not only repulsed where-ever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of their soldiers who were taken prisoners,

Manugjahr.

Apheraſiab

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Manugeher. [h] Mirkhond. hist. sect. ix.

(F) The reader will easily perceive from the characters he has already seen drawn in this history, that among the oriental nations wisdom as well as valour is thought necessary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous amongst them, as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongst us; and for the same reason; because he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preserve with as great care the wise sayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused ourselves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this sort in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will in all probability be pleased with the following specimens of his sapience, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man should weigh well the nature of himself,
The varying frailness, of this flatt'ring world,
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;
Then would he this despise, and trust in him.
The world deceives us all.—In God is truth.
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride;
Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark, if thou hast never seen them sink;
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattress thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey (5)?

(5) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Feridoun.*

Apheraſiab therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeher* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wiſe and good prince made the city of *Sigjiſtan* for a time his royal ſeat, and when by his preſence he had put all things on that ſide in good order, he ſent thither his vizier *Soham* to preſerve all things in quiet, and went himſelf to reſide in the centre of his empire, where he applied himſelf, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and ſciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. *Soham* managed all things in the province of *Sigjiſtan* ſo as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midſt of his happineſs an accident fell out which ſurprized him not a little: his wife was brought to-bed of a ſon with long yellow hair, *Soham* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zer*, i. e. *golden hair*; this young man, when he grew up to years of diſcretion, gave manifeſt tokens of an exalted genius, inſomuch, that *Manugeher* ſent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the ſight of the young nobleman augmented the eſteem and gratitude *Manugeher* had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Soham* and his ſon returned into their own country, and lived there with the ſame ſplendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it ſo happened, that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kabluſtan*, dependent on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Perſian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might ſhew his reſpect to the father by the honours paid to his ſon. The converſation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him ſo much, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had ſuch an effect on the mind of *Roudabah* his daughter, that ſhe fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens paſſions are ever ſudden and ungovernable, ſhe ſent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was incamped, that ſhe might find an opportunity of ſpeaking with him. Her project ſucceeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into diſcourſe with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom ſhe lived. The girl, properly inſtructed, anſwered him, that ſhe was the ſervant of *Roudabah*, the daughter of *Meherab*, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and ſweet diſpoſitions of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great eſteem for this amiable perſon, which by degrees ripened into ſo warm a paſſion, that he could neither eat nor ſleep, till he had concerted the means of ſpeaking to her. An interview, as our author obſerves, between two perſons who equally deſire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the beſt uſe of their time, that is, they exchanged the moſt ſolemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as ſoon as the conſent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a viſit at the ſame time to the father of his miſtreſs, by whom he was very kindly received, and after ſtaying with him all night, ſet out on his return to his father in the province of *Sigjiſtan*. Almoſt as ſoon as came home he acquainted *Soham* with all that had happened, and that it was impoſſible for him to live, at leaſt in any degree of happineſs, without the poſſeſſion of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's conſent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Perſian* to eſpouſe a *Turk*. However, the many ſervices of *Soham* and the great merit of *Zal-zer* prevailed ſo far over *Manugeher*, that he at laſt yielded to all they deſired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence; the inhabitants of *Sigjiſtan* and *Kablouſtan* vying with each other in their expreſſions of joy on this occaſion; nor were the conſequences of this match leſs happy than its concluſion was ſplendid, for at the end of nine months the lovely *Roudabah* was brought to bed of a ſon who was named *Ruſtan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances [i]. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illuſtrious pair came to find a place in the *Perſian* hiſtory. Let us now return to *Manugeher*, who ſpent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the beſt order imaginable, with reſpect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to baniſh luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition ſo happy, as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The perſonal qualifications of this monarch have been already in ſome meaſure diſplayed; it remains, however,

[i] MIRCHOND. hiſt. ſect. viii. D'HERBELOT. Artic. MANOUGEHER.

a however, that we do him juſtice in one particular of greater importance than all the reſt; he was a moſt zealous worſhipper of the true God, of which we have the moſt ſhining inſtances in the hiſtory of his life and reign, written by *Taberi* [k] an ancient *Perſian* author. By him we are informed, that as ſoon as this prince heard of the *Turks* paſſing the river *Gjeihon* in order to drive him out of his dominions, he aſſembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himſelf in theſe words; "The "moſt holy and high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him "praiſe and glory by my actions as a prince, preſerving my people in plenty and "eaſe, and impartially diſtributing juſtice, that thereby the glorious gift of God "might in my hand be ſtrengthened and encreaſed. If contrary to this my duty
b "I had acted ungratefully towards my creator, then I ſhould juſtly have deſerved "to loſe my kingdom here, and to ſuffer everlaſting puniſhment for my wicked-"neſs hereafter. The moſt holy and high God having cauſed me to be born of "royal blood, and in right thereof beſtowed a kingdom upon me, let us not my "friends baſely throw it away, or tamely ſuffer it to be taken from us; conſider "well of the ſtate we are in, and to morrow I will more largely inform you as to "my ſentiments of the matter". The next day accordingly the nobles of *Perſia* aſſembled again, and the king being ſeated in his throne of ſtate with his royal crown upon his head, and the *Mubad Mubadan*, or *high-prieſt*, ſeated near him in his golden chair, he roſe up and ſpoke as he had done the day before, aſcribing all dominion
c to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of *Perſia* was his gift; he then obſerved, that all things depended alike on the will of the ſupreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permiſſion. He ſaid farther, that God had long indulged the *Perſian* nation the full enjoyment of many bleſſings, in conſequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper uſe of the good things beſtowed on them. He added, that as to the point at preſent before them, *viz.* the invaſion of the *Turks*, it came not but by the permiſſion of God, wherefore to him they ought firſt to apply themſelves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be conſtant in prayer, to exert their courage and their underſtandings in
d the defence of their country, and to reſt ſtedfaſtly in the hope that the Almighty would not forſake them, but reſtore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They ſay likewiſe, that the death of *Manugjahr* was like his life majeſtic and ſerene, that he called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his ſubjects moſt affectionately to his care [l].

Nudar or *Naudar* ſucceeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy. Nudar.
e He was ſcarce ſeated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties and to create ſeditions in his empire, which weakened it ſo much, that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long ſet their hearts on. With this view *Paſhangh* at that time king of *Touran*, the direct deſcendant of *Tour* the ſon of *Phridun*, called his ſons together; and having expatiated, firſt on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Perſia*; and ſecondly of the low ſtate the *Perſian* affairs were then in; he told them, that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to aſſert the pretenſions derived to him from his anceſtors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other ſide of the *Gjeihon*. *Apheraſiab* his eldeſt ſon, ſtung with ambition
f and deſirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himſelf to raiſe an army in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horſe and foot, and with this prodigious army entered *Sigjiſtin*. *Nudar*, as ſoon as he was informed of this, cauſed his beſt troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to *Soham* the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march ſlowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him ſo much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleaſing to *Apheraſiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. *Nudar*, not doubting that *Soham* and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed them,

[k] Apud Hyde, Relig. vet. Perſ. c. viii. p. 156. [l] D'Herbelot. Biblioth Orient. ubi ſupra.

them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where, on a ſudden and before a
he expected it, they came within ſight of the enemy. The camps being oppoſite
to each other, a *Turkiſh* champion, whoſe name was *Baſmon*, challenged any of the
Perſian warriors to a ſingle combat, which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad*
the grandſon of *Koah*, of whom we have ſaid ſo much in the life of *Phridun*. The
combat terminated in favour of the *Perſian*, who having ſlain his antagoniſt ſpoiled
him of his arms, and carried them as the trophy of his victory to his tent. The
Turks were prodigiouſly incenſed at this accident, and reſolved with themſelves to
revenge it ſpeedily on *Nudar* and his army. Accordingly, having poſſeſſed them-
ſelves of all the poſts about it, they attack the *Perſians* in their camp, where a moſt
obſtinate battle was fought, till at length there happened ſuch a prodigious ſhower b
of rain, attended with ſuch an extraordinary darkneſs, that *Nudar* laid hold of this
opportunity to retire, and to order his ſons *Thus* and *Guſtam*, who were at the head of
ſeparate bodies, to march ſpeedily to his relief, which they did accompanied by *Karen*
the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treaſures out of
Sigjiſtan, and to ſend them to a place of ſafety. *Apheraſiab* obſerving the meaſures
taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to ſpin out the war, he, to
prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been deſtructive to his
troops, ſent an officer of his whoſe name was *Karahon* with poſitive orders to attack
Karen, and the body of *Perſians* under his command, which accordingly he did,
killed their commander, and effectually diſperſed the reſt. Not long after *Aphe-* c
raſiab attacked *Nudar* in his camp, and, after obtaining a ſignal victory, took
that monarch priſoner in his flight with many *Perſian* nobles. As ſoon as they
came into his preſence *Apheraſiab* ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his bro-
ther a prince of great humanity and wiſdom hindered him, and prevailed on him
to content himſelf with putting them in priſon, to which with much ado he
yielded. The next ſtep after this victory was to poſſeſs himſelf of the court and
treaſures of *Nudar*, in order to which *Apheraſiab* inſtantly detached a body of 30,000
men; they entering the province of *Sigjiſtan* made themſelves maſters of the capital
and of the royal palace, the *Perſians* being every-where ſo intimidated that they
durſt not ſtir, but ſubmitted tamely to the yoke, which conqueſt had impoſed upon d
them. *Meherab* it ſeems, after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer*, had retired
into *Perſia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this ſudden over-
throw of the empire threatened him as well as the reſt of its inhabitants. *Meherab*,
being a man of great policy, bethought himſelf of a means to divert immediate
danger by ſending a meſſenger to *Apheraſiab*, with very rich preſents and a letter to
this purpoſe, "That though he lived in *Perſia*, he was by nation a *Turk*, and not
"only ſo, but in ſome meaſure allied to him in blood, being lineally deſcended
"from *Zoak*, wherefore he hoped his family and this early teſtimony of obedience
"would be ſufficient to recommend him to his ſpecial protection". Having thus
amuſed the victor, he gave notice to his ſon-in-law *Zal-zer*, who aſſembling, as pri- e
vately as he could, ſeveral ſmall bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendez-
vous, where he himſelf joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt
ſomewhat againſt the common enemy, he began to act offenſively, and in a ſhort
time drove the *Turks* out of the province of *Sigjiſtan*. Of which when *Apheraſiab*
received intelligence, it provoked him ſo much, that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar*
to have his head ſtruck off in priſon, which was accordingly put in execution without
the leaſt regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided,
ſome making it ſeven, others enlarging it to nine. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally
follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince
co-temporary with *Joſhua*, others place him much higher; we ſhall not determine f
here who are in the right [m].

Apheraſiab. *Apheraſiab* or *Afraſiab*, notwithſtanding this rebellion, or rather inſurrection,
looking upon himſelf as monarch of *Perſia*, ſent an account to his father *Paſhangh*
of the happy ſucceſs with which his expedition had been crowned. But it was not
long before he had news of another nature to ſend him; for the *Perſians*, univerſally
deteſting his haughty and inſolent temper, began to raiſe ſeditions in every part of
the kingdom; nay, their averſion ingaged them in ſteps which carried their intrigues
farther, and made them endeavour to ſtir up the brother of *Apheraſiab*, who had at firſt
ſaved

[m] Mirchond. Hiſt. viii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Naudhar.

a ſaved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promiſing him firſt aſſiſtance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, liſtened readily to the propoſal, and adviſed them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Sigjiſtan* in the ſpring, aſſuring them, that the war once begun he would appear in their favour. Theſe negotiations could not be carried on ſo ſecretly, but that *Apheraſiab* gained intelligence of them, and immediately ſet all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he cauſed his brother to be aſſaſſinated, and then applied himſelf indefatigably to the raiſing of troops,
b reſolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer*, being informed of theſe proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loſs of the young *Turkiſh* prince, openly excited the *Perſians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to underſtand, that more than half their enemy's ſtrength lay in their fears. His diſcourſes by degrees had ſuch an effect, that the inhabitants of *Perſia*, aſſembling together in ſmall bodies, marched by night through ſecret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himſelf at the head of a very formidable army [n]. *Afraſiab*, who had his ſpies every where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s ſituation, immediately reſolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defenſive. This gave the *Perſian* captain a great deal of
c trouble; but at laſt he found an opportunity of bringing *Afraſiab* to a battle; it was very bloody, and ſo obſtinate that it laſted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither ſide had any reaſon to boaſt of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any deciſive action, whereby all induſtry being deſtroyed, there followed firſt a ſcarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous peſtilence, which, falling at once into both camps, filled *Apheraſiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was ſtipulated, that *Afraſiab* ſhould withdraw his troops and effects without moleſtation and retire into *Touran*, while *Iran*
and all its dependencies ſhould remain under the protection of *Zal-zer*; this peace
d concluded and ratified, it would have been eaſy for that nobleman to have raiſed himſelf to the throne of *Perſia*; but he ſcorning to barter immortal fame for a ſhort-lived royalty, ſought out *Zab* or *Zoub* the lawful heir of the *Houſe* of *Keyomaras*, and put the crown upon his head [o].

Zab, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his acceſſion to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithſtanding a tolerable ſhare of health and ſpirits; he applied himſelf to the reſtoring, as well as he could, the ſhattered affairs of *Perſia*; the more effectually to do this he aſſociated with him in the empire *Gherſchaſp* his nephew, whom ſome have called *Kiſchtaſp*, and have made him not the nephew
e and aſſociate, but the ſon and ſucceſſor, of *Zab* or *Zoub*; but this ſeems to be a miſtake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherſchaſp* being called *Kiſchtaſp*. But to return to *Zab*; he ſacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people eaſy, and to enable them to recover their loſſes after the wretched depredations committed by *Afraſiab* and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treaſury, and as often as any ſums were paid in there, he firſt paid his ſoldiers, and then diſtributed the reſt among the poor. Theſe were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, *viz.* that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various ſorts of ſauces and broths, unknown before in theſe regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his ſucceſſor.
f *Mirkhond* makes him expreſly the laſt of the firſt race of kings, who from the ſurname of *Huſhangh* were called in general *Piſchdadians*, though to us it ſeems more probable, that they received this appellation, becauſe during the ſeveral reigns of theſe princes the laws and conſtitution of *Perſia* were thoroughly ſettled [p]. According to other authors *Gherſchaſp* or *Kiſchtaſp* ſucceeded in the empire by the voluntary ceſſion of *Zab* or *Zoub*; his mother is ſaid to have been a jeweſs of the tribe of *Benjamin*, he proved a prince of great merit, and deſerving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to reſtore the *Perſian* diadem to its ancient luſtre. *Afraſiab*, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the diſorder the king-

Zab.

dom

[n] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [o] Khondemir, in Khelaſſat Alakbar. D'herbelot. Art. Afraziab, Zal. Zoub. Mirkhond. hiſt. Sect. 10. [p] Mirkhond. hiſt. Sect. 11. D'herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Naudhar.

dom was in, to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of various provinces. The new king fought under great diſadvantages, but in ſpite of theſe he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands; at laſt, however, he fell into the error of many of his predeceſſors, that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he loſt, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign ſome ſay of ſix, others of thirty years; but whether the former may not include the reigns of *Zab* and of this prince too, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire of the *Piſchdadians* ended, and that *Afraſiab* the deſcendant of *Tour* became a third time abſolute lord of *Perſia*; how he afterwards loſt the poſſeſſion of this empire will be ſhewn in its proper place [q]. In the mean time it may not be amiſs to inſert here ſome remarks on the foregoing period, in order to juſtify the obſervation we have ſo often made, that oriental hiſtory, though mixed with fables, is not altogether uſeleſs.

In the courſe of this work our method has been to ſpeak firſt of the chronology, and afterwards of the hiſtory of each country; in the preſent caſe it was impracticable, unleſs we had tormented the reader with needleſs repetitions and nauſeous tautologies. We have therefore choſen to give the ſeries of the *Perſian* hiſtory relating to the kings of the firſt race, as it lies in *Mirkhond* and other authors; and, after laying down theſe facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we eſteem the true ſtate of the ancient *Perſian* empire. In the firſt place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medians* by deſcent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Keyomaras* to have been at firſt ſovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in alſo a part of *Armenia*, ſo that in all probability it was one of the firſt peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we ſuppoſe that territories were aſcertained and ſet out immediately after the flood. Within this province ſtands the little town, that is, conſidering it in its preſent condition, *Nakſhivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the firſt town built after the flood; and indeed in the *Armenian* language the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the firſt place*, *or*, *firſt habitation* [u]. Thus the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and conſiſtent with the moſt ancient accounts ſacred and prophane. As the power of *Keyomaras* increaſed, he extended his territories towards the eaſt, and towards the ſouth; for it is agreed, that he made himſelf maſter of *Irak-agami*; afterwards *Parthia*, and in proceſs of time joined thereto the province of *Phars* or *proper Perſia*, where ſome hiſtorians affirm he founded the city of *Iſtachr*, afterwards called *Perſepolis*, though others deny it, and ſay it was built later. The ſucceſſors of this prince conquered *Khirman* and *Sigjiſtan*, and afterwards many other countries on the eaſt of the preſent *Perſian* empire. It was *Phridun* or *Feridoun* who ſettled the dominions of *Perſia* in pretty near the ſame order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore, that the kings of the firſt race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extenſive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Keyomaras*, ſome think it was at *Balch* in *Choraſan*, others at *Iſtachr*. Perhaps he might firſt fix his reſidence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Huſhang* reſided again at *Balch*, *Gjemſchid* ſettled himſelf at *Iſtachr*, and is by moſt of the *Perſian* authors eſteemed its founder. In the reigns of ſucceeding kings, though their royal reſidence might ſometimes be changed, *Iſtachr* remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the *Perſian* monarchs. *Kiſchtaſp* the laſt of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have ſuſtained through the courſe of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards ſo famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Perſepolis*, began, as we obſerved in our deſcription of *Perſia*, under the firſt race of kings [s]. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are ſtill remaining, we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of the princes of the ſecond race; in the mean time let it be remembered, that ſeveral princes of the dynaſty of *Piſchdadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, eſpecially in the days of *Manugeher*, who is particularly famous in the oriental

[q] D'HERBELOT. Art. GHERSCHTASB, KISCHSTASB. [r] TAVERNIER. Voyag. tom. i. p. 43; CHARDIN. Voy. tom. i. p. 250. [s] Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESTEKAR.

a oriental history for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we say, there were any artists capable of carving in stone, they might have employed their time in cutting some of those wonderful histories in *Bas-relief*, which are yet visible in the living rock, behind the ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of *Persia*. This, we say, is possible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of *Manugeher* is a circumstance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in sight of the sun, represented in the mountain beforementioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of these antient
b kings which we have already shewn to be very near the true religion, that is the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worship of fire, it was indisputably a very antient doctrine, and there seems to be no reason for doubting the truth of what some authors have affirmed, that it took its rise in, if not before, the time of *Keyomaras*. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magism prevailed, and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for *Aderbaygjan* is no more than the *place* of *fire*, *Ader* or *Azer* signifying *fire*, and *Bayagjan a place*; whence it comes to pass, that we frequently find this word thus written *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worship in these early times, and the people
c were persuaded, that celestial fire was preserved there; on this account when the treasures of *Nadar* king of *Persia* were removed out of *Sigjistan*, as we have before related, they were for security placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaurs*, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary they yet speak confidently of celestial or elemental fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain [t]. On the whole therefore, the religion of the *Persians* under the first race of kings differed very little from that which still subsists among the *Ghaurs*. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no *Pyræa* or fire temples at all before the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; others, on the authority of some *Arabian* writers, assert the contrary, so as it
d seems probable, that the former is the opinion nearest truth. Our reasons for saying this are these, first the antientest historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the *Exodus* of the children of *Israel*. Secondly, because *Herodotus* says expressly, that the antient *Persians* had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains *sub dio*; and thirdly, because of *Pyræa* being at that time in use is not consistent with the history of *Zerdusht*, as we shall shortly have occasion to shew. From the power and the religion of the first race of *Persian* kings, we come at length to the intricate question, *When they flourished?* or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to sacred and profane history? Before we pretend to give the solution of this problem, let us consider a little what sacred and profane historians say
e of the antient kings of *Media* and *Persia*. The scripture informs us, that *Elam* was a very antient kingdom, for *Cherdorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of *Abraham*; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were on their decline. In respect to these ancient times the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, *viz. Thucydides*, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man [u], that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in history as well as in other scien-
f ces, but they seldom told their stories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes*, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*, where he places *Dijoces*, whom he makes the first king of *Media*, and speaks of his advancement in that dignity, in terms [x] exactly correspondent to those made use of by *Mirkhond* in his history of the election of *Keyomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus*, who really deserves the highest credit, because he took the utmost pains to be well informed, and spent a long series of years in collecting the materials for his history; gives us a list of ten *Median* kings reigning in all 282 years [y]; but the critics are not pleased with these, because *Diodorus* took

[t] Chardin. Voyag. tom. i. 253. [u] Thucydides, Præm. Hist. [x] Clio, c. 71. [y] Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3.

took them from *Ctesias*, and *Ctesias* had his materials from the *Median* and *Persian* records; an odd reason for disbelieving all he says. But it seems, *Ctesias*'s account did not consist well with those that the *Greeks* had given before him, and therefore he lost his credit, and his history was rejected as fabulous. By the same rule of argument our oriental history must be condemned too, for it is as inconsistent with the *Greek* history, as the memoirs of *Ctesias*, and for the very same reason; because it is taken as his history was from what the *Medes* and *Persians* say of themselves. Not to keep the reader long in suspense, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old *Medo-Persic* monarchy, and its being destroyed by the *Assyrian* emperors. The question is, whether we will suppose, that these people lived all that time without doing any thing, because none of the *Greek* historians except *Diodorus* from *Ctesias* have vouchsafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we shall admit *Ctesias*'s exploded method, and fill up this chasm with what the *Persians* say of themselves? If this latter course be to be steered, here is room for all the *Pischdadians* at once. But then as to the synchronism of their reigns we desire to be excused from settling it, because at present we see no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactness. However, when the *Persian* history, according to oriental writers, shall be deduced as low as the reign of *Yezdegherd*, the last native of that country who swayed its sceptre, we shall reconsider this point, and set the whole chronology of the *Persic* empire in the best light we may. In the mean time we shall conclude these observations with remarking, that *Ctesias* and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the *Persian* history from the *Persian* records, have found in the most early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching great armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immense treasures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wisdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we say from *Mohammedan* writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old *Persian* writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at least very ancient and uniform fable, or to speak seriously, it has as much the appearance of truth as any history as ancient that we know of. But it is time to leave reasoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our history, and to shew the steps by which *Apheraſiab* was expelled, and the *Persian* dominions once more restored to a prince of that country.

The history of the Persian *kings of the second race, or of the dynasty of the* Kainites.

Keykobad.

Keykobad, or *Caicobad*, whom some writers make the son of *Zab*, the son of *Tahamasp*, the son of *Manugeher*, king of *Persia*, and others call simply the nephew of *Nudar*, was seated on the throne of *Persia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was so loyal to the family that raised him, that he twice refused the *Persian* diadem, because he would not injure them. At this time he and his son *Rustan* put themselves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give *Apheraſiab* abundance of trouble, and by degrees to put into the possession of *Keykobad* the greatest part of the provinces of *Persia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his subjects in general, and extremely grateful to the persons particularly concerned in raising him to the empire. He intrusted the command of all his forces with *Rustan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero beforementioned, gained such advantages, that *Apheraſiab* retired before them, and was at last driven to such distress that he desired to treat of a peace; but his commissioners and those of the king of *Persia* differing about the terms, *Apheraſiab* hazarded a second battle, wherein, notwithstanding his troops fought with great resolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Rustan* desired some of the officers about him to shew him *Apheraſiab*, which when they had done, *Rustan* spurred towards him with such an impetuous force that he beat him from his horse, and afterwards dismounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himself upon his own steed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. *Apheraſiab*, finding himself left alone, struggled with such force that he at last got loose; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as *Rustan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horse, with whom he made his escape. After victory had declared itself in favour of the army

a army of *Keykobad*, *Rustan* rode up to salute him. Amongst other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himself having made *Apheraſiab* prisoner, whom he also promised immediately to produce. Riding with that intent to the place where he had thrown the *Turkish* monarch, he found with surprise a dead man tied in his place; for this oversight of his he asked pardon of *Keykobad*, and solemnly promised, that if he met *Apheraſiab* in battle again, he would not make the same mistake. But that prince, finding his affairs desperate in *Persia*, retired into *Turqueſtan*, and sent from thence an ambassador to treat with *Keykobad*, who was equally prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him and his family to *Iran* was acknowledged by *Apheraſiab*, and all the scat-
b tered remnants of his army withdrawn [z]. The peace once settled, *Keykobad* applied himself to the restoring of the affairs of his kingdom, and in the first place fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houshangh*, adorned by *Phridun*, and afterwards given by him to *Kaoh* the smith and his family. The reason in all probability which determined *Keykobad* to reside here, was its convenient situation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next bestowed his favours on such as had been instrumental in the expulsion of the *Turks*; to *Rustan* he gave the province of *Zabluſtan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleasant streams, and adorned with the finest prospects that can be wished. This province afforded a surname to *Rustan*, and received
c itself a new name from him. That hero being stiled in most of the romances *Zabeli*, because he was governor of *Zabluſtan*; and that province, or at least a great part of it, was thenceforward called *Rustandar*, because it had been the government of *Rustan*. *Maharab*, surnamed *Kabuli*, because he had been governor of *Kabul*, was another of *Keykobad*'s generals, and highly esteemed by him. *Kavun*, one of the descendants af the famous *Kaoh* the smith, was also a person highly esteemed by the king of *Persia*; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It seems he was a sort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the surname of *Rezm Khuah*, or *the searcher of adventures*. A fourth captain of *Keykobad*'s was *Keschvad*, surnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was
d allowed to wear, in reward for the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobad* divided all the spoil that had been brought into his treasury among his soldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, setting up publick marks at the end of every four thousand paces, which space by the *Persians* is called *Pherſengh*, and from thence by the *Greeks Paraſang*. As this monarch was renowned for his wisdom and prowess, so he was no less famous on account of his piety; the *Mohammedan* writers insist very much upon this, they assert, that he had many prophets who resorted to his court, that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to understand that he was not a fire-worshipper;
e but in this they are certainly mistaken. They make him also contemporary with *Samuel* the judge of *Israel*, and assert, that he had some intercourse with him. In the last years of his life he grew blind, and continued so till the day of his death, which happened, as some historians say, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years [a].

Keykaus or *Caikaus*, the son, or, as some say, the grandson of *Keykobad*, succeeded him in the throne of *Persia*, on which he was scarce seated before a war broke out Keykaus.
in *Mazandran*, a province bordering on the *Caspian* sea, which required his pre-
f sence; a rebel prince, taking occasion from the demise of *Keykobad*, made himself sovereign there, and fortified the capital in such a manner that he made it the strongest place in the east. *Keykaus* marched immediately against him, and coming with too great an army to be opposed, the rebel shut himself up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a siege. *Keykaus* having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all sorts of ammunitions and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in such cases 'tis usual for experienced generals to have recourse to stratagems, *Keykaus* devised one which answered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely distressed for provi-

sions,

[z] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Afrasiab, Caikobad, Rustan.
[a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Rezm Khuah, &c.

sions, and should be on that account obliged shortly to raise the siege. His emis- a
saries in the place immediately insinuated to the keepers of the stores, that by sup-
plying the king of *Persia* with small quantities of victuals immense sums might be
got; this trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid so well, that in a short time there was
not a loaf left; he then summoned the city peremtorily to surrender, and on a
discovery of their circumstances the inhabitants were forced to submit [b]. He had
not the like success in another war, undertaken in this province against *Apheraſiab*;
for the *Persian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken and thrown into a prison,
from whence he was released by the timely care of his general *Rustan*, who enter-
ing *Touran* with a numerous army, wasted all before him with fire and sword,
declaring, that he would destroy the whole country if they did not set his master at b
liberty, which so terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apheraſiab* to
dismiss *Keykaus* on his promise to recal *Rustan*. As soon as the *Persian* monarch had
regained his liberty, he made use of the hero we have so often mentioned to curb his
enemies on every side; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mezr*,
i. e. *Egypt*; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria*; and *Rum*, i. e. *Asia Minor*. After these wars
were over and all things in a quiet situation, *Keykaus*, to shew the high esteem he
had of *Rustan*'s services, gave him his sister in marriage; the name of this princess
was *Gebernaz*, i. e. *endowed with all virtues*, and with her by way of portion he gave
him the office of generalissimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his
kingdom, with the title of *Pehelevan Gihan*, i. e. *supporter of the Persian empire*. c
We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himself married, but whoever she was he had by
her two sons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailorz*; the eldest of these, *viz. Siavek*, was sent
to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle *Rustan*. How long things conti-
nued in this tranquil state does not appear; but the next war we hear of was against
Zulzogar king of *Arabia*. What provocation he gave *Keykaus* is uncertain; but the
king of *Persia* carried his resentment so far, that he had well reduced the whole
kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned, under his dominion; at length it
came to the ears of *Keykaus*, that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the most lovely
woman in the world; upon which the *Persian* king sent to demand her in marriage;
the king of *Yemen*, desirous to be rid at any rate of such an enemy, sent immedi- d
ately his daughter to the king of *Persia*'s *Haram*. As soon as *Keykaus* beheld
Saudabah, he was so struck with her beauty, that he conceived himself the happiest
man in the world by having her in possession. Overcome therefore with the
violence of his passion, he abandoned himself to all sort of excesses, giving great
entertainments, and encouraging all sorts of diversions in his camp, without so
much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foresaw
all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse, and falling unex- e
pectedly on the *Persian* army absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his
court prisoners. The news of this no sooner reached *Persia*, than *Rustan* put
himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them
immediately into *Yemen*. *Zulzogar* knew very well, that he had no troops capable
of contending with the veterans under the command of *Rustan*, and for this reason
he treated the king of *Persia*, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect,
so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to
forbear hostilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between
the father and son-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretensions to the king-
dom of *Yemen*, and promised to invade it no more, while the latter engaged to be
the friend and ally of the *Persian* nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his f
power; in consequence of which *Keykaus* was immediately set at liberty, with all
those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into
Persia with his new spouse *Saudabah* [c]. Not long after this *Siavek* came to court,
and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabah*, either charmed
with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, sollicited him to an incestuous
amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon
which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his
parlour, *Saudabah* rushed in with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and
her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt
upon

[b] MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiii.

Hist. sect. xiii.

[c] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICAUS. MIRKHOND.

a upon her honour; the king immediately cauſed his ſon to be impriſoned, and obliged him to ſtand a tryal; ſome ſay he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedneſs of *Saudabah* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his ſon had not interceded for her on his knees. Theſe proceedings having created ſome diviſions and heart-burnings in the court of *Perſia*, *Apheraſiab*, who waited all opportunities of diſtreſſing that nation, failed not to take this, and to paſs the river *Gjiehon* with a great body of troops, in order to beſiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, rouſed by the impending danger, ordered his ſon to march into *Sigjiſtan* with twelve thouſand horſe, there to join the b forces under the command of *Ruſtan*, in order to make head againſt the enemy. *Syavek* readily obeyed, and, after joining his uncle *Ruſtan*, marched with ſuch expedition, that they were ſoon in the neighbourhood of *Apheraſiab* and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very ſtrong camp. *Apheraſiab*, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingring war, attacked them therein, which *Ruſtan* foreſaw, and provided ſo well for his reception, that he was not only repulſed, but his troops ſuffered ſo much in the attack, that he began ſincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Perſians* into his dominions. With this view he ſent commiſſioners to the camp of *Syavek* and *Ruſtan*, in order to c ſettle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle, and two *Perſians* of great quality, who were of his council, ſettled with them the heads of a treaty very advantagious to *Perſia*, which being ratified by *Apheraſiab*, the young prince diſpatched an expreſs to carry the peace to his father. It ſeems the intrigues of *Saudabah* had created this deſerving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of perſuading the king, that *Syavek* had exceeded his commiſſion, and injured the majeſty of the *Perſian* empire by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobad*, influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, diſpatched his uncle *Thus* to the army with letters full of ſharpneſs with reſpect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*, and to ſignify to d *Ruſtan*, that the king thought him now old enough to take his reſt, and therefore deſired him to retire to his government of *Sigjiſtan*. *Ruſtan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turqueſtan*, in order to act offenſively againſt *Apheraſiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjiehon*, the prince, taking with him *Piran-Viſſeh*, an officer of diſtinction in the *Turkiſh* army who had remained with him as an hoſtage, went directly to the court of *Apheraſiab*; to ſhew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Apheraſiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Franghiz* in marriage [d]. The nobility of *Turqueſtan* were ſo much charmed with this young prince, and gave him e continually ſuch ſtrong marks of their eſteem, that *Garſiaveſch*, brother to *Apheraſiab*, took umbrage at it, and reſolved to have him taken off. *Syavek*, who was a prince of great penetration, diſcovered his intention, and foreſeeing that in a ſtrange country it was impoſſible for him to guard againſt ſuch attempts, he ſpoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in caſe he ſhould be murdered, to ſend his ſon, if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed of one, into *Perſia*. A ſmall time after what he feared came to paſs, he was killed by ſome aſſaſſins, hired by *Garſiaveſch*, who would alſo have diſpatched his wife, if *Piran-Viſſeh* had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. *Franghiz* was afterwards brought to bed of a ſon, called *Key-choſrau*, who in time ſucceeded his grandfather. The f people of *Turqueſtan* were ſo much grieved for the death of *Syavek*, that, to ſhew their concern, they mourned in *Perſian* habits, a cuſtom which has ever ſince remained amongſt them. The news of the prince of *Perſia*'s death reaching *Ruſtan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turqueſtan* with a conſiderable army, burning and deſtroying all the country before him. *Garſiaveſch* raiſed a body of troops as ſoon as he was able, and marched to oppoſe him; but coming to an engagement, they were ſoon defeated, and *Garſiaveſch* himſelf had his head ſtruck off by the ſword of *Ruſtan* [e]. The deſire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Syavek*, put him upon enquiring for his ſon; but

[d] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Rustan, Siavek, Piran, Visseh. Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [e] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caiacus, Siavek, Gheresciavesch.

but his mother kept him so effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes a
could find him out, which gave *Rustan* inexpressible concern; some years after, how-
ever, *Keykaus* sent *Guiu* the son of *Gudarz*, a young *Persian* nobleman of great capa-
city, into *Turquestan*, in order to discover his grandson. Some say, that *Guiu* having
sought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he
was hunting, and, knowing him by the resemblance he bore of his father, addressed
himself frankly to him, told him his name and his commission. *Key-chosrau* listened
greedily to the proposal made him of retiring into *Persia*, but desired, that he might
carry his mother and *Piran-Vissch*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, b
that they might be safe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to,
all things were concerted so well, that they quitted *Turquestan* and got safe into
Persia, little to the satisfaction of *Afrasiab*, who was mighty well pleased with
having in his hands the heir of the *Persian* diadem. He ordered them immediately
to be pursued by several roads, but all to no purpose, though they passed the river
Gjichon in sight of their pursuers. On the arrival of *Key-chosrau* at the court of his
grandfather, the face of affairs suddenly changed; those who had been avowed ene-
mies of the prince *Syavek* his father were immediately removed, and *Keykobad*, to
shew his affection for the young prince, made him generalissimo of his armies, and
raised *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the highest honours. *Thus*, who had
been no friend to *Syavek*, began to be apprehensive of the power of *Key-chosrau*, and c
therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiborz*, the son of *Keykaus*, by sug-
gesting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Persia*, which
ought by no means to be placed on the head of one descended by the mother's side
from *Tour*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation; these seeds of dissen-
tion sown, the *Persian* court was quickly in disorder, all the nobility taking one side
or other, to the no small detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus* in the
mean time was unwilling to declare either against his son or his grandson. At last, to
prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniences that might attend a disputed suc-
cession, he resolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of
displaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greatest desert his heir. d
One *Babaman*, who had been intrusted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil* in the
province of *Aderbayagjan*, had made himself prince of that place, and thrown off
his allegiance to the king of *Persia*. *Keykaus* sent a body of troops, under the com-
mand of his son *Fraiborz*, to invest the town on one side, and an equal number
under *Key-chosrau* to sit down before it on the other, informing both the princes,
when they set out for their respective commands, that whoever reduced the place
he would declare successor to the throne. *Thus*, according to his repeated professions
of friendship to *Fraiborz*, set out with him for the army, and did all that in his
power lay to make him master of *Ardevil*, but to no purpose; *Babaman*, apprized
of the siege, had provided all things necessary for a long defence, and was himself so e
consummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Persian* army
under *Fraiborz*. *Key-chosrau* had better success; the troops commanded by this
young prince behaved better than those under his uncle, insomuch, that *Babaman*,
finding it impossible to hold out, surrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to
agreement therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent
of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had so long subsisted.
Some small time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of roy-
alty, retired from the world, and left his grandson in the possession of the kingdom,
after a reign of one hundred and fifty years [f].

According to the method we have hitherto pursued, we should here take leave f
of *Keykaus*'s reign. But as it is our design to inform the reader, as far as we are
able, of every thing relating to the history of those kings we speak of, we find our
selves obliged to take notice here of some variations in circumstances, into which the
Persian historians have fallen, as to the most material facts reported in the history
of *Keykaus*: Thus, as to *Saudabah*, some make her to have been the daughter of *Gher-
schiaresch* brother to *Afrasiab*; they say likewise, that she was the mother of *Syavek*,
and that taking some disgust in his father's court, the young prince fled to
that of his uncle in *Turquestan*, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made
himself so considerable, that his grand-father by the mother's side caused him to
be

[f] Mirkhond. Hist. ubi supra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Caicaus & Caikosrau.

a be destroyed [g]. *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apheraſiab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Syavek*, mentions one *Keydah*, the son of *Apheraſiab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Tacks-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia* [h]. A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert, that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*, and he will have it, that both these names signify *the long liver*, or *the immortal*, adding, that *Keykaus* was so called because of his extraordinary long reign, *viz.* of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact, and
b observes, that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and attempting to scale heaven thereby, but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well, that to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our history [i] (G).

Key-chosrau or *Kai-khosru* succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grand-father, and shewed himself worthy of that preference which had been given him; for in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition
c of earning bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having represented the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turqueſtan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turqueſtan*. They came unanimously into this proposal, whereupon *Piran-Visseh* returned into his own country, Key-chosrau.

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Artic. Gherschiavesh. Univers. Hist. Vol. II. p. 53. [h] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra. [i] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Nembrod.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing farther on that subject; here it is sufficient, that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the *Romans* as by the orientals; the former stiled all the provinces on the other side of that river which they call *Oxus*, the antient *Persians Gjeihon*, and the moderns *Amu*, *Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauaralnahar*, i. e. *on the other side of the river* (6). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*, and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (7). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings; and on the west the territories of *Sham* or *Schamah*, for so the *Persians* stiled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker or more confused than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us there seems some reason to doubt, whether the word *Khakan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkhond*, was really heard of in these early times; it seems more likely, that our *Persian* historian bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient historians to have reigned then in those parts, in order to familiarize the stile of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered as well as *Iran* on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Apheraſiab* happened in the plains of *Khuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains nearest at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran*; and when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjeihon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north, in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran* under the reign of this monarch *Key-kosrau* contained very nearly the same extent of country and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia*; and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces on the west side of the empire; the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulph erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it hereafter; in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key-kosrau*'s empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shah*'s.

(6) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Oriental. Art. Touran.*

(7) *History of the Tartars*, Vol. II. p. 384.

country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau* and his mother. The a
king of *Persia*, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with
any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his
uncle *Fraiborz*, and to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he intrusted them
with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war by in-
vading the dominion of *Turqueſtan* [k]. At their setting out he spoke to them thus,
"You must know, that before my father married the princess *Franghiz* my mother,
"he had by the daughter of his friend *Piran-Visseh* a son called *Ferud*. This
"young man I am informed has at present a command of the army of *Apheraſiab*;
"but where-ever he is, remember that he is my brother, and that where-ever you
"find him you do him no injury, but render him all the honours due to so near a b
"relation of mine". It happened unluckily, that the *Persian* army no sooner
entred the country of *Turqueſtan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them at the head
of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the *Persians* were by far more
numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, in-
stead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*,
who, as soon as he understood that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his
forces to retire, and presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of
the order he had received from his brother the king of *Persia*. *Ferud*, full of im-
prudent bravery, would not be persuaded to retire, but causing the *Turkish* horse
to make a fresh attack, the *Persians* repulsed them with great slaughter, and *Ferud*, c
to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place [l]. *Key-*
chosrau received this news with great concern, and apprehending that *Thus* had been
in some measure instrumental to his brother's death, he sent orders to his uncle
Fraiborz to take upon him the command of the army, and to send back *Thus* a
prisoner, to answer in *Persia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king's com-
mands exactly with respect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turqueſtan*.
Apheraſiab gave the command of the great army he had raised to *Piran-Visseh*,
the most experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the
Persian discipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from d
him, he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* so much trouble, and knew so well how to en-
camp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Persians* were con-
strained to retreat, not without very considerable loss; *Gudar*, who commanded in
the rear, having no less than seventy gentlemen of his own family slain [m]. The news
of this defeat obliged the king to take other measures; he therefore removed his
uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whose valour and
conduct it was owing, that any part thereof escaped. He also sent *Thus*, who
had fully justified himself as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops,
in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apheraſiab*, perceiving that the *Persians*
were resolved to destroy his empire, called to his assistance the *Kha-khan* or king
of great *Tartary* and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*, and by the help of his confederates e
pushed the *Persian* troops so closely, that they being far inferior in number were
forced to retire into the mountains of *Choraſſan*, where they threw up intrenchments,
and fortified their camp in the best manner they could. *Key-chosrau*, informed of their
distress, sent orders to *Rustan* to march with the utmost diligence to their assistance.
That experienced general readily obeyed his master, and the *Persian* army that was
besieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no question of
carrying the victory. *Rustan*, as an earnest thereof, deceived the vigilance of the
Turkish officers, and, passing their advanced guards in the night, entered the *Persian*
camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the most bloody battle was f
fought, that hitherto had been seen in *Persia*. *Rustan* did wonders, he took pri-
soner the *Kha-khan* and *Kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the service of *Aphe-*
raſiab. In the end victory declared itself for the *Persians*, and *Apheraſiab*, having
lost half his army, was obliged to retire with the rest into his own dominions.
Notwithstanding this mighty loss, the king of *Turqueſtan* meditated new invasions,
exhausting his whole country to draw together an army sufficient for his purpose.
Key-chosrau on the other hand set four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay
in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Against him *Aphe-*
raſiab sent a detachment of his choicest troops under the command of *Piran-Visseh*,
the

[k] MIRKHOND. Hist. sect. xiv. [l] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. CAICHOSRAU. [m] MIR-
KHOND. Hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. CAICHOSRAU.

a the beſt officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neighbourhood of each other, before an action enſued, wherein *Piran-Viſſeh* was killed and his army beaten. When *Gudar* ſaw the body of *Piran-Viſſeh* on the ground, he alighted from his horſe, and remembring the courteſies that nobleman had formerly done to *Syavek*, and to *Key-choſrau*, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to ſee it interred with all the honours due to ſo great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of *Perſia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and ſpoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend [n]. *Apheraſiab*, when informed of this new diſaſter, ſent his ſon *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he cauſed to be reinforced as
b ſoon as poſſible. By this time *Key-choſrau* was come in perſon to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea. *Schidah*, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Perſians* with great reſolution; but his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Perſia* ſurveying the field of battle, and the vaſt number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cryed out aloud, *Khuareſmi-bud*, i. e. *I have ſeen my deſire*; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lye, received the appellation of *Khuarezm*, which they ſtill retain. *Key-choſrau* puſhed on the war now with the greateſt vigour, marching
c directly towards the capital of *Turqueſtan*, whither *Apheraſiab* had retired; but this prince not thinking himſelf ſafe there, becauſe the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, firſt ſent away his *Haram*, and then retired himſelf. His wives and children fell a ſhort time afterwards into the hands of *Key-choſrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindneſs and reſpect; *Apheraſiab* wandered from province to province with a ſmall body of troops, till, being ſhut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, he was at laſt taken priſoner, and by the orders of *Key-choſrau* put to death [o]. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhauſted both empires. After it was finiſhed *Key-choſrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*; there it was, that ſeeing himſelf in full poſſeſſion
d of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predeceſſors had thought of. He computed all the levies which had been made on *Perſia* for the carrying on the war againſt the *Turks*, and out of the mighty treaſures which were fallen into his hands, he reſtored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He ſent for his uncle *Fraiborz*, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected ſeveral provinces on the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulph into a kingdom, and made him ſovereign thereof. He aſſembled the nobility of *Touran*, and having ſhewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, he adviſed them to conſider of ways and means for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of their country, and aſſured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He
e then marked out the quarters, and ſettled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the ſtate of all the provinces, reformed ſeveral abuſes in religion; and when he had done all this, he ſaid he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the reſt of his days to God. With this view he introduced his ſucceſſor *Lohoraſp* into a grand aſſembly of the nobility, he put the *Tagi* on his head, and retired himſelf to a cell in the deſart, having attained to the age of ninety years, ſixty of which he had paſſed upon the throne [p].

What has been above related of the reign of *Key-choſrau* is taken from the beſt and moſt credible hiſtorians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power;
f let us now ſee what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not ſo well be reduced into the order we have followed. With reſpect to the deciſive battle fought againſt the king of *Turqueſtan*, ſome writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks* and as many *Perſians* fought in the ſight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally ſtiled *Genk duazde Rokh*, i. e. *the combat of the twelve heroes*. The terms on which this combat was fought were theſe; that if the *Turks* were victorious, the

Perſians

[n] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi ſupra, & Artic. Piran-Visseh. [o] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Caichosrau. [p] Mirkond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'Herbelot. ubi ſupra.

Persians should own *Apheraſiab* for their lord, but in caſe the *Perſians* were ſucceſs- a
ful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and ſo quit all pretenſi-
ons to *Iran*[q]. *Apheraſiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back
into his own country; but, ſay the ſame writers, he ſoon after broke the peace by
ſending his ſon with a numerous body of horſe to make inroads into *Perſia*. In
conſequence of which followed the battle of *Khuarezm*, in which they make *Aphe-*
raſiab and his brother to have been preſent. They add, that, after the loſs of the
battle, *Apheraſiab* with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries
on the banks of the *Caſpian* ſea, intending to paſs if poſſible behind it, and ſo thro'
the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were
vain, the forces of *Key-choſrau* ſurrounding the handful of troops *Apheraſiab* had with b
him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, ſo that he was at laſt taken priſoner and
put to death[r]. *Mirkhond* and the writers we have followed do not ſay much as to
the perſonal bravery of *Key-choſrau*, but there are writers who inform us of a very
extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his
reign there appeared in the mountains, which ſeparate *Irak Ajemi* from *Phars*, or as
we call them, *Parthia* from proper *Perſia*, a monſtrous ſerpent, which ſtruck the
people with ſuch terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adja-
cent country deſolate; this formidable dragon they ſtiled *Gavſchid*. The king, c
being informed of this, reſolved like a good prince to go immediately and deſtroy
this monſter. *Key-choſrau* hunted it for ſome time before he came up with it, but
at laſt he found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and his guards
flying at the ſight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own
hand. On the ſpot where this remarkable deed was done, a *Pyræum* or fire-temple
was erected, called in ſucceeding times *Deir Gavſchid*, i. e. *the habitation of Gav-*
ſchid, renowned to this day amongſt the *Perſees*, and held by ſome to be the firſt
fire-temple erected in *Perſia*, which however we doubt, if they mean, as certainly
they do, that it was erected in the reign of *Key-choſrau*[s]. Though ſome writers are
ſilent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly
on his wiſdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, moſt acknowledge that he d
converſed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty
for the great regard he always ſhewed towards religion and religious perſons.
During his reign flouriſhed *Lokman* the famous philoſopher of the eaſt, called by
way of ſurname *Lokman Al Hakim*, i. e. *Lokman the wiſe*. It would lead us far
out of our way ſhould we enter here too deeply into the hiſtory of this extraordinary
perſon; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is generally agreed
he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaſchi* including both;
his parents mean, and himſelf ſold for a ſlave, and carried from one place to ano-
ther, till at laſt he was brought into the land of *Iſrael*, where he lived under the reigns
of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that ſleeping in this condition e
during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this
ſalutation, *Lokman*, we are the meſſengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath
ſent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant
over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining ſilent for a ſmall ſpace, returned
this anſwer: If by the abſolute command of God I am to become what you ſay,
his will muſt be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to paſs, that he will
afford me the neceſſary aſſiſtance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders;
but if he would give me leave to chuſe, I wiſh rather to continue in the ſtate I am
in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the
pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and inſup- f
portable load. This, ſay theſe authors, appeared ſo juſt in the ſight of God, that
he beſtowed on *Lokman* ſuch an excellent underſtanding, that he compoſed, ſay they,
ten thouſand apologues, moral maxims, and wiſe ſayings, each of them more
valuable than the whole world. A phraſe implying no more than that they are
highly uſeful as well as wonderfully ſublime. They tell us alſo, that *Lokman* ſtanding
one day in the midſt of a great number of people, who all liſtened greedily to
his wiſe and pleaſant diſcourſes, a *Hebrew* of great quality aſked him, if he was not
the black ſlave whom he had ſeen formerly tending the ſheep: *Lokman* readily an-
ſwered,

[q] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. ubi ſupra. [r] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [s] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Deir Gasvid.

a ſwered, I am, and how then, ſaid the nobleman, have you attained ſo high a degree of virtue? Why, anſwered *Lokman*, by theſe three eaſy ſteps: I have always ſpoke the truth, I have conſequently kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Perſian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary inſtance of *Lokman*'s preſence of mind; his maſter ſent him with ſome other ſlaves to gather fruit in his garden, the reſt eat the beſt, and when his maſter miſſed them, they roundly ſwore that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, ſaid *Lokman*, is eaſily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting, with this dif-
b ference, that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm water. The comment of the *Perſian* poet on this ſtory is ſo remarkable, that the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee it; "When we ſhall all drink "of this hot water at our tryals, in the day of the laſt judgment, then whatever "has been concealed in the heart, and hidden far from the ſight of men, ſhall be "thrown up in the view of all the world; and the hypocrite, who acquired the "reputation of a ſaint by his diſſembling, ſhall then be covered with ſhame and "confuſion of face". What we have reported is ſufficient to ſhew, that there is a ſtrong reſemblance between the hiſtory of *Lokman*, as reported by the eaſtern writers, and that of *Æſop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in
c their original; both ſlaves through the ſeverity of fortune; both famous for their wiſdom; and both delivered their maxims in the ſame manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors ſay, *Lokman* lived, and thoſe wherein the *Greeks* place *Æſop*. As to the firſt, it is generally allowed, that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æſop* is ſaid to have been cotemporary with *Cræſus* king of *Lydia* and *Solon* the *Athenian* legiſlator. From the hiſtory of their lives, and from the compariſon of their fables, there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that *Lokman* and *Æſop* were the ſame perſon; the difficulty ſeems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* ſtole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It ſeems
d moſt natural to believe the former, ſince in ſuch caſes the *Greeks* are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of antient hiſtory they were able to their own advantage. Beſides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the eaſt, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*; after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's conſideration rather than his belief. The chief reaſon why *Lokman* is ſo much conſidered in the eaſt is, becauſe *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of reſpect in the *Koran*, and has affirmed, that God beſtowed on him the gift of extraordinary wiſdom [t]. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabic* and *Latin* at *Leyden*, ſo that *Europe* is now no ſtranger to the wiſdom of
e that famous perſon [u]. But to return to *Key-choſrau*; he is reported to have been himſelf a very wiſe and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was ſo little exalted by an uninterrupted ſeries of good fortune, that he not only reſigned the crown, and retired into the deſerts on the ſkirts of the province of *Aderbayagjan*, but left alſo this remarkable memento to all his ſucceſſors, by cauſing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace [w]. (H).

[t] KORAN. SOR. LOKMAN. [u] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. LOKMAN. Note H. [w] MIRKHOND. Hiſt. ſect. xiv. D'HERBELOT. Art. KAICHOSRAU.

(H) It is very fit that we ſhould give an account in this note what our reaſons were for inſerting the life of *Lokman* in the *Perſian* hiſtory. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we ſhall acquaint him with no more than two. Firſt, *Lokman* wrote in the *Perſian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* poſitively affirms (1). 2dly, It is from *Perſian* writers that we have the beſt and fulleſt accounts of *Lokman*'s life and manners, and as they conſtantly ſpeak of him as cotemporary with *Key-choſrau*, the third king of their ſecond dynaſty, it was but juſt, that we ſhould inſert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus juſtify'd our ſpeaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writing in that way. It is univerſally agreed, that the *Apologue* was one of the moſt antient methods of inſtructing, and of conſequence that it was invented in the eaſt, where indeed all kind of ſcience took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman*'s days, admitting that he lived where

(8) *Preſat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul.*

We ought not to value ourſelves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, ſince we are no more ſecure of our crowns than they of their eſtates; that which deſcended from ſeveral monarchs to me will deſcend, when I am gone, to ſeveral others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itſelf, and cannot at beſt laſt long? a

Lohraſp. *Lohraſp*, or *Lohoraſb*, was the ſucceſſor of *Key-choſrau*, and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the ſeveral princes of the firſt and ſecond race, differ in no part of their account ſo much as where they ſpeak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's eaſe as well our own, we will firſt give, as ſuccinctly as we can, the ſtory of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkhond*, and we ſhall where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the ſacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not ſtill, cultivated in the eaſt, is a point ſo notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Biſhop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very ſolid, opinion in relation to the riſe and decay of fable. He ſays, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and hiſtories unwritten; that as theſe came into vogue fable declined, becauſe truth being always preferable to falſehood, men choſe rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to ſuppoſe things which might never come to paſs (9). But, with the biſhop's good leave, the other ſide of the argument may be taken, and ſupported with greater force; for points of hiſtory are very ſeldom exactly agreed on in all their circumſtances, and conſequently can hardly ever be ſimilar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed repreſentations of facts without names, may be adjuſted to the utmoſt nicety, and conſequently are able to ſtrike with far greater vigour than any hiſtory applied. We will give an inſtance which will effectually ſupport what we ſay. Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have eaſily bethought him of ſome hiſtory, which would very nearly have repreſented the caſe of that prince; but will any may ſay, that a lecture from hiſtory would have penetrated the ſoul of *David* with ſo lively a ſorrow as *Nathan*'s noble application of his parable, *Thou art the man* (13)? Fables ſhew us truth in an eaſy natural light, and the mind having thus conſented to a doctrine propoſed, the underſtanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater eaſe, becauſe we do not diſcern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*, his fame is ſo great and ſo univerſal throughout the eaſt, that to expreſs an high idea of any man's wiſdom, they are wont to ſay, as *the learned Erpennius* expreſſes it, *Non neceſſe eſt docere Locmanum, There is no need of teaching Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtleſs almoſt without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir *John Chardin* has printed a *French* tranſlation of them, which agrees exactly with the *Arabic* and *Latin* verſions above referred to; we call them verſions, becauſe, as we obſerved before, *Lokman* wrote originally in *Perſian*; and at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is ſo fond of them, that they are the firſt things they teach their children, and ſpare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An inſtance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The Boy in the River.

" A little boy went one day into a river, and, not
" having learned to ſwim, had like to have been
" drowned; ſeeing a man at a diſtance he called out
" to him for help: the man, as ſoon as he ſaw the
" lad's diſtreſs, began to expoſtulate with him on
" the folly of going into a river before he had
" learned to ſwim: the boy inſtead of anſwering
" him, cried out, *Save me, ſave me, and then chide as long as you will*".

The Smith and his Dog.

" An honeſt ſmith had a dog that ſlept all the while
" his maſter was at work; but as ſoon as he left off
" and ſat down with his companions to dinner, the
" dog waked, and ſollicited him for meat; *Worthleſs animal*, ſaid the ſmith, *how canſt thou ſleep amidſt the noiſe of hammers which ſhake the very earth, and yet wake at the wagging of one's jaws, which ſcarce make any noiſe at all*"?

The Gooſe and the Swallow.

" The gooſe and the Swallow entered into a league
" of friendſhip, and reſolved to live together. They
" came unluckily to a place where the fowlers were
" watching; the ſwallow, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw them,
" flew away, but the poor gooſe not being able to
" make uſe of her wings, was taken and killed".

The paſſage in the *Alcoran*, referred to in the text, is the whole xxxiſt chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* ſpeaks in his own perſon at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming againſt irreligious perſons and idolaters, ſuch eſpecially as deſpiſed the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God ſpeak thus: " We inſpired knowledge into *Lokman* and
" taught him to give God thanks; he that returneth
" thanks to God for his graces doth good to his
" ſoul, for God hateth the ungrateful, and praiſe is
" in all places due to him. Remember, thou, that
" *Lokman* ſaid to his ſon, O! my ſon, believe not
" that God hath equals; it is an exceeding great
" ſin; we have commanded man to honour his fa-
" ther and his mother, his mother bringeth him
" forth with ſorrow, and weaneth him at two
" years old; be not thou forgetful of God's benefits;
" honour thy father and thy mother, for thou ſhalt
" one day be judged before God." The reſt of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and conſequently ſhew how high this philoſopher ſtood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To ſay the truth, he was a very artful perſon, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well eſtabliſhed to be overturned by him, and therefore he very wiſely repreſented him as one who had long ago taught the ſame doctrines which he now ſought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to paſs, that ſome commentators on the *Koran* have taught that *Lokman* was a prophet, tho' others underſtand what *Mohammed* ſays of that *Sage*'s having only the gift of *Teaching* (13).

(9) *Vid. Preface to his paraphraſe on the* Proverbs. *Lokman. Fab. p.* 7. (10) 2 Samuel c. xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen.* (12) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* iii. *p. Locman.* 227. (13) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art.*

a shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lohrasp* was the nephew to king *Keykaus*'s brother, and was the next heir-male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition; his temper was known to be severe and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the sceptre into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer* the father of *Rustan*; but their cabals were vain, *Lohrasp* carried it in spite of them all, and was declared king. As soon as he was seated on the throne he determined with himself to raise his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both sides thereof; in consequence of this resolution he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all possible
b methods for putting every thing in the best order in the eastern provinces of *Iran*. He sent in the mean time his general *Gudarz* with a puissant army into *Shamach* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually answered his master's expectation; he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damascus*, and also *Palestine*, with the famous city of *Jerusalem*, called by the *Persians* the *Habitation of the saints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* submitted and promised to pay tribute, for which he put as hostages into the hands of the *Persian* general several persons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly afterwards caused to be slain; this provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportunity he wanted of sacking *Jerusalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpressible cruelty; and having loaded his soldiers with riches he retired, and carried into
c *Persia* with him a vast number of captives. King *Lohrasp* had two sons, the eldest called *Gushtasp*, the younger named *Zaris*; the former was of a fierce haughty disposition, but was at the same time warlike, and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were desirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion against his father, in which he had at first success, and gained over to him a very considerable party; but *Lohrasp*, having drawn together all his friends, and having also done every thing in his power to engage the people to his service, marched so briskly against his son, that *Gushtasp*'s adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in case of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he observing began immediately to
d provide for his own safety, by retiring into *Turquestan* in so distressed a condition, that he lived even at that court unknown and unsuspected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it seems a custom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to dispose of a daughter in marriage, publick notice was given, and the people assembled in great numbers in an open court, where being disposed into the best order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whose hands was held in his, and in the other she had a golden apple, enriched with precious stones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and she, after walking round and observing every body diligently, bestowed her apple and
e herself on the man she liked best. It happened not long after *Gushtasp*'s arrival in *Turquestan*, that the king determined to marry his eldest daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before described, she, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her person to this *unknown*. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpressibly vexed at seeing themselves despised by the princess for a stranger, whom they supposed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that for the future the princesses of *Touran* should have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had still two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; these were demanded in marriage by the two sons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom
f the king of *Touran* made no scruple of promising them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devastations throughout all *Touran*. The young princes, considering the difficulty of this task, had recourse to *Gushtasp*, of whose prowess they had seen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be assistant therein. *Gushtasp*, as soon as he had undertaken to serve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he also brought to the chace a small body of resolute friends. When they were assembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain castle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to storm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and instantly carried into execution. *Gushtasp* entered the place

first himself, and having seized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, a
who conducted them to court, and presented them to the king. The *Turkish* monarch
was prodigiously pleased with this fate of arms, and very readily made good his
promise to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days
after he caused great feasts to be celebrated, and appointed publick tournaments,
wherein *Gushtasp* behaved himself in such a manner that he carried the glory of the
day from all who were present. The king, who had hitherto shewed him but little
countenance, spoke to him on this occasion very kindly, and gave him the highest
praises. *Gushtasp* took this opportunity of saying, that if he had excelled in com-
bats that were not in earnest, he had likewise been of some use in quelling the
disturbers of the publick peace. This struck the king's mind, who easily compre- b
hended the meaning, and, having diligently sought out the truth, made *Gushtasp* hence-
forward his favourite. It is to be observed, that after the conquest of *Touran* by
Key-kosrau, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their
own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of *Iran*,
and to pay them a considerable tribute. *Gushtasp* persuaded his father-in-law that
this was at once dishonourable and needless, and therefore advised him to throw off
the yoke by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war
against *Lohrasp*, in case he should dispute his independency. This *Gushtasp* did to
be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that, if he was ever discovered,
the nobility of *Touran* in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. *Lohrasp* c
was exceedingly surprized at the arrival of the *Turkish* embassador in his court; he
treated him however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true
source of these extraordinary proceedings. The embassador at first thought to put
him off with trivial answers, but on the king's pressing him, he acknowledged at
last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true
author of all this mischief. *Lohrasp* no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was
his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to enquire privately whether it was
so or not; as soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his
was his son *Gushtasp*, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous re-
solution, which was to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he d
was grown old, he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing
less than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful to
him, he determined to resign to him his dominions; and in order to this he sent
his younger son *Zaris* with the *Tagi*, or ensign of the royal dignity in *Persia*, to his
brother in *Turquestan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arri-
val; *Gushtasp* went immediately to pay him a visit, and, being informed of his
father's resolution, accepted the *Tagi* or *Tiara*, and caused himself to be solemnly
proclaimed king of *Persia*. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed,
conceiving, that there was some treason against him in these proceedings, but
when he found things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed e
to the highest degree; and the nobility of *Touran* came in crouds to pay their com-
pliments to the new king of *Persia*. These ceremonies over, *Gushtasp* took leave
of his father-in-law, and with his wife *Karathun* set out for his own dominions, car-
rying with him a grand retinue and a considerable number of camels loaded with
riches. *Lohrasp* received his son with all the marks of tenderness and joy; *Gushtasp*
retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice; at last
the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this
world, and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of God. A short time after
he died, having first sent for his son, and given him in his last moments the most salu-
tary counsels, in respect to his own glory and the good of his people. This *Lohrasp* f
was surnamed *Balki*, i. e. the *Balchian*, because he resided mostly at *Balk* or *Balch*,
one of the most ancient cities in his dominions [p].

It must be owned, that the foregoing account taken from *Mirkhond* is by no means
agreeable to what other *Persian* authors have written on the same subject. In two of
the most celebrated histories of this people we find it recorded, that *Lohrasp* was the
grandson of *Keykobad*, and that he was opposed by the *Persian* nobility, not for
his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* suggests, but because his father and himself had
led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reign-
ing;

[p] Mirkhond, Hist. sect. xv.

a ing; it is also said, that he was the first *Persian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his footstool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine* was *Raham*, and that he was surnamed by the *Persians Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Greeks Nabuchadonosar*. We have also on the same authority the history of *Gushtasp*'s flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*;
b but we are likewise told what little agrees with *Mirkhond*'s history, that *Lohrasp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Apheraſiab* the famous *Turkish* monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years [q] (I). *Khondemir*, the famous *Persian* historian, differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says, that *Lohrasp* was the son of *Keykaus*'s brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue; according to him it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Palestine*, and was surnamed by the *Persians Bakht-Nassar*; which surname has occasioned such confusion among the *Hebrew* and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Gushtasp*, this writer says, that he retired to
c the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he married the king's eldest daughter, called by him *Kenaioum*, and who, as he tells the story, presented him publickly with an orange, which is plainly substituted for the golden apple. Instead of the two rebellious lords he speaks of two terrible monsters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, insisted should be killed by those who pretended to the young princesses who were still unmarried.

The first of these was a furious serpent, which had its den in a wood so very thick, that it was thought almost impossible to penetrate it, in order to combat this destructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiously fierce, which traversed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind or cattle.
d Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whose court *Gushtasp* lived, were quite abashed at these propolals, despairing of the conquest of the monsters, and consequently of the princesses. However, they informed *Gushtasp* of the answer the king had given them. *Gushtasp* readily offered them his assistance, and accordingly attacked the monsters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of these extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they desired. Some time after this, *Gushtasp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince asked him one day how he passed his time; *Gushtasp* answered, that sometimes he went a hunting, and that lately, as he was taking that diversion, he killed two extraordinary creatures; the king immediately understood what he meant, and, having caused the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found, that *Gushtasp* had slain the monsters, upon which he immediately made him his chief minister as well as favourite; and at his persuasion refused to pay the king of *Persia* the tribute which he was wont to send

[q] Lebtarik. Tarik. Montekeb.

(I) We have already spoken of *Mirkhond* from whom the greatest part of our history is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a short account of the two histories, mentioned in the text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in some measure of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb* is the *Turkish* name of a translation of a *Persian* history, stiled in that language *Tarikh Khozideh*, i. e. *the chosen chronicle*, written originally in *Persian* verse, and afterwards reduced into prose by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Asser Al Mastoufi al Cazvini*, i. e. *native of the city of Cashin*. It contains a general history from the creation to *A. H.* 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik* is properly called *Lobb Al Taovarikh*, i. e. *the marrow of histories*; it was written, in the *Persian* language, by *Jahia Ben Abdallathif Al Cazvini*; it is divided into four books; the first containing the life of *Mohammed* and the twelve Imams; the second the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammedism*; the third the history of the reigning family in *Persia*; the fourth an universal history of the dynasties prior to *Mohammed*: it comes down to *A. H.* 948. the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Tarikh Khozideh.* (15) *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Lobb. Al. Taoverikh.*

send him yearly, and also to declare war against him. *Lohrasp* being inform'd of a
this immediately conceived it was his son who had influenced this king to such bold
proceedings, and therefore, instead of providing for the war, he sent his younger
son with the tiara, or royal diadem of *Persia*, to *Gushtasp* as a pledge of his friend-
ship, and a certain sign that he intended him for his successor. On his return to his
father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet him,
kissed his feet according the *Persian* custom in submitting to a sovereign, and, after
tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after
which he retired from the world to lead a recluse life at *Balch*, where he was killed.
The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Esdras* were his cotemporaries [r]. If we may
believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nameh*, or *Royal Chronicle*, *Balch*, at the b
time *Lohrasp* resigned the kingdom to his son *Gushtasp*, was esteemed by the *Persians*
as the *Holy City*, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthiest of their
esteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans*; on this account therefore, *Lohrasp*
made it the place of his abode, where laying aside his royal robes he put on the habit
of a priest, applying himself wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predecessor
Gjemschid for the space of thirty years till he was slain, as will be hereafter related,
in a cloyster of his own building which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. *the new*
spring [s].

Gushtasp or *Kischtasp*, the son of *Lohrasp*, succeeded his father with general applause;
he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraor- c
dinary abilities of mind. He, leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reside at the ancient
metropolis of the kingdom *Istachr*, i. e. *cut out of the rock*, which he adorned with
many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at
the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person,
who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent
by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the
Zoroastres of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*. But as the history of this
famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent
confusion, to detach it from the reign of *Gushtasp*, and to deliver what hath been
collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, d
with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroaster, *or* Zerdusht: *extracted as well from* Greek *and* Latin, *as* Oriental *historians*.

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit,
that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive
high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused
thoughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The *Greeks*,
who were very inquisitive after the inventers of science, amongsts the nations whom they e
stile *Barbarians*, and from whom notwithstanding they drew all the learning they
had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning *Zoroastres*,
that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or
for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four, but
such is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaster*, that the sense of this
very passage is disputed, some affirming, that *Arnobius* speaks but of three *Zoroasters*,
others, that he mentions only two (K). However, four was certainly not too large
a number

[r] Khondemir. in Khelassat. Al. Akbar. Persar. c. xxiii. p, 302.

[s] Phirdausi in Shah Nameh. Hyde. Relig. veter.

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently understood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory stile against the *Gentiles*, wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the ancients; for tho', as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage, which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus; *Age nunc veniet quis super igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur authori: Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector

(16) *Declam. cont. Gentes.*

a a number, since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak as succinctly as we can; the first is thought to have been a *Chaldean*, *Suidas* calls him an *Assyrian*, and says also, that he was struck dead by fire from heaven[t]. It is very probable, that this is the same *Zoroaster* spoken of by *Dion Chrysostom*, and said to have appeared in fire[u]. The second was a *Bactrian* and a king, whom *Justin* and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Assyrian*, by whom he was vanquished in battle and slain[x]. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic, and is said by *Arnobius* to have contested with *Ninus*, not only with steel and strength, but by magical force and the occult sciences of the *Chaldeans*[y]. The third was a *Persian*, as *Laertius* informs us[z]. *Clemens Alexandrinus*
b stiles him a *Mede*, *Suidas* a *Perso-mede*[b]; but they all speak darkly and ambiguously. The fourth was a *Pamphylian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius*: concerning this *Zoroaster Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming that he began a book thus: "This wrote I *Zoroaster Armenius*, by descent a *Pamphylian*, dying "in war, and being in *Hades*, I learned of the gods". He is reported by the same author to have risen again after being ten days dead, and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space[c]. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny*[d]. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with *Aristæus*

[t] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [u] Orat Boristh. [x] lib. i. [y] Decl. contra. Gent. [z] Laert. in Procem.
[a] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. [b] In vocibus Μάγοι Ασρονομία & Ζωροάστρης. [c] Plato. Polit. lib. x. [d] Hist. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 16.

collector of the *Zoroastrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of distinguished learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well understood these things (19), believe, that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroasters*, the first a *Chaldean*; the second a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphylian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmasius* will needs have the text read thus (20): *Age nunc veniat quæso per igneam zonam magnus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri.* It is evident by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since of the three *Zoroasters* which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid *Zone*, for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam Zonam & ab interiore orbe*, which *Ethiopian* or *Lybian Zoroaster Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus*, from the same words, is positive, that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing from *Ctesias* that *Zoroaster* was not so antient as *Eudoxus* fancied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this *Persian* history we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerdusht*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what from their writings the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which we presume to say is very little or nothing. *2dly*, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who by the way is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of this name is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew, that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster* may be reduced to two, the *Chaldean* and the *Persian*, and the very ingenious Mr. *Stanley* has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerdusht* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing, that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be enquired, how the *Chaldean* magi came to derive themselves and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chronology, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and sets the *Chaldean Zoroaster* far higher. We shall answer, that in the first place we are not accountable for the mistakes of others, the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. *Stanley* justly observes, "the same name it is, which some call *Zabratis*, "others *Nazaratas*, others *Zares*, others *Zaran*, "others *Zaradas*; all which are but several cor- "ruptions from the *Chaldee* or *Persian* word, which "the *Greeks* most generally render *Zoroaster* (22)". What certainty can we expect from such writers? But then, secondly, lest this should seem an evasive answer, we alledge, that *Zoroaster* was not the institutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we shall shortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occasioned the great confusion about *Zoroaster*; it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magism; it was easily discoverable, that magism was as antient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldea*; it was natural enough therefore, for such as looked upon *Zoroaster* to be the institutor of the magian doctrines, to say with assurance, that he lived in these times, but then, discovering from the *Persian* records at what time he truly lived, they chose, rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroasters*; the first a *Chaldean* or *Assyrian*, cotemporary with *Ninus*; the second a *Persian*, flourishing in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*.

(17) *Comm. sup. Orac. Zoroast.* (18) *Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes*, &c. (19) *Obel. Pamphil.*
(20) *Exercitat. Plin.* (21) *In Zoroast.* (22) *Chaldiac. Philosophy, p.* 4.

Aristæus the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul a
go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased [c]. The sixth lived at *Babylon*
at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyses*, as we are told by *Apuleius* [f].
As the *Greeks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the
world; *Justin* makes him thirteen hundred years older than *Sardanapalus* [g], *Eudoxus*,
cited by *Pliny*, placed him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* [h]. *Plutarch*
makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* [i]. Some authors,
mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him at 500 years before the *Trojan* war [k]. *Apuleius* [l],
Jamblicus [m], *Porphyry* [n], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o], and *Agathius*, place him, where
he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny*, discoursing on this
very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little b
before *Xerxes* [q]. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed
in paying him great honours. *Plato* [r], *Aristotle* [s], *Plutarch* [t], and *Porphyry* [u],
acknowledge him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us,
that he laughed the same day he was born, that his brains beat so hard that they
lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a presage of his future sagacity;
he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deserts 20 years, upon
cheese so mixed that it did not grow stale [x]. *Solinus* draws his character in few
words; He was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus, in the best arts skilful* [y].
Apuleius stiles him *omnis divini arcani antistes, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries*,
and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* [z]. *Agathius* tells us he lived c
under *Hystaspes*, and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changing
their old religion and introducing new opinions [a]. *Dion Chrysostome* says more of
him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered
he had from the *Persians* themselves, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew [b].
Ctesias, an author universally condemned, was in all probability more in the right
about *Zoroaster* than those who have answered him, since we know from *Arnobius*,
that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, and spent the
first book of six, which he wrote on *Persian* affairs, in delivering his history [b]; the
sum and conclusion of all we have hitherto said is this, that, except *Ctesias* and
Dion Chrysostome, all the antients, who have written concerning *Zoroaster*, knew d
little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wise man, and the
principal of the magi, in respect to which *Eusebius* indeed says, that he wrote a
book, which, from the citations he has given us, seems to have contained the chief
doctrines of the *Persian* religion [d].

THE oriental writers are somewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful
man, whom they call *Zerdusht*, *Zaradusht*, *Zaratusht*, and *Zard-husht*, for they,
generally speaking, acknowledge, that he flourished in the reign of *Gushtasp*. The
author of *Lebtarikh* indeed says, that some old writes confound him with *Dohak*
or *Zohak*, one of the *Pischdadian* princes [e]; but all the *Persian* historians, who are
to be supposed best acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, speak of him, e
not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they say, he
performed by the assistance of *Gushtasp* (L). With respect to his family, the com-
mon

[c] Sub voce Ἀριστεας. [f] Florid. ii. [g] Ubi supra. [h] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [i] De Iside & Osiride.
[k] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [l] Florid. ii. [m] In vit. Pythag. [n] In vita Pythagoræ. [o] Stromat. l. v.
[p] Hist. lib. 2. [q] Ubi supra. [r] In Alcibiade. 1. [s] In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Procem.
[t] De Iside & Osiride. [u] In vita Pythagoræ. [x] Hist. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [y] Cap. 1. [z] Florid. ii.
[a] Hist. lib. 2. [b] Orat. Boristhen. [c] Contr. Gentes. [d] Præpar. Evangel. [e] D'HERBELOT.
Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerdusht.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to insinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worshippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magism began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*; certain it is, that the oldest book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus speaks *Job* in his protestation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon, "walking in brightness, and my heart hath been "secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my "hand, this also were an iniquity cognizable by the "judge, for I should have denied the God who "is above (2)". Nothing can be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this heresy was as old as the *Persians* make it, who affirm, that *Keyomaras*, their first king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themselves *Keyomarsians*, or *Keyomarthites*. But the point they chiefly laboured in respect to antiquity was the persuading of themselves and others, that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matter to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also

(2) Job xxxi. 26.

a mon opinion of the *Persian* and *Arabick* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judea*, where he received his education, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a servant, and, emulous of his glory, set up for prophet afterwards himself [f]. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; some say *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and some again one of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late, he therefore fixes upon *Daniel* [g]. Dr. *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra* [h]. How true the whole of the story is, is hard to say, since the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerdusht*, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and then it will stand thus; he quitted the service of the *Hebrew* prophet, because having deceived and cheated him, the b holy man prayed God to strike him with a leprosy, which accordingly followed; if so, then *Zerdusht* must have been the same with *Gehazi*, the servant, not of *Elias*, but *Elisha*, and consequently the credibility of the whole tale will be destroyed. The *Persees* in *India* pretend, that *Zerdusht* was originally a *Chinese*, that his father's name was *Espintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*; but in this they are mistaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all at a loss, since it is thus set down in the book *Sad-der*; *Zaratasht* was the son of *Purthasp*, who was the son of *Piteras*p, the son of *Hitcheras*p, the son of *Thechshuneseh*, the son of *Espintaman* [i]; hence *Zerdusht*, being frequently called the son of *Espintaman*, the *Persees* in *India* mistook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote ancestor. He first c took upon him the character of a prophet in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the residence of the fire-priests, as we have already shewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet; he says, that *Zerdusht*, from his great skill in astrology, discovered, that another prophet was to arise, not inferior to *Moses*, whose voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he must needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving these things in his mind, a light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who conversing with him out of midst of the fire, *Zerdusht* no longer doubted, that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *Zend*, d and having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples [k]. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says, but we presume his notion of the devil's appearing in the

[f] Abu Mohammed Mustapha in vita Gushtasp. ap. Hyde, R. V. P. p. 313. Megjdi in Zinato l'Magjalis. ap. Hyde, p. 315. [g] Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 331. [h] Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314. [i] Hyde. R. V. P. p. 312. [k] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Zerdusht.

also touched elsewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical enquiries, we chuse to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own. "The *Persian* kings in "general, says this writer, adhered to the religion "of *Abraham*, and their subjects were always of "the religion of their prince; there was likewise "a chief or high-priest, reputed the wisest of wise "men, from whose mandate there was no appeal, "and whose sentence was never reversed, the same "reverence being shewn to them as we heretofore "shewed unto our caliphs". A little after he says, "The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the quality "of the spiritual nature, which they affirmed to be "good and evil, virtuous and wicked, benevolent "and destructive; these natures they distinguished, "by calling the one light and the other darkness, "or rather in their own terms *Yezdan* and *Ahreman*. "Hence it came to pass, that their whole religion, "and all the questions of the magi, turned on these "two points, the explication of light being mixed "with darkness, and of light freeing itself from "darkness". Some pages farther the same author speaks thus: "Though the magi affirm these two "principles, yet the most antient of them did not "think themselves under a necessity of affirming "that both existed from eternity; on the contrary, "they held only light itself existent, and that dark-"ness was produced; but in accounting for this "they were sometimes at a loss: however, they "constantly asserted, that they received these doc-"trines from wise men and prophets among their "ancestors; first, from *Keyomaras*; secondly, from "*Zerwan* the Great; thirdly, from another prophet "whose name was *Zerdusht*. The *Keyomarthites* "insist, that *Keyomaras* is the same with *Adam*, "wherein they agree with some *Indian* and *Persian* "chronologers; yet they are contradicted by others "skilful in that art. The *Keyomarthites* also affirm, "that their great master established the opinion of "two spiritual beings *Yezdan* and *Ahreman*, acknow-"ledging the former to be eternal and self-existent, "and owning the latter to be produced and created, "and that after this manner: *Yezdan*, i. e. God, "said in himself, Unless I am opposed, how shall "it be? *i. e.* how shall my glory arise? which "thought produced darkness which is opposite to "light, and then began the controversy which has "since subsisted between them (3)". We are informed by the same author, that *Zerdusht* himself owned *Keyomaras* to have instituted that religion he came to reform, so that it may pass for a point tolerably well established, that the religion of the *Persians* is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) *Sharistani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. c.* xxii. *p.* 294.

the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerdusht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* a
zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerdusht* really retired into a cave, and there studied, and composed his *Zendaveſtâ*, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, embellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrine, if we except his permission of incest, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater b
than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves therefore with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspes* the patron of *Zerdusht*, and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, *Zerdusht* made it his business to fix beyond dispute (M). How long he remained

(M) We have already given our reasons for referring our thoughts on the chronology of the *Persian* history, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the last monarch of the *Persian* nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the sacred scriptures, relating to the *Persian* kingdom, and therefore, for the sake of clearing the memory of *Zerdusht*, we shall in this note shew, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus*, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet *Isaiah*, having with wonderful eloquence displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen, that after all their sufferings, which their sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them, which was *Cyrus* king of *Persia*; this, saith the prophet, is the God, "that saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be inhabited; "and to the cities of *Judah*, Ye shall be built; and "I will raise up the decayed places thereof. That "saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy "rivers. That saith of *Cyrus*, He is my shepherd, "and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to "*Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, "Thy foundation shall be laid. Thus saith the Lord "to his anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right-hand I "have holden to subdue nations before him, and "I will loose the loins of kings, to open before "him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not "be shut; I will go before thee, and make the "crooked places straight; I will break in pieces "gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of "iron. And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou "mayest know that I the Lord, which call thee by "thy name, am the God of *Israel*. For *Jacob*, "my servant's sake, and *Israel*, mine elect, I have "even called thee by thy name, I have surnamed "thee, though thou hast not known me (4)". This remarkable prophecy, which does so much honour to *Cyrus*, was spoken of him a hundred years before he was born, and surely, if language can prove any thing, the stile of this prophecy will be sufficient to shew that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware, that there is an expression at the close of what *Isaiah* says of this glorious monarch, which has been construed in this sense; but we can easily, and, at the same time, fully prove, that it ought not so to be understood, the expression is this, *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me*; the meaning of which, we say, is this; that God gave him the title of his *shepherd* and his *anointed*, and actually employed him as the minister of his will, before *Cyrus* knew any thing of the matter; but how does this shew, that he was an idolater, or that he worshipped not the true God, though he was unacquainted with the *Jewish* dispensation, and knew not that God by the name of *Jehovah*? After the taking of *Babylon Daniel* certainly explained all these prophecies to *Cyrus*, and shewed him, that while he believed himself acting only in consequence of the schemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God had told of him; in all which he was furthered and assisted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing stratagem for taking *Babylon*, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, *Isaiah* had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus: *That saith to the deep be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers*. As soon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with these prophecies, he readily testifyed his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his sincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for restoring the *Jews*, which begins with these remarkable words; "Thus saith *Cyrus* king of *Persia*, *Jehovah*, God "of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of "the earth, and he hath charged me to build him "an house at *Jerusalem*, which is in *Judah*; who "is there among ye of all his people, his God be "with him, and let him go up to *Jerusalem*, which "is in *Judah*, and build the house of *Jehovah*, "God of *Israel*, he is God who is in *Jerusalem* (5)? We suppose there needs no commentary to prove, that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced, that *Jehovah*, who revealed himself to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himself stiles him, God of heaven. The very king of whose reign we are now speaking, *viz. Gushtasp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*, for in his decree, relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, we find these words; "That which they have need of, young "bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, salt, wine, "and oyl, according to the appointment of the "priests which are at *Jerusalem*; let it be given "them day by day without fail, that they may offer sacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and "pray for the life of the king and of his sons (6)". But the close of this decree is yet stronger: "God, "who hath caused his name to dwell there, i. e. "at *Jerusalem*, destroy all kings and people that "shall put their hand to alter or to destroy this "house of God at *Jerusalem*. I *Darius* have "made a decree, let it be done with speed (7)". But let us return a little to *Isaiah*, and mark what God

(4) Isaiah xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6. (5) Ezra i. 2. (6) Ezra vi. 9. (7) Ezra vi. 12.

a remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we are told indeed, that he brought twelve volumes to *Gushtasp*, each of which contained a hundred skins of velom; but this will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that the ancient *Persian* character took up a great deal of room, and *Zoroaster* did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but also his own history, and the rudiments of most sciences therein, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when we come to speak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder, that he retired so long from the world, or chose a cave for his abode, since works of this nature require silence and composure. The ancient prophets resided much in *desarts*, that is, *in unfrequented places*. *Epictetus* and other
b philosophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noise and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but *Zoroaster*'s cave is made the strong proof of his being an impostor; nay, it is said, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impostors, particularly his scholar *Pythagoras*, who, as *Iamblichus* informs us, had his cave as well as *Zoroaster*. Nay, *Mohammed* borrowed this notion too from *Zerdusht*, and wrote his *Koran* in imitation of the *Zendaveста*. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this, every institutor of a new religion, at least that we have ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his disciples; *Moses* did this; *Zerdusht* did this; and *Mohammed* did this; does it follow, that *Mohammed* had in view
c *Zerdusht* rather than *Moses*, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of *Zerdusht* than of the ancient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already shewn, that his retirement to a cave was natural and reasonable; at the bottom of the page we shall prove, that, as far as we know any thing of it, there is no just ground to suspect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the instructing of mankind may be esteemed so. This we do not say out of any prejudice in favour of *Zerdusht*, arising from the pains we have taken in compiling his history, but because we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we err,

God says of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus*. "I am "*Jehovah*, and none else; there is no God besides "me, I girded thee, *i. e. Cyrus*, though thou hast "not known me, *i. e.* by my name *Jehovah*, that "they may know from the rising of the sun and "from the west that there is none besides me; I "am *Jehovah*, and none else; I form the *light*, "and create *darkness*; I make *peace*, and create "*evil*; I, *Jehovah*, do all these (8)". It is most evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the magian religion in respect to *light* and *darkness*, and the powers presiding over them. That *Zerdusht* rectified these errors, and expresly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent being, author of *light* and of *darkness*, of *good* and of *evil*, is acknowledged by ancient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerdusht*, nay by dean *Prideaux* himself, who yet loads him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *Impostor* (9). *Impostor* in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to restrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, instead of such mean notions of the Deity, they ought to look up to the first, and most glorious creature within their ken, *i. e.* the sun, and before him, as the witness of his Maker, and the expressive symbol of his omniscience, testify their gratitude, thankfulness, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and Ruler of all things, resolving with themselves to make a right use of his blessings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God should instruct them farther, by the mission of the *Great Prophet* who was to come, concerning whom *Zerdusht* as well as *Moses* spoke; surely these are no signs of imposture. If it should be asked, How comes it then to pass that the *Persees* have not acknowledged Christ? we may answer, by asking another question; Why, have not the *Jews* acknowledged him? these are secrets which God hath reserved to himself, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the conversion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the sword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as such put into the hands of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*, and *Cyrus*, but by milder methods, expressive of the christian spirit, by reasoning calmly and by living piously. It may be justly said, that the greatest impediment to this best of all works is the laziness of christians, their neglecting to study the grounds of their own religion, and the sources of those errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their seeing the truth of the gospel. Many learned *Jews* have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in *Germany*, not by the antichristian proceedings of an inquisition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Messiah is come, and consequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the same thing be done with respect to these *Persees*? would they not be sooner invited to christianity, if we should study and explain the writings of *Zerdusht*, with impartiality at least, if not with respect: we say, Would they not be sooner invited by this method, to consider the arguments in favour of the gospel, than by calling him whom they esteem a prophet an impostor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty. But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuse, except its subject.

(8) Isaiah xlv. 5, 6, 7.

(9) *Connection of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p.* 303.

err, it shall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any biass of our inclinations, we therefore make no question, but even such as differ from us in sentiment will be satisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they censure our opinions (N).

As

* Connection of the History of the Old and new Testament, Vol. I. p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult task assigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make sense of what *Greek* authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; sometimes they speak truth and are not believed; at other times they tell the most arrant falsities with such an air of knowledge, that such as are not acquainted with these matters readily take for granted all they say; the *Latins* copy, generally speaking, after the *Greeks*, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their masters, or rather less; sometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which destroy in a line or two all the romantick stories that are told us elsewhere. For example, *Porphyry* has quoted an oracle, which, he says, was pronounced at *Delphos*, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

Chaldees and *Jews* are wise in worshipping
A self-begotten God, of all things king.

These *Chaldees* were the *Magi*, which we can easily prove from another learned writer, viz. *Laertius*, who speaks thus (10): It is said, that philosophy had its original from the *Barbarians*, since among the *Persians* were the *Magi*; among the *Babylonians* or *Assyrians* the *Chaldeans*; among the *Indians* the *Gymnosophists*, and among the *Celtes* the *Druids*. For this *Laertius* quotes *Aristotle*; nay, *Porphyry* himself had the highest esteem for the magi, since he describes them thus; *Among the* Persians *those wise persons who were employed about the* divinity, *and served him, were called* magi; *Laertius*, on the authority of *Aristotle*, or the author of the treatise of *magic*, speaks of the manner in which they lived; *They refrain*, says he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are mostly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheese, and bread; their chief employment is praying to God and exhorting men to live uprightly*. *Dion Chrysostome*, the most polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with respect to these magi, in these words: "The *Persians* called those magi who "were employed in the service of the gods; but "the *Greeks*, being ignorant of the meaning of that "word, apply it to such as are skilled in magic, a "science unknown to the *Persian* sages (11)". These magi were not only the scholars, but the masters, of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; they flourished long before his time, and he doubtless acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards so much improved, from them. *Dion Chrysostome* has very happily set down what from good authorities he learned in relation to *Zoroaster*. "It is reported, "*says that admirable writer*, that through love of "wisdom and justice, he, *i. e. Zoroaster*, withdrew "himself from men, and lived alone in a certain "mountain; that afterwards leaving the mountain, "a great fire descending from above continually "burned about him. Upon this the king, with the "prime nobility of *Persia*, came and prayed with "him to God. That he was unhurt by the fire, de"livered himself in terms which discovered more "than human wisdom, exhorting the people to be "chearful, and to offer certain sacrifices, as if God "had come with him to that place; thenceforward "he conversed not with all men, but with such "only as were most addicted to truth, and by rea"son of their studies more capable of the know"ledge of the gods, whom the *Persians* stile magi (12). Having thus learned from an unbyassed author, what it was that led *Zoroaster* to mountains and deserts, let us next see, what we can discover as to his employment in his *Cave*. But before we proceed to quote authorities on this head, let us observe, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the magi, they were very indifferently fitted to act in subserviency to an impostor, such as *Zerdusht* has been reported; for they were spiritual people, who sought not power and wealth, but wisdom and truth; they resembled rather the baptist in his coarse cloathing and simple diet, than those who are to be seen in the courts of kings, prostituting religion to private ends, and unworthily taking the name of God in vain, to gratify the pride of mortals. In our account of the *Persian* religion, we have given *Zerdusht*'s rules for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evidently appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the consciences of men for the aggrandizing the priesthood, which among the *Persians* was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his priests superior to other men, by the single method whereby one man can excel another, viz. through purity of morals and improvement of the understanding (13). Such a scheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanaticism to recommend it, and therefore, *prima facie*, it should seem, that a man of *Zerdusht*'s character retired to a cave for the sake of privacy and silence, and not to raise devils or coin lying fictions; these are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, such as *Mohammed* was, but not for *Zerdusht*. It so happens, however, that we have some proof of this great man's employment in his cell; *Porphyry* tells us, "that *Zoroaster*, first among the *Per*"*sians*, did consecrate a natural cave in the moun"tains in honour of *Mithra*, the king and father of "all, signifying by this cave the world framed by "*Mithra*, by the other things disposed within it in "fit distances the elements and quarters of the "world (14)". The very learned *Celsus*, as we find him quoted by *Origen*, gives us also an account of these caves in these words, "The *Persians*, says he, "in their Mithrian rites, represent symbolically the "two-fold motion of the stars, *viz.* of those stiled "fixed, and of the planets, and the passage of the "soul through them. To demonstrate this, they "set up a ladder, on the ascent of which there were "seven gates with the eighth at the very top; the "first of lead; the second of tin; the third of "brass; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed "mass; the sixth of silver; and the seventh of "gold. They attributed the first to *Saturn*, the "slowness of that planet's motion being intimated "by the lead; the second to *Venus*, on account of "the softness and brightness of tin; the third being "of brass, than which nothing is more solid or "durable, to *Jupiter*; the fourth to *Mercury*, because, "like iron, he is suited to all sorts of labours, from "whence profit may be drawn; the fifth, because "of its mixture, variableness, and irregularity, to "*Mars*; the sixth to the moon, and the seventh to "to the sun, because of the likeness in their colour "to silver and gold (15)". Here is a great deal of philosophy, but no witchcraft or enthusiasm in these representations; and if *Zoroaster* be condemned, either as a magician or an impostor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of Orreries? we will conclude this very note with observing, that the most judicious *Dion Chrysostome*, whom we have so often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falshood of the *Greeks*,

(10) *In Proœm. Hist. Dogm. & Vit. Philosoph.* (11) *Orat. Boristhen.* (12) *Ubi supra.* (13) *Universal History, Vol. II. p. 78.* (14) *In Antr. Nymphar.* (15) *Celsus ap. Orig. cont. Celsi. lib.* vi.

a As our design in this section is to follow the oriental historians, we think it necessary to insert here what is delivered by the *Persian* historians, relating to the appearance of *Zerdusht*, when he first took upon him the character of a prophet, and demanded from *Gushtasp* and his subjects the obedience to a *Messenger* from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a *Persee*, from the authentick memoirs of ancient times, preserved by the judicious Dr. *Hyde*, the substance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtless it stands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous history of the *Persians* is at least as well worth knowing as the conjectures of western authors on this b subject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author: "In this reign flourished *Zerdusht* the prophet. He coming into "the presence of *Gushtasp*, informed him of his commission in these terms. I am "a prophet, sent to thee by the most wise God, and this book, *viz.* the *Zend-avesta*, "I brought from *Paradise*; also he gave me this cassock and this girdle, saying, "Put on this cassock, and gird thyself with this girdle, that thy soul may be deli-"vered from *Gehenna*, and that thou mayest find salvation; go also and propagate "the true religion throughout the world. When *Gushtasp* had heard this message "from the prophet, he said, But how shall I know that thou art really a prophet, "and came to me from the most high God? For without a sign the truth of c "what you say cannot be known, neither ought a religion to be received, till it be "supported by miracles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, shew us some "sign, that I may know and be assured thou art a messenger of God. When "*Zerdusht* heard what the king demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought "the following miracle. He planted before the gate of the palace a cypress tree, "which grew in a few days so wonderfully, that it was near ten fathoms in girt "and full ten in height; and in the top of this tree he erected a summer-house. "when the king had beheld this miracle, he was convinced, and determined in "his mind to embrace the religion of *Zerdusht*. He was, however, advised to call "for certain wise men who might dispute with *Zerdusht*. This was accordingly d "done, but they could not convince him; on the contrary *Zerdusht* prevailed. "These, however, hating him, devised this method for his destruction. *Zerdusht* "had his lodgings in the palace, and as often as he went out he left his keys with "the porter. This porter they corrupted, and engaged him to be silent and "not discover any thing they did. They then made use of him to gain entrance "into the lodgings of *Zerdusht* when he was abroad, and when they had so "done, they threw into his wardrobe, put into his book *Zend*, and into his "cloak-bag, all sorts of unclean and impure things, such as the bones of cats and "dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies; these they scattered amongst his "things; which when they had done, they went out, shut the doors carefully, e "and returned the keys to the porter. *Zerdusht* in the mean time walked in the "simplicity of his heart, praising God, but his enemies considered not this. They "immediately addressed themselves to the king to this purpose: This wicked man, "*viz.* *Zerdusht*, is employed every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king, "thy heart will be inevitably insnared, unless thou wilt instantly send some of thy "guards to search his apartments, that thou mayest be certified whether these "things be so or not. The king, sent hereupon his guards to the apartments of "*Zerdusht* to search them, and to bring all things they found in them before him. "This accordingly was done, and all sorts of unclean things, such as the bones of "dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead bodies were found in his chest of f "cloaths, his book of *Zend-avesta*, and in his cloak-bag. The king seeing all this, "turned to *Zerdusht*, and said in a high passion, How is this, thou profligate, and "what is it thou hast been doing? *Zerdusht* heard his accusers and the king pati-

"ently,

Greeks, in what they reported of the religion of the *Persians*, and of their consecrating horses to the sun (16). They were far, says he, from fancying the chariot of the sun, the most sublime spectacle in nature they were acquainted with, the supreme charioteer who put the universe into motion, and still guides it. Of this subject, not *Homer*, not *Hesiod*, but *Zoroaster*, and the magi, his disciples taught by him, have sung in strains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their discourses are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly opposite from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of the universe is inaccessible and inscrutable; they compare the motions of the sun and moon to horses under direction, but as to horses consecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberless fables.

(16) *Orat. Boristhen.*

" ently and without emotion. At last he thus answered for himself; O king, a
" all that thou seest I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me. Then the
" king called for the porter, and having examined him, the king threw from him
" the book *Zend*, and commanded *Zerdusht* to be shut up in prison. Thus, notwith-
" standing his innocence, *Zerdusht* was thrust into confinement, which he endured
" chearfully, standing all day in one posture, praying to and praising God, with-
" out receiving any sustenance whatever. It happened shortly after, that a black
" horse, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its
" four-feet shrinking up to its belly in such a way, that the creature fell down to the
" ground, and could no way be raised up. *The master of the horse*, called in the
" *Persian* language *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he was wont, into the stables, and b
" perceived what had befallen the king's favourite steed, went immediately
" and acquainted *Gushtasp*. The king no sooner heard it than he went in person
" to the stable, and, having viewed the horse, called for the wise men who had
" engaged him to imprison *Zerdusht*, and desired them to contrive immediately some
" remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horse, which they were unable to
" do, and confessed as much to the king. When *Gushtasp* found this, he grew very
" uneasy, because he valued his horse extremely. On the fourth day the porter
" went to see *Zerdusht* in prison. Of him *Zerdusht* enquired news, and why he
" came not before to visit him. The porter told him the court was much disturbed,
" on account of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black courser. *Zerdusht* c
" bid the porter tell the king, that, when he should be released out of prison, he
" would quickly restore his horse. The porter ran with this news to the king, who,
" as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for *Zerdusht* out of prison, and car-
" ried him with him to the stable. *Zerdusht*, seeing the condition the horse was in,
" turned to the king, and said, Sir, this is no easy matter, but, on the contrary,
" a cure very difficult to be performed. One thing, however, I have to desire,
" that what you wish may be performed; it is this; That you believe with
" your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is true and came from God,
" which if you do sincerely, I shall be able to restore your steed, otherwise it
" must remain in the state it is in. Then the king, struck with the awful steadi- d
" ness of *Zerdusht*, believed according as he desired. Upon which the prophet
" advancing to the black horse, stroaked his right fore-foot with his hand, where-
" upon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the belly of the horse, and
" hung in its natural position. Then *Zerdusht*, turning to the king, said, It is
" necessary, Sir, that both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have
" taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the propagation of this religion.
" Then came instantly *Bashuten* and *Isphendiyar*, the sons of *Gushtasp*, and embraced
" the religion of *Zerdusht*, as he had desired. Upon this the prophet went again
" to the horse, and with his left-hand stroaked the horse's left fore-foot, which im-
" mediately the creature extended in its natural state. Then turned *Zerdusht* to the e
" king, and said, Sir, it is still necessary, that *Ketayun* the mother of *Isphendiyar*
" should embrace this religion. Then *Gushtasp* sent one of his attendants with *Zer-*
" *dusht* to the palace, and the prophet, being come into the queen's presence, addressed
" her thus: O thou matron of matrons, whom God hath preferred above all
" women, and raised high above your sex, by giving thee *Gushtasp* for thine hus-
" band, and *Isphendiyar* for thy son, like whom there is none upon the earth,
" Behold now the king of kings and thy son *Isphendiyar* have embraced, and with
" their whole hearts believe the truth of, the religion I have taught: it is neces-
" sary, O queen, that you also receive and believe it. Then answered *Ketayun*,
" Whatsoever my husband and my son believe, that also will I embrace and believe. f
" Then *Zerdusht*, returning to the black horse, put up his prayers, and stroaking
" with his right hand the right hind-foot, it was restored to its natural strength:
" then *Zerdusht*, turning to the king, said, You see your horse has recovered three
" legs; it is necessary for the recovery of the fourth, that you interrogate your
" porter, and get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not be blamed,
" seeing if he the porter told the truth, then the horse will fully recover, or
" otherwise remain in the state it did; the king thereupon ordered the porter to
" be brought, and caused him to be severely threatned, that he might discover the
" truth, as to the scattering unclean and abominable things in the lodgings of
" *Zerdusht*; the porter, dreading the king's anger, must humbly besought him to

" grant

a " grant him his life, which the king having promiſed, he then opened the whole
" conſpiracy in theſe words: Four of theſe wiſe men, who are ſo much in your
" favour, that I was afraid of refuſing them any thing, gave him a bribe, and,
" taking the keys from me, did all that your majeſty has heard and ſeen. When
" the king had heard all that the porter had to ſay, he was extremely ſorry, and
" made a long apology to *Zerduſht* for the injury he had done him, in cauſing him
" to be ſo long impriſoned, without any grounds at all, beſeeching him to paſs
" by and forgive it. Then the four wiſe men were hanged on a gibbet, and
" *Zerduſht*, having lift up his hands in prayer, ſtroked with his left hand the left
" hind leg of the horſe, which immediately fell from his belly, and reſted on the
b " ground as it uſed to do, ſo that quickly after the beaſt roſe and ſtood upon
" all his feet. At this the king greatly rejoiced, treating *Zerduſht* with greater
" honour and reſpect than ever, cauſing him to be placed on a golden ſeat, him-
" ſelf, *i. e.* the king believing the book *Zend-aveſta*, and living in exact confor-
" mity to its precepts. It is reported, that ſome time after this king *Guſhtaſp* applied
" himſelf to *Zerduſht*, and ſaid, there is one thing that I deſire of thee, and I
" deſire it ſo earneſtly, that I hope you will not refuſe it, ſince if you grant me
" this requeſt, then ſhall I be thoroughly ſatisfied, that thou art a prophet ſent unto
" me by the moſt high God. *Zerduſht* deſired the king that he would explain
" himſelf, that he might apply to God for the gratification of the king's will. Then
c " king *Guſhtaſp* ſaid, My deſire is this, that while I am yet alive my ſoul may be
" ſatisfied as to its future ſtate, by beholding the joys of heaven, that it may be
" certain concerning them, and at eaſe. Moreover, I deſire, that I may know all
" things that ſhall paſs till the day of judgment, with the ſame exactneſs as I know
" things preſent. 3dly, I deſire, that in all the wars I wage on account of religion,
" my body may remain as it is, and I become invulnerable. 4thly, I deſire, that
" my ſoul may continue to exiſt to the day of reſurrection, and that I die not
" at all. The prophet of God hearing this, anſwered, I will certainly put up
" my prayers to the creator of all things, neither doubt I at all, that the moſt high
" God will grant what you have deſired. But your four requeſts muſt be yielded
d " to four different perſons, ſince it belongs to God alone to enjoy them all at
" once. Do you therefore conſider who theſe perſons ſhall be, and I will put up
" prayers that one of your requeſts may be granted to each. Then king *Guſhtaſp*
" deſired for himſelf, that he might be permitted to behold his place in paradiſe,
" and take a diſtinct view of all that was therein. He likewiſe mentioned three
" other perſons on whom the remaining bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed. Then *Zerduſht*
" being ſatisfied, retired to his own lodgings, and ſpent the whole night in prayers
" and praiſes to God, beſeeching him, that if it were poſſible all theſe things might
" come to paſs. The next day when light appeared, and the ſun diſplayed his
" beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind of *Zerduſht* to con-
e " ſecrate the four following things, *viz.* wine, a roſe, a cup, and the kernel of a
" pomgranate. And after he had conſecrated theſe by prayer, having the ſacred
" twigs in his hand, he preſented the wine to *Guſhtaſp*, and as ſoon as the king
" had drank thereof, he fell down as if in a deep ſleep, and continued for three
" days and three nights in the ſame poſition, his ſoul within that ſpace aſcend-
" ing into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the bleſſed. At the end of
" three days he awaked, and going to *Zerduſht* beſeeched him to pardon his incre-
" dulity. Then the prophet gave to *Gjamaſp* the roſe which he had conſecrated,
" which he no ſooner ſmelt, than he knew all things that paſſed, all that had hap-
" pened from the beginning, and which were to happen, and which ſhould happen
f " to the day of reſurrection. Then *Zerduſht* gave milk in the cup to *Baſhuten*, the
" ſon of *Guſhtaſp*, who by drinking thereof was made *immortal*. As to the fourth
" thing, *Iſphendiyar*, having eaten the kernel of the pomgranate, had his body
" rendered as invulnerable as braſs. After this the religion of *Zerduſht* ſpread,
" and was propagated every-where, all men readily yielding belief thereto, except-
" ing *Argjaſp*, king of *Touran*, who embraced it not [1].

THE great deſire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught, them, hath doubtleſs encouraged the *Perſees* to propagate a multitude of ſtrange things in relation to *Zerduſht*; the foregoing long quotation

[1] E libr. rariſſim. cui titul. Shah nama-neſr.

quotation is ſufficient to ſhew the nature of their notions, and to excuſe us from a making any farther tranſcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the ſtory of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as ſuccinctly as we may.

THE two reigning hereſies before the birth of *Zerduſht* were *Zabiiſm* and *Magiſm*; the latter was far leſs groſs than the former, and conſequently there required more care to keep its profeſſors from going over to the oppoſite religion. For hiſtory informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifeſt, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily ſuperſtition than truth. Hence it came to paſs, that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Perſia*, and multitudes, eſpecially of the common b people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into groſs errors in their manner of worſhipping him, living alſo in continual fear of that evil ſpirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their ſpecies and the continual diſturber of the world. *Zerduſht* took pains to root out all theſe notions, and to make the people eaſier than they had been, by inſpiring them with reaſonable opinions; he taught them, that the ſupreme being was independent and ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity, that *light* and *darkneſs*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual ſtruggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but becauſe ſuch was his will, and becauſe this diſcordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general reſurrection and a day of retribution, wherein ſuch as had done well, and lived c obedient to the law of God, ſhould go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they ſhould enjoy peace and pleaſure for evermore; and thoſe who had done evil ſhould ſuffer with the angel of darkneſs everlaſting puniſhment in a land of obſcurity, where no ray of light or mercy ſhould ever viſit them; that thenceforward light and darkneſs ſhould be incapable of mixture to all eternity He took great pains to perſuade his diſciples of all the attributes of the divinity, eſpecially of his wiſdom and his juſtice, in conſequence of which he aſſured them, that they had none to fear but themſelves, becauſe nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues he eſteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthropy*, and the apoſtles *brotherly love*, the greateſt; for which d reaſon he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; ſometimes alluring them by promiſes, at other times driving them as it were by threatenings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though, according to the mode of the eaſt, he ſometimes made uſe of parabolic relations; for example; when he taught, that on the fourth day after death the ſoul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mihr-Izad* and *Reſhu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the ſoul attempting to paſs; and in caſe the former prevailed, then it went ſafely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is into the region of darkneſs, where the ſouls of the wicked are puniſhed [m]. That this is really a parabolic deſcription, and not a e literal account, of what is to happen after death, we ſuppoſe, appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that *Zerduſht*, who was indiſputably a very wiſe and learned man, and who took pains to make all his diſciples ſo, ſhould nevertheleſs attempt to impoſe upon them ſo abſurd a thing as this, taken in a literal ſenſe, *viz.* that a ſpirit diveſted of matter ſhould travel over a bridge, lying acroſs hell and leading to heaven; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of ſcales, the good angel ſhould either lead him over ſafe, or the bad one puſh him down; this is abſolutely incredible. But that he ſhould make uſe of theſe terms to inſinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds tranſcend the grave, and either lead us to ever-laſting reſt, or project us into never-ending miſery, is eaſy to be under- f ſtood, and might as eaſily have been believed. In the book *Sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerduſht* collected in his own words, this deſcription of the ſtate of the dead is placed in the firſt chapter; and in the ſecond it is thus applied; men who believe the religion of *Zerduſht* will be afraid not only of great but of ſmall ſins; for ſince all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that ſcale the ſoul is to be happy or miſerable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left-hand ſcale, and earneſtly deſire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right-hand, becauſe his all reſts on this trial. This is very ſound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind

[m] SAD-DER, Port. 1.

a mind is unprejudiced, otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul-supporting bridge*, and the *action-weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerdusht*, not only as a wicked, but as a weak, impostor. But to proceed; he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend; he declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works; this he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *Sad-der*, b and which runs in these words: "It is reported of *Zerdusht*, the author of our "religion, that one day, retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the body "of a man plunged in *Gehenna*, his right foot only being free, and sticking with- "out. *Zerdusht* thereupon cried out, What is this that I see, and wherefore is this "man in this condition? He was answered, This man, whom you see in this condi- "tion, was formerly the prince of thirty-three cities, over which he reigned many "years, without doing any one good action; for besides oppression, injustice, "pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind; and though he was the "scourge of multitudes, yet, without regarding their misery, he lived at ease in his "palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a sheep caught by c "the foot in the thicket, and thereby held at such a distance from food, that it must "have perished; this king, moved at the sight, alighting from his horse, released "the sheep from the thicket, and led it to the pasture; now for this act of ten- "derness and compassion his foot remains out of *Gehenna*, though his whole body "be plunged therein for the multitude of his sins. Endeavour therefore to do all "the good thou canst without fear or apprehension; for God is benign and mer- "ciful, and will reward even the smallest good thou doest [n]." These hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in speaking of the reli- gion of the ancient *Persians*, cannot but be sufficient to shew the general import of *Zerdusht*'s scheme of religion; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method d of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect *Pyræa* or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of *Persia*, that this symbol of the divinity might not at every turn be liable to be extinguished. He gave them likewise a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven, and therefore refuse to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obsolete, and is very little understood by the priests themselves. The priests, or, as we stile them, the magi, were, according to his institution, of three ranks. The first consisted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very significantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain stated and solemn e times to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerdusht*'s books, and to para- phrase on and explain them. In these parochial chapels there were no fire- altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the superintendance of these ordinary priests, and were to them what bishops are to us: these too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited constantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thi- ther, with their advice and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e.* the high priest, or, as the *Persians* stiled him, the *Mubad Mubadan*. *Zerdusht* him- f self assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life and his extensive knowledge supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour and the same application of study unto his successors. These injunctions were for many ages pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sate with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown, insomuch, that *Pliny* tells us, *in his time, this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the East*

over

[n] SAD-DER. Port. 5.

over the king of kings. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerdusht*, whether he was prophet or impostor; for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein. a

Zerdusht's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, usually pronounced *Zund* and *Zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian* but an exotic word, signifying a *Tinderbox*; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal; he likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Persic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persees*, the *Zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world the publishing a correct edition of it with a *Latin* translation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity [o]. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one and twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *Zend* or *Zend-avasta*, which is the reason, that we have had in *Europe* so many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have notwithstanding no knowledge at all either of the *Zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned priest has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Persian*, which is the book *Sad-der*, so often quoted by us from the *Latin* version published by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his impartial history of the religion of the ancient *Persians*. This learned critic is of opinion, that *Zerdusht* did not originally intend to have made this book consist of any more than two parts, *viz.* the *Zend* and *Pazend*, resembling the *Mishna* and *Gemara* in the *Jewish Talmud*; the first containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the second a commentary on them, explaining and shewing the rationale of them; but as new adversaries rose up daily, and other occasions required new treatises, *Zerdusht* continued to write them, and to add them to his *Zend-avasta*, which still retained the general title of the volume. Amongst the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratusht-nama*, i. e. *the history of Zerdusht*, which is no other than his life written by himself. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Persian* by the priests who published the book *Sad-der* [p]. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of this book, acknowledges, that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very pressingly, and with sufficient exactness, excepting only in one particular, which is that of incest; for this, he says, is wholly taken away by *Zerdusht*, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his sister or his daughter, but his mother; and he very justly observes, that this is such an abomination, that though all things else were right in that book, this alone were sufficient to pollute it. But in support of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itself, or its compendium the book *Sad-der*, or any other treatise written by an avowed *Persee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo Judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q]. It is but reasonable, that we should suspend our belief till we have a decisive account of this matter, especially if we consider, that in other respects these authors are frequently mistaken. It may indeed be urged, that incest was commonly practised by the *Persian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* historians); but admitting this to be so, it is no direct proof, that *Zerdusht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Persees* at this day is a demonstration that he did not allow it. As to the rest of the contents of this book, we shall not insist farther on them here, because it would lead us into too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find at the bottom of the page some farther memorandums relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O). b c d e f

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[o] Histor. veter. Persar. p. 25. [p] H. R. v. P. c. xxv, xxvi. [q] Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 320.

(O) In this note we shall speak largely of *Zerdusht*'s writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to

We will conclude our account of this extraordinary person, with observing, that he is said by credible authors, to have predicted the coming of the Messiah, and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied as well to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken; nay farther; it is affirmed, that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist [r] to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshipped our Saviour on account of his star which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht*. Some of the learned indeed, slighting this relation, have fixed on *Balaam*'s prophecy [s], in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that so learned a man as *Hornius* was of opinion, that *Zoroaster* might have been the same person [t]. Far be it from us to countenance any superstitious stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of *Zerdusht* from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence and supported by various testimonies. If the distrust which critics affect to shew of all things reported by oriental writers should be sufficient to overturn the

[r] Matth. ii. 1. [s] Hyde, H. R. vet. P. p. 384. [t] Hist. Philosoph. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 80.

to the *Persees* and oriental nations in general; secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *Zende-vasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees Nesick*, or broadly pronounced *Nusk*, i. e. *a part*. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which he treats. Thus *Pazend*, which is the name of the second treatise signifies, *the prop* or *buttress* of the *Zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *Zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *Zeratushtnama*, or *the life of Zerdusht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. *Hyde*, who, like a generous man, desired, that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the publick, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole mystery of *Zerdusht*'s character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for the propagation of his religion, are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *Zende-vasta* is called *Bimasbk-naz*, i. e. *the Book of Physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning, of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his successors in the office of high-priest to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *Zend* is the bible of the *Persees*, so to express a right or just thing, they say *Zendaver*, i. e. *permitted by the* Zend, and an evil action they call *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *not permitted by the book* Zend. *Zend-Laph*, signifies *a zealous Persee*, but *Zendchuan*, which literally rendered is a reader of the *Zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish church, so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *Chacham*, and the *Mohammedans Imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi's singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. *Prideaux* is very severe on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popish priests celebrating their mass (19); but in respect to those things which are regulated by custom, perhaps those censures should be spared, since it is hard to find the reason why the custom of one country should render ridiculous the custom of another.

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster*'s writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed; *Eusebius* speaks of a collection of physics written by this great man, and quotes from thence the following description of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of *Zoroaster*; "God hath the head of a hawk, he is the first incorruptible, eternal, unbegotten, indivisible, most like himself, the charioteer of every good, one that cannot be bribed, the best of things good, the wisest of things wise; he is moreover the father of equity and justice, self-taught, self-existent, infinitely perfect, omnificent, and the sole ruler of nature (20)". *Suidas* ascribes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21). *Pliny* says he wrote two millions of verses, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks* his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine; but *Porphyry* says expressly, that some christian hereticks, boasting of the secret works of *Zoroaster*, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves, since these treatises are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant some reputation by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession; "I was, says he, forcibly taken off from other things, and engaged to study the *Arabian* and *Chaldean* learning by certain books in both those languages, which came to my hands, not accidentally, but, questionless, by the disposal of God in favour of my studies; hear the inscriptions and you will believe it. These *Chaldaic* books, if I ought to call them books and not treasures, are the oracles of *Zoroaster*, *Aben-Ezra*, and *Melchior*, magi, in which those things which are faulty and defective in the *Greek* are read here perfect and entire. There is also an exposition by *Chaldaic* wise men on these oracles, concise, and somewhat obscure indeed, but full of rare mysteries, and curious learning. There is besides a book of the *Chaldaic* theology, with a copious and admirable discourse of the wisdom of the *Persians*, *Grecians*, and *Chaldeans* (24)". *Ficinus* to

(17) *Hist. veter. Pers.* c. xxiv. p. 329, 330. (18) *Ibid.* p. 342. (19) *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, *Vol. I.* p. 309. (20) *Eusebius Præpar. Evangel.* (21) *In voce* Zωροαστρης. (22) *Hist. Nat. lib.* xxvi. c. 1. (23) *In vita Plotini.* (24) *Epist. ad Ficinum.*

the credit of these predictions in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault; we are to relate, but in cases of this nature every man must determine for himself (P). On the whole we may be permitted to say, that on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerdusht* and his writings, he stands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person, especially when we reflect, that his ministry was of no long continuance, according to the most authentick

to whom he directed this letter found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles, which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563. with the commentaries of *Gemistus Plethо*, the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of *Psellus* published at *Paris* 1607. But *Franciscus Patricius*, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*, *Hermias*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius* and *Arnobius*, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. *Stanley* took them, and published them with the commentaries of *Pletho* and *Psellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic* philosophy in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east was not only a scripture phrase, but used also by the best profane authors, who knew very well, that, notwithstanding the boasting of the *Greeks*, *science* came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable, opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; tho' they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of *Persia*, to enquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from *Arabia* is true, because *Arabia* lay in their way; but that the magi came from another country than *Persia*, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed; but that these magi or wise men went into *Judea* in pursuance of *Zerdusht*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the *Zende-vasta*, but even without seeing it we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Shariстani*, whom we have more than once quoted in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that *Zerdusht* propheſied in his *Zende-vasta*, that in latter times there should arise a man called *Osbanderbegha*, i. e. *Homo Mundi*, which differs little from the title Christ often gives himself of the *Son* of *Man*, of whom *Zerdusht* propheſied, that he should teach the world true religion and justice, that for a time his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil; but in the end this righteous person shall triumph, and shall establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of Mr. *Tavernier*: "They "give, says he, three children to their prophet, "and though they have not hitherto appeared in the "world, their names are however settled. As he "passed the river, say they, *ab ipso cecidit tres* "*feminis genitalis guttas*, which are preserved to "the end of the world. That God shall send a "virgin for whom he has a favour into the same "water, who, *per receptionem primæ Guttæ*, shall be "impregnated, and bring forth a son, who shall be "called *Oushider*, he shall appear in the world with "great authority, and shall oblige it to receive the "law of his father, and shall discourse with much "eloquence, and confirm what he says with mira-"cles. The second, who shall be called *Oushiderma*, "shall be conceived in the same manner, he shall "second his brother in his designs, and shall assist "him in preaching, he shall stop the course of the "sun ten days, to force by that sign the belief of "the people whom he teaches. The third shall be "conceived by the same mother in the same way; "his name shall be *Sennoiet-hotius*, he shall come "into the world with greater authority than either "of his brothers, that he may reduce all nations "to the true religion; after which shall be the "general resurrection, when the souls in heaven and "in hell shall return and take possession of their "bodies, the mountains and all the metals shall then "melt, and sinking into the gulph of hell shall "fill it up, so that the mansions of the devils shall "be ruined. After this great change the earth shall "be plain and pleasant, and men shall live happily "therein, praising God and his prophet (27). Dr. *Hyde* observes very judiciously, that these three sons represent the three states of the Messiah. His nativity, when his coming was published to the world by various means; his ministry while he continued upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his second advent when he shall judge the world in righteousness, and his saints shall rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is the testimony of the famous *Abul-Pharajius*, who writes thus: "*Zorodasht* or *Zerdusht*, the preceptor of the "magian sect, began to teach in *Aderbayagjan*, or "as some say, in *Assyria*. He taught the *Persians*, "that our Lord Christ would manifest himself, "commanding them to carry him gifts, telling "them, that in the latter times a virgin should con-"ceive without the help of man, and that when "she should bring forth, a star should appear shining "in the day-time, in the middle of which the "figure of a virgin should be seen. You therefore, "O! my children, have notice of his birth be-"fore all other nations, when ye see that star, fol-"low it, which will direct you to the place where "he is born, adore him, offer him your gifts, for "he is that word which established the heavens (29)". This passage is quoted by Dr. *Hyde*, but there is another in the same author which he has not mentioned, which we therefore shall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers; "The same "year *Cæsar* the emperor sent *Cyrenius* into *Judea* "in order to tax it. *Joseph* the husband of *Mary*, "going up upon this occasion from *Nazareth* to "*Jerusalem*, that he might give in his name, when "he came to *Bethlehem* in the way *Mary* did bring "forth a son. The magi brought their gifts from "the east, and offered to Christ gold, myrrh, and "frankincense. Being questioned on this head by "*Herod* in their passage, they answered thus: A "person of great fame among us, in a book which "he left us, hath thus admonished us: There shall "hereafter be born in *Palestine* a male child descend-"ing from heaven, whom the greatest part of the "world shall obey; now the sign of his appearance "shall be this; Ye shall see a strange star which shall "direct you till it stops, which when ye shall behold, "take ye gold, myrrh, and frankincense, and offer "them to him, and adore him, then return ye, "lest great evil should overtake ye. Now there-"fore this star appearing, we come to do as we "were commanded (30)", a noble testimony surely.

(25) *Vide Preface to the Chaldaic Oracles* (26) *Shariстani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Persar. c.* xxxi. *p.* 383. (27) *Tavern. Voyage. tom.* i. *lib.* iv. *p.* 485. (28) *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. c.* xxxi. *p.* 383. (29) *Abul-Pharajius in Histor. Dynast. p.* 83. (30) *Ibid. p.* 110.

authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp* to his being slain at the sack of *Balch*; but it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable event which happened during his reign (Q).

The old animosities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out in a fresh war, while *Gushtasp* sat on the throne of his ancestors; it is not easy to say whether this monarch or *Argjasp*, who then reigned at *Touran*, was the aggressor. *Mirkhond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce *Argjasp* and his subjects to the faith of *Zerdusht*, that prince being, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, a zealous *Zabian* [u], which if he was, we know not how to account for it, since it should seem, that the old religion of *Persia* flourished there in the days of *Phridun*; and, as we have seen, *Zerdusht* was not the institutor of a new, but the reformer of the old religion; however it was, *Mirkhond* informs us, that *Gushtasp* having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*, and meeting *Argjasp* in battle he vanquished him, slew his son in the field; and, before the *Turkish* monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers, after which returning triumphantly into *Persia*, he, on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son *Isphendiyar* in a strong castle, seated on the top of a high mountain, called *Ghird Kouch*, i. e. *the round mount*; but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a prince; for *Argjasp*, irritated by the usage he had met with, raised all the forces of *Touran*, and making a sudden inroad into the province of *Chorasan*, he sacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lohrasp*, the father of *Gushtasp*, in his cloyster, slaughtered *Zerdusht* with all his priests attending there on the chief *Fire-temple*, which he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind stung with the remembrance of what the *Persian* king had done in his own country could suggest [w]. Elate with this conquest, he advanced so briskly into the dominions of *Iran*, that *Gushtasp* did not think fit to meet him in battle, but chose rather to consider how an army might be drawn together, able to fight that of *Argjasp* on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son *Isphendiyar* at liberty, and to intrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly sent his brother *Gjamasp* to *Isphendiyar*, not only to release him, but also to assure him, that his father would resign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as *Isphendiyar* arrived in the army, the *Persians* took new courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages, and coming suddenly on *Argjasp*, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Persia*, and make all the haste he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory *Gushtasp* received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem; however, he declined putting him in possession of the crown, and in order to amuse him, he observed, that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince to

[u] Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament, Vol. I. p. 321.

[w] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xvi. Lebtarik.

(Q) The death of *Zerausht* was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impostor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that *Argjasp* overturned the *Fire-Temples* erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*, aud slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood of the magi (31). Whether this must be understood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large. "Notice, "says this writer, being given to the king of *Touran* "by certain merchants, that there were no soldiers "left in *Balch*, all of them having repaired to the army of *Gushtasp*, and that his father *Lohrasp* was left "alone in that city, with such as attended on the *Pyræa* and eighty priests; *Argjasp* on this information drew together an army of fifteen thousand "men, sending his son *Kehram* before him, and following with all expedition himself. It is said, that "when *Argjasp* entered *Iran*, *Lorasp* receiving advice thereof came out of his retreat, and put "himself at the head of a small troop, with whom "he killed many of the enemy, but in the end "*Lohrasp* with the eighty priests before mentioned "was slain and the holy fire extinguished with "their blood; with these priests also fell *Zerdusht* "the prophet, who then resided at *Balch* (32)". Hence it came to pass, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Assyrian Zoroaster*, that he desired to die by fire from heaven, and advised his countrymen to preserve his ashes, assuring them, that while they were kept their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the *Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Persian Zoroaster* or our *Zerdusht* (34). Of these fables we have said enough, perhaps too much, already.

(31) *Megjdi ap. Hyde Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p.* 319. (32) *In Shahnama-nesr. ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Pers. p.* 325. (33) *ubi supra.* (34) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 89.

to put his father's crown upon his head, while his ſiſters, who were taken priſoners at a
the ſack of *Balch*, remained ſtill in captivity. *Iſphendiyar* was piqued at this pretence
of his father, which ſhewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled
his enemies, and made that noble youth immediately determine to undertake a new
expedition, that his father might have no excuſe left for the non-performance of his
promiſe. With this view he ſelected out of his army 12000 foot and as many horſe,
with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother
Baſhuten, who was elder than himſelf. Having received intelligence, that *Argjaſp*
was retired to one of the ſtrongeſt places of his dominions, to which there were three
different roads, the one plain and eaſy fit for the caravans, but ſo round about,
that it required no leſs than ſix months time to reach the place; the ſecond pretty b
difficult, but ſo direct, that by it a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month;
the third, which was hardly paſſable, lay through woods and moraſſes, and after-
wards over high mountains covered with ſnow. *Iſphendiyar* having directed his bro-
ther to advance as expeditiouſly as he could through the ſecond of theſe roads, he
with ſome reſolute friends threw himſelf into the third. They were all habited like
merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curioſities of great value. The
inſtructions he gave his brother were theſe, that when he drew near the reſidence
of *Argjaſp*, he ſhould poſt his army with all the ſilence imaginable in the neighbour-
hood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as ſoon as he ſhould
perceive a great number of fires lighted in thoſe meadows, he ſhould order his horſe c
to advance, and execute the orders which ſhould then be given them. *Iſphendiyar*
and his retinue, making the beſt of their way, reached in ſeven days the court of
Touran. The prince being introduced to *Argjaſp* as a merchant who fled from the
ſeverity of *Iſphendiyar*, and was deſirous of ſelling his goods in the dominions of
Touran; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courteſy,
and accepted very kindly the magnificent preſent which the prince thought fit to
make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of ſucceſs anſwerable to
Iſphendiyar's wiſhes, for in a ſhort time he wrought himſelf into the higheſt degree
of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was
apprized, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he d
invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the
town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dreſſing
the proviſions, theſe ſerved as ſignals to *Baſhuten*, who at the head of his horſe
ſuddenly charged the *Turks*, and made themſelves maſters of the city. *Iſphendiyar*,
and thoſe who were about him, diſpatched without delay the moſt conſiderable of
the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjaſp* king of *Touran*. Then
putting his ſiſters, whom he had releaſed out of captivity, into the hands of his and
their brother *Baſhuten*, he adviſed him to retire with part of his forces into
Perſia while he with the reſt marched againſt ſeveral *Indian* princes, in order to
force them and their ſubjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerduſht*, e
in which expedition *Iſphendiyar* had prodigious ſucceſs, and returned afterwards into
Perſia, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Iſtachr*, he expected, that his
father would without delay perform the promiſe, he had ſo ſolemnly made and ſo
often repeated, of reſigning to him his dominions; but the politick *Guſhtaſp* inten-
ded nothing leſs. He received his ſon as before with all the tokens of amity and
tenderneſs; but inſtead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him
with a ſtudied diſcourſe on his own great abilities and the laudable obedience he had
hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that
that there was ſtill one enemy left to be ſubdued, even in the heart of his dominions,
viz. Ruſtan, who, having fortified himſelf in the provinces committed to his charge, f
abſolutely refuſed to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zer-
duſht*. *Guſhtaſp* inſinuated, that it was neceſſary for *Iſphendiyar* to reduce this nobleman
before he aſſumed the diadem, ſince otherwiſe he would receive from his father but
half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous *Iſphendiyar* ſet out for
Sigjiſtin, carrying with him his ſon *Bahaman*; on their arrival there *Ruſtan* met him
and conferred with him at firſt with great civility and reſpect; but when the prince
inſiſted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and profeſſing immedi-
ately the faith of *Zerduſht*, *Ruſtan* grew angry, and from hard words they quickly
came to blows. As they were both men of great ſtrength and agility of body, as
well as of high ſpirit and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubt-
ful;

ful; at laſt it inclined to *Iſphendiyar*, but *Ruſtan*, collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince ſo deep a wound that he died upon the ſpot, having only time to recommend his ſon to *Ruſtan*, and to deſire his brother *Baſhuten* to take care of his body; both his requeſts were exactly complied with, *Baſhuten* carried back his body into *Perſia*, where it received the higheſt funeral honours; and *Ruſtan* carefully ſent home his ſon. *Guſhtaſp* was inconſolable for the death of ſo deſerving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the neceſſity of the ſtate, for the new king of *Touran* no ſooner heard what had happened in *Perſia*, than raiſing a great army he invaded that kingdom, and waſted it without mercy with fire and ſword. *Guſhtaſp*, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched
b with all poſſible diligence to oppoſe him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, conſtrained him to retire into his own dominions. The publick peace being now reſtored, *Guſhtaſp*, to ſhew the reſpect he had for his ſon's memory, reſigned the crown to *Bahaman* the ſon of *Iſphendiyar*, and, according to the example ſet him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleaſure-houſe he had erected not far from *Schiras*, a palace of ſuch ſuperb architecture, that in after-times, as *Mirchond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon*, the ſon of *David*, to expreſs its excellence [a]. In all probability it ſtood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind the famous palace of *Perſepolis*, is held to be the ſepulchre of the antient *Perſian* kings. We have ſeen from various inſtances,
c that it was a common thing among the *Perſian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and ſpirits decay, and to ſpend the laſt years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that *Guſhtaſp* was the *Hyſtaſpes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellus* ſays of the latter to this retreat. "*Hyſtaſpes*, "ſays this hiſtorian, was a moſt wiſe perſon, who boldly penetrating into the inner "parts of upper *India*, came to a woody deſart, whoſe calm ſilence was poſſeſſed "by thoſe high wits the *Brachmans*; from theſe he learned the true ſyſtem of the "heavenly bodies and their motions, and the pure rites of true religion, with which "knowledge he returned into *Perſia*, and taught it to the magi, amongſt whom "it has by tradition been preſerved even to this time" [y]. But perhaps, admitting
d *Guſhtaſp* and *Hyſtaſpes* to be one and the ſame perſon, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are ſome *Perſian* writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehenſion, if he recollects what from an ancient *Perſian* hiſtorian we cited, as to *Zerduſht*'s promiſing king *Guſhtaſp* to fulfil his extraordinary requeſts. Theſe hiſtorians ſay, that not *Guſhtaſp*, but his ſon *Baſhuten*, addicted himſelf to divine meditations; and that this *Baſhuten*, in conformity to the prophet's promiſe, was tranſported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the moſt quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creae tures to their ſacred retreat being prevented by thick ſteams of ſal-armoniac iſſuing from all ſides of the mountain [z]. Our famous traveller, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, aſcended this mountain, and paſſed directly over it without meeting any ſuch ſteams; he acknowledges, however, that there are vaſt quantities of ſulphur thereon, and that in the night ſome luminous vapours are ſeen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the ſulphur [a]; but the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to ſal-armoniac, but the doctor confeſſes, not only that the hiſtory of *Baſhuten* is fabulous, but that ſome ſtories of the ſame ſort related of *Guſhtaſp* are likewiſe unworthy of belief [b]. We may with tolerable certainty affirm, that the reign of *Guſhtaſp*, was the reign of learning in *Perſia*. In his time flouriſhed a
f celebrated aſtrologer whoſe name was *Gjamaſp*, ſurnamed, according to the oriental cuſtom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. *the wiſe* or *the ſage*. That ſuch a perſon there was, and that he flouriſhed about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; ſome have made him the ſon of *Daniel* the prophet [c]; others the counſellor of king *Guſhtaſp*; but the greater number, and thoſe too of the moſt credible writers, ſay, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only ſo, but his confident and chief miniſter [d]. The ſcience for which he was particularly famous was aſtrology, and from his ſkill therein he is ſaid to have predicted the coming of the

[z] MIRKHOND. hiſt. xvi. [y] AMMIAN. MARCEL. hiſt. lib. xxiii. [z] HYDE, hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. xxiii. p. 306. [a] HERBERT's Travels. p. 112. [b] HYDE, R. vet. P. ubi ſupra. [c] CHALIL. SUPH ap. HYDE, R. vet. P. p. 385. [d] MIRKHOND. ubi ſupra. LEB. TARIKH.

the Messiah. Some treatises under his name are yet current in the east, of which the reader will meet with some account at the bottom of the page (R).

Babaman,

(R) Dr. *Hyde*, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author asserted, there had been among the *Persian* ten doctors of such consummate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the sense following: "Of these "the sixth was *Gjamasp*, an astrologer, who was "counsellor to *Hystaspes*. He is the author of a "book entitled, *Judicia Gjamaspis*, in which is "contained his judgment on the planetary conjunc-"tions. And therein he gave notice, that *Jesus* "should appear, that *Mohammed* should be *born*, "that the *Magian* religion should be abolished, *&c.* "nor did any astrologer ever come up to him (35)". Of this book there is an *Arabian* version, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philosopher* Gjamasp, *containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them.* This version was made by *Lali*, the title he gave it in *Arabick* was *Al Keranat*, and he published it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his version it is said, that after the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht* reigned *Gushtasp* the son of *Lohrasp*, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only *Iran* but *Touran* and *Habaschia*, i. e. *Æthiopia*, that in his reign flourished, in the city of *Balch* on the borders of *Chorassan*, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was *Gjamasp*, author of this book wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece, stiles *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster*, *our Prophet* (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a *Science*, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be easily proved if this were a proper place. To say the truth, the very terms in use among astrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are most of them either *Arabic* or *Persic*; and for this reason *Chaldea*, the mistress of our western astrology, was in antient times always in the possession either of the one or the other of these nations. The notion of predicting the rise and progress of religions from the grand conjunctions of the planets has been likewise propagated in our western parts; *Cardan* was a bold asserter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himself, we are pretty certain, that his scholar *Vanini* actually thought of subverting the belief of the gospel dispensation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominancy to the influence of the stars (37). The modern *Persians* are still great votaries to this sort of knowledge, but they distinguish between astronomy and astrology, they stile the former *Elm-nejoum*, i. e. *the science of the stars*, and the latter *Este-Krag*, i. e. *the revelation of the stars*; they have, however, but one word to express astronomer and astrologer, *viz. Manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the *Greek* word *Astrologos*. Of all the provinces of *Persia Chorassan* is the most famous for producing great men in that art, and in *Chorassan* there is a little town called *Genabed*, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years past has produced the most famous astrologers in *Persia*; and the king's astrologer is always either a native of *Genabed*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time for these sages amounted to six millions of *French* livres *per Annum*, which shews how highly these sort of people are yet esteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the transcendent skill of the antient professors of that art, the author just now mentioned gives us a singular instance in the history of *Alkendi*, a Jew, who was professor of judicial astrology at *Bagdat* in the caliphat of *Almamoum*. Against this *Jewish* astrologer all the *Mohammedans* had a very great spleen; one more hardy than the rest resolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to dispossess him of the caliph's esteem; to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's presence, he asked him why he took upon himself to know more in astrology than other people? *Because I know* replied Alkendi *what you know not, and you know not what I know*. This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor so much, that he would needs make a trial of his boasted knowledge in the sight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himself, and sat down therein with his books and instruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at last took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after seeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph desiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his skill, by telling what was writen in his paper; to which the other after a little time answered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper found this to be true. And this adventure spread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the east. It happened there was then resident in the college at *Balch* a young student of bright parts, who had been scholar to the *Mohammedan* sage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed. He was so much piqued at the dishonour done his master, that as soon as he heard this story he bought himself a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *English* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad* on purpose to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this last-mentioned city, he enquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the publick schools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a student come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midst of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full stop, and turning his eyes on this stranger, addressed him thus; I know who you are, and to what purpose you come. Your name is *Albumazar* (the true orthography is *Abu Ma Shar*) and you will become one of the greatest astrologers of your time; but then you must lay aside the bloody design which brought you hither, and you must throw into the midst of the school that poignard which you carried on purpose to kill me. *Albumazar*, struck at this speech, first threw down his poignard, and then himself, at the feet of *Alkendi*, thenceforward he applied himself strictly to the study of astrology, and became, as that sage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unnecessary digression; but we had our reasons for inserting it. We were speaking of *Gjamasp*'s predicting the coming of Christ. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the same thing from *Albumazar*, his words are these: "In the sphere of *Persia*, saith "*Aben-Ezra*, there ariseth upon the face of the sign "*Virgo* a beautiful maiden, she holding two ears of "corn

(35) *E. lib. Muj. p.* 227. *ap. Hyde. R. vet. P. cap.* xxxi. *p.* 384. (85) *D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Giamasb.* (37) *In Amphitheatr. & Dialog.* (38) *Chardin. Voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 203.

Bahaman.

a *Bahaman*, the ſon of *Iſphendiyar*, ſucceeded his grandfather *Guſhtaſp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is neceſſary that we ſhould ſettle his name. *Mirkhond* calls him as we do *Bahaman*, and ſays, that he had two ſurnames, the one *Dirazdeſt*, i. e. *long-hand*, becauſe his right hand was longer than his left, and the other *Ardſhir* on this account; when his mother was big with this ſon, there came a great aſtrologer to the court of *Guſhtaſp* his grandfather, and addreſſing himſelf to *Iſphendiyar*, preſented him a ſmall baſket, which he told him was for the uſe of the ſon that ſhould be born to him, upon opening it there was found a veſſel full of milk and a little flour, the perſon who brought it alledging by way of excuſe, that his circumſtances did not allow him to bring any
b thing better. *Iſphendiyar* and his ſpouſe were ſo much ſatisfied with the preſent, that they took from thence the name of their ſon, *Ard* ſignifying *Flour*, and *Shir* *Milk*, in their ancient language; hence it came to paſs, that this prince was better known by his ſurnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental hiſtories *Ardſhir Dirazdeſt*, and by the *Greeks Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is repreſented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre; he was ſo ſollicitous for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice to all his ſubjects, that he ſent ſome favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he ſent for them into his pre-
c ſence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or elſe puniſhed what they had done amiſs according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſummoned the ſtates of his kingdom, whom he addreſſed in terms full of tenderneſs and love, he told them, that he had aſſumed the regal dignity, not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong ſteps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the publick, that they would freely cenſure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depoſe him, for he ſaid, that kings ought to be publick bleſſings, and that ſuch as were not
d ſo ought not to wear the title. The ſtates, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they deſired, ſeparated, and going into their reſpective provinces, carried with them the higheſt ſentiments of duty and reſpect for ſo deſerving a prince. *Ardſhir* or *Bahaman* took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and publick edifices, which, during the wars in *Iran*, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every-where in a flouriſhing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjiſtan* and *Kabul* to his eſtates; and to this end he raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched into the territories of *Ruſtan*, whither he was no ſooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his ſon *Feramorz* had taken poſſeſſion of
e his government, and was marching to oppoſe him with a great army. The king of *Perſia*, being deſirous that the war ſhould have a ſpeedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the ſucceſs he could deſire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the ſpot. He took likewiſe *Zal-zer*, the father of *Ruſtan*, priſoner, and returned triumphantly into *Perſia*, after obliging the inhabitants of thoſe provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful Lord. *Mirkhond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Ruſtan*, which happened a little before this war commenced, he had, according to this hiſtorian, a brother whoſe name was *Chajal*, whom he ſent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it ſo happened, that *Chajal* fell deſperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman
f of moſt accompliſhed beauty and of the rareſt qualifications; the governor, obſerving how much the young man was ſmitten, gave him all the interruption poſſible in his

" corn in her hand, and a child in her arms, ſhe feed-
" eth him, and giveth him ſuck, *&c.* This maiden,
" ſaith *Albumazar*, we call *Adrenedeſa, the pure*
" *virgin*. She bringeth up a child in a place which
" is called *Abrie* (the *Hebrew* land) and the child's
" name is called *Eiſi* (*Jeſus*). This was enough to
" make *Albertus Magnus* believe that our Saviour
" Chriſt was born in *Virgo*, and therefore cardinal
" *Alliac* erecting our Lord's nativity by his deſcrip-
"ti on, caſteth this ſign into the horoſcope. But
" that was not the meaning of *Albumazar*. His
" meaning was (ſaith fryar *Bacon*) *Quod beata Virgo*
" *nata fuit, quando ſol fuit in Virgine, & ita habetur*
" *ſignatum in Calendario, & quod nutriet filium ſu-*
" *um in terra* Hebræorum. *That the ſaid virgin was*
" *born, the ſun being in that ſign, as alſo we have it*
" *ſet down in the calendar, and that ſhe was to bring*
" *up her ſon in the* Hebrew *land* (39)". The reader is to obſerve, that *Albumazar* wrote expreſly from the antient *Perſic* aſtrologers, it may be from the very works of *Gjamaſp* which induced this note.

(39) *Mr. John Gregory's notes on various paſſage of ſcripture, p.* 152.

his amour, until he promised to do for him whatever he desired, provided he might a
have his daughter ; *Chajal* having promised this, the governor proposed to him
the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might secure to himself the ab-
solute possession of his own territories by putting him to death, to which *Chajal*,
for the sake of his mistress, assented. On his return home, discoursing with his
brother, he informed him, that the governor of *Kabul*, whom he trusted so much,
was indeed a very tyrant, and grievously oppressed the people under his jurisdiction.
Rustan, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to
extirpate his family, to which end he assembled his forces ; but his brother, laying
hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Rustan*'s
temper, persuaded him, that his presence alone was sufficient to fright the governor b
of *Kabul* into submission, whereupon he set out, attended only by a friend and this
treacherous brother. As soon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*,
the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his submission, and
having most humbly besought *Rustan*'s pardon, which *Rustan* having given him,
the governor entreated, him to rest that night at his house, which was but a
small distance from them ; when they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his bro-
ther's right, and the governor on his left, when on a sudden the ground gave way,
and *Rustan* and his horse fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and
so artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Rustan*, being
apprized of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a c
bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beasts; the man
touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands, whereupon
Rustan drawing the bow with all his strength, let fly too arrows with such dexterity,
that he struck the treacherous governor and his perfidious brother each to his heart,
dying a little after himself of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield
an implicit belief to the *Persian* historians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the
glory and support of his country and of its kings ; but we shall shew in the
note below, that this story of the life and adventures of *Rustan* must not be under-
stood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction of the provinces for-
merly

(S) The title of this section is *the* history *of* Persia, *according to the* oriental writers. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic historians ; but it does not follow, that we must either believe ourselves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as sensible as the most inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the best *Persian* historians, and it is not impossible, that we may sometimes mistake their meaning. For example, we know that *Apheraſiab*, king of *Touran*, must have lived several hundred years, if what we have set down in our history be true, or else for a long series of years the princes of that country were stiled *Apheraſiab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaoh*, and the kings of the *Philistines* were intituled *Abimelech*. But then the same difficulty recurs as to *Rustan*. His father *Zal-zer* lived to be carried away prisoner by *Bahaman*, of whose reign we are now speaking, he must then have been near seven hundred years old, and *Rustan*, who was lately dead, must have been greatly upwards of six hundred, these are incredible things, and therefore we must suppose, that, notwithstanding the *Persian* historians speak all as of one man, there was a succession of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjistan*, and called from their famous ancestor *Rustan*. Something of this sort we meet with in scripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their hosts are stiled *Phicol* (40). What renders our conjecture still the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a succession of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a suspicion, that we swallow without consideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we shall have closed our history of the *Persian* kings, natives of that country, we shall, as we have promised, give a large account of the chronology of these times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumstances, which we have not had occasion to insert in the text, as to the family of which we were just now speaking. The author of the *Gulistan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his son *Rustan* this caution. *Never despise an enemy, however impotent he may seem at present, for a stream, which will scarce bear a straw at its source, grows in its course strong enough to carry away a camel and its burden* (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums bestowed by the oriental romance-writers on our hero *Rustan*. Of all his exploits none, however, furnishes them with so much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with *Isphendiyar*. These stories were so pleasant in themselves, so agreeably embellished by those who took them for their theme, that they gave no small interruption to *Mohammed* in his settling his new religion. It seems there was one *Nesser* who had been in *Persia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Rustan*'s combats with *Isphendiyar*, he vehemently opposed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended mission, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an effect, that when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an old story ; there is no great matter in this ; it is not half so pleasant as the stories of* Nesser, which provoked the pretended prophet very much, and put him upon cursing this *Nesser* violently as an enemy to God and the true religion.

(40) Genes. xxi. 22. xxvi. 26.

(41) *D'Herbelot. Bibli. Orient. Art. Zal.*

a by the hero we have just now mentioned, *Bahaman* or *Ardshir*, extended his empire on all sides; some historians say, that *Kiresh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable mistake grounded on a real fact, *viz.* the great kindness which this prince expressed for the *Jews*; some have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son whose name was *Sassan*, a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of
b a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not succeed, nor did pretend to the succession, on the demise of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his descendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be shewn in the next period of our *Persian* history from oriental historians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he so far extended his dominions, that some will have his surname of *Dirazdest* derived from thence, *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* died, and left his empire to his wife *Homai*, whom some writers also affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his decease was big with child. The favourite saying of this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be shut* [c].

Homai or *Khamani*, about five months after her accession to the throne, brought
c forth a son of wonderful beauty. According to the custom of those times, the astrologers were consulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it seems, were unanimously of opinion, that his fate would by no means correspond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himself, for which reason they advised that he should be immediately destroyed. The tenderness of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counsels, and yet her love for her country extended so far, that she determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it those mischiefs the astrologers had threatened. With this view she caused a little wooden ark or chest to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious stones, and then suffered the vessel to sail down the *Gihon*
d or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came at last within the view of a poor man washing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He struck with the novelty of beholding a chest on the water, took pains to draw it on shore, and was mightily surprized on finding therein a child with things of such value, not doubting but it was the descendant of some great family. He carried it with the precious stones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion that it was the son of some person of distinction, bred it up with as much tenderness and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found, *Dar* signifying *a wooden vessel*, and *Ab water*. When this child was grown up to such an age as required its learning
e some trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy shewed a visible reluctancy thereto, and appeared to have a strong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, strained his abilities to the utmost to furnish the young *Darab* with an equipage necessary to his serving in the army, then raised for the reduction of *Roumestan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but *Darab* performed

[c] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xvii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Bahaman.

religion (42). It is to these stories of *Nesser*'s, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following passage of his *Coran*: "There is with God great reward for the "righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear God, he "shall remove your enemies far from you, and "pardon your sins, his goodness is infinite. The "wicked have conspired against thee to punish and "slay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God "hath rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, he "knoweth all the designs of conspirators. When "his miracles were related to them, and his com-"mandments taught them, they said we have heard "them; we had said the like things, had we so in-"clined; it is but a song and a fable of old men: "Remember thou how they said, My God, if what "*Mahomet* declareth be true, cause a shower of "flint stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise "us; he shall not chastise them when thou art "with them, neither when they beg pardon of "him; who is he that is able to hinder God to "punish them? they are not in his grace when "they hinder true believers to enter the temple of "*Mecca*, he protecteth only such as have his fear "before his eyes, but most of them understand it "not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand "in hand in the temple, but shall one day feel the "punishment of God because of their iniquity (43)".

(42) *Ibid. Art. Alcoran.* (43) *Coran. cap. Alfan. i. e. Of the booty.*

performed therein such extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the a
whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Persian* nobility had served, yet none had attained to so high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported such favourable things of him to the queen his mistress, that she would needs see him. *Darab* upon this was introduced into the royal presence, where, after some discourse about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He answered as to the first, that his name was *Darab*, but that as to his parents he was able to say nothing; that the persons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated b
in a little chest, and that from thence they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen, having considered and inquired into this story, owned him for her son, and declared him her successor with the general approbation of her people [f]. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions *Istachr*; to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and in the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right, but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about c
this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s chusing to erect it here is neither absurd nor incredible; they alledge, that *Gushtasp* having erected several *Pyræa* or *Fire-temples*, and cut for himself and for his successors superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together, and set off each other; to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids, smaller but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. This princess is likewise d
said to have built a city called *Semrim* or *Semirah*, whence a famous *Persian* author hath been led to think, that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*; but in this perhaps there is more of criticism than solidity [g]. The author of another *Persian* chronicle is so far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or so famous a queen of *Persia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the *Persian* monarchs of the dynasty of the *Caianides* [h]. *Mirkhond*, however, assures us, that she reigned thirty-two years, and then resigned the crown to her son *Darab* [i] (T).

Darab,

[f] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xviii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Homai. [g] Tarik. Montekebh.
[h] Tarikcozideh. [i] Mirkhond. ubi supra.

(T) The oriental histories mention various queens who flourished and did great things in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the *Persian* historians say of her building the glorious palace at *Istachr*, we shall find it not so improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have shewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Gushtasp* arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in *Persia*; his grandson and successor *Bahaman* must have carried them still higher, for he was very successful in all his wars, and after he had finished them applied himself to the adorning of his country with stately buildings, as *Mirkhond* expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful prince, should endeavour to establish her fame by erecting so magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; she might adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and as to the grand procession which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* by the states of *Persia*, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their censure. That he did this, *Mirkhond* affirms, and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on that occasion. What more noble transaction could this princess chuse, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people. But let this procession be what it will, it may as well be placed here as anywhere else, and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticisms can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Persian* historians. As to the modern *Persians*, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon* and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen *Homai*'s being the founder of that stupendous fabrick, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*, though, if we may trust Dr. *Hyde*, its old *Persic* name was *Hazar-sutun*, i. e. a *thousand columns* (44).

(44) *H. R. Vet. P. cap.* xxiii. *p.* 304.

a *Darab*, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Perſian* writer, that the young *Darab*, being one day at the water-ſide with his ſuppoſed father, addreſſed himſelf thus to the dyer: "I ſhould be "very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin to imagine, "from the averſion I have to this buſineſs and from my contempt of all manual "labour, that I am not really your ſon, as you have hitherto made me believe". "Whoever, ſaid the dyer, beheld a ruby and ſuppoſed it dropt from a common "ſtone, might conceive, that a youth of your ſhining parts was what till this time "you have paſſed for, the ſon of a fuller". "Whatever my parts may be, b "returned *Darab*, I ſhould be much pleaſed to hear, without either allegories or "metaphors, who I am to ſuppoſe myſelf, and whether that ſpirit of ambition "which I feel in my breaſt ought to be checked or cheriſhed; upon this the "honeſt old man related to him all he knew, which as ſoon as *Darab* heard, he "demanded the jewels, and having received them went directly to the army, and "applying himſelf to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father "had related". The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Greeks*, he therefore gave no anſwer to *Darab*, but adviſed him to keep his own counſel, and to ſerve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which inſtructions of his he exactly purſued, and behaved with ſuch prudence and viva- c city in the battle, that the general gave eaſy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, preſented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her ſon. Which of theſe ſtories is true, or which comes neareſt the truth, we pretend not to determine. All hiſtorians agree, that he aſcended the throne as the ſon of *Bahaman* or *Ardſhir*, and that he gave the higheſt proofs of his royal deſcent by his wiſe and gentle adminiſtration. His valour had been ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed before he aſcended the throne, he ſuffered it not to ruſt after he aſſumed the royal dignity; at the ſame time he loved juſtice, and took care to have it exactly adminiſtred throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewiſe a muni- ficent patron of arts and ſciences, eaſy of addreſs, eloquent in ſpeech, and one of d the moſt humane princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. On ſome account or other he found it neceſſary to turn his arms on *Filikous*, that is *Philip*, king of *Macedon*; at firſt by his captains, and at laſt in perſon with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Philip*, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept ſuch terms as *Darab* thought fit to impoſe; and they were theſe; that the king of *Macedon* ſhould pay yearly the ſum of forty-thouſand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and ſhould give his daughter, one of the handſomeſt princeſſes in *Greece*, to *Darab* for wife, which was accordingly done. The very firſt night that *Darab* paſſed with his new ſpouſe, he found her breath ſo offenſive, that he reſolved to ſend her back to her father, notwithſtanding that, as ſome writers ſay, ſhe was with child. After the *Macedonian* war was over, *Darab* e applied himſelf wholly to the arts of peace, and to ſettling ſuch things as were ſtill in diſorder, and inventing new methods for giving eaſe and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects. Amongſt other wiſe and glorious acts of this good prince, the ſettling of poſts throughout all *Perſia* is particularly recorded, which he executed with ſuch ſkill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers ſetting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleaſant and beautiful city in proper *Perſia* on which he beſtowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*, i. e. *Mount-Darab*, in the middle of which roſe a hill in ſhape of a tent or a pavilion, and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing ſalt of various colours, tranſported from thence into all the provinces of *Perſia*; he likewiſe erected another city called f *Khourch*, and after a reign of four years, according to *Mirkhond* [k], of fourteen, ſays another writer [l], and of twelve, ſays a third [m], he died univerſally lamented, and left the crown to his ſon (V).

Darab.

Darab

[k] Hiſt. ſect. xix. [l] Tarikh Montekebh. [m] Lebtarikh.

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an hiſtorian, that in his writings he ſhould forget his country, or rather, that he ſhould lay aſide that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the *Perſian* hiſtorians, as we have ſaid in our text, repreſent *Darab* moralizing in his laſt moments, and reading a lecture on the viciſſitudes of this world with his expiring breath, cloſing all with paſſionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would uſe his ſubjects kindly, and take his daughter *Rouſchengh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, ſo truly a prince, even in the ſight of death? The *Greek* writers on the other hand

Darab II. *Darab* the second, or the younger, surnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young a to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, false, and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Persians*, unused to such treatment, entered into private negociations with *Ascander*, the son of *Filikous*, that is *Alexander the Great*, the son of *Philip*, whom many of the *Persian* writers believe to have been the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he sent back because of her stinking breath, and persuaded him to enter *Persia* with an army, promising him to join with him as soon as he arrived with a force sufficient to protect them, and to put him in possession of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a b pretence for making war, they advised *Ascander* to refuse payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to send annually into *Persia*; and with these negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab*, finding that *Ascander* did not send his tribute as usual, sent an embassador to demand it; to whom *Ascander* answered, that those who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others say, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which signified at once a piece of corn and an egg, *Ascander* answered *Darab*'s embassador in derision, when he demanded a mighty sum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid those eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burthened his subjects with this tribute. This answer terri- c bly provoked *Darab*, who, to shew at once his resentment and contempt of so weak an enemy, sent a second ambassador with a harsh message, accompanied with a present, more expressive of his master's sentiments than any speech or letter could have been; this present was a little casquet, containing a *dibble*, or *planting stick*, a bag full of small stones, and another full of small coin; the first to intimate that he was young and inconsiderate, and that he had better employ himself in his gardens than in matters of state; the second shewing the power and strength of the *Persian* nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a rash imprudent thing for such a petty prince as he to oppose so great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambassador with his present found *Ascander* on the d point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his master any answer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous, but they were all chosen men, such as were valiant in their persons, and at the same time enured to hardships. On his entering *Asia* he met with little opposition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived against *Darab*, and partly from the generosity of *Ascander*'s behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but subjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, advised him not to hazard a battle, but rather to consent to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding

hand make *Darius* moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was so struck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the glory of one's country is not peculiar to *Persian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us, that *Darius* was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune; but when he understood the truth, he said, "Well, I do not yet perceive the condition of the *Persians* so deplorable, "since the world can never tax us now with imbecillity or effeminacy, whose fate it was to be "vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and "that he may still be victorious in war, to the "end that in well doing I may surpass *Alexander*. "For my emulation and ambition lead me in point "of honour to shew myself more cordial and friendly "than he. If then the father have otherwise determined of me and mine, O *Jupiter*, preserver "of the *Persians*, and you his equal deities, to "whom the care of kings belong, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but *Alexander* to sit upon "the throne of *Cyrus* (45)". One may safely say, that here is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery as any of the romantic stories in the *Persian* authors. *Darius* worshipped no God but the true God; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; and it does not appear, that even after *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he established the superstitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to use his subjects well, is credible; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waste his empire, is a stroke of *Greek* eloquence which may please us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digested for history. We must therefore bear with the *Persians* as well as the *Greeks*, seek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another with concealing or disguising her to serve a turn.

(45) *Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexand.*

a adding some menaces at the close. *Ascander* returned him for answer, that empires were bestowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayagjan*, where he defeated one of *Darab*'s captains, who endeavoured to oppose his passage, and having done this, he advanced into *Ghilan*; this province, according to *Mirkhond*, was in old times a flourishing kingdom, called by its inhabitants *Endsafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in allusion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly so called; its situation also being remarkably happy by reason of the *Caspian* sea on one side, and an easy correspondence with *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *Armenia*, lying round them. This country *Ascander* quickly subdued: from thence he
b marched into the heart of *Persia*, where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army; after an obstinate and bloody battle, *Ascander* carried the victory, and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the *Persians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedlessly were drowned; at last a ford was discovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal persons in his army, passed; but of the soldiers, who followed him crowding one another, the weakest were thrown down, and perished miserably in the water. As soon as the king was come to a place of safety, he sent once more ambassadors to *Ascander* to treat of peace, offering in case he would send back his wives and daughters, and retire with his
c troops back to *Greece*, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make some other concessions; at the same time that he entered into this treaty, he dispatched ambassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance, that they might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that in a short time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another compleat victory, *Darab* flying with a few of his
d captains to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab*'s fortress, and found him in his last agonies, which sight so touched the *Greek*, that, melting into tears and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleasure in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured him, that he thoroughly believed all he said, besought him to chastise the traitors by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter *Rouschengh*, and
e not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers, with all which *Ascander* promised to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the misery of human life and the inconstancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by *Mirkhond*, yielded up the ghost after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the most part the author last mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that, in compliance with *Darab*'s last request, *Ascander* or *Alexander* appointed for the governors of *Persia* natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition, and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Aristotle*, whom this writer calls his vizier, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove
f any of the *Persian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces [n]. It is very certain, that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth: *Aristotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, since it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and easy; and would also have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a desire of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom as a universal

[n] Iahia al Casvini in Lebtarikh.

verſal monarch he ſought the power of ruling; at leaſt, this is the idea *Plutarch* o would give us of him, and of *Ariſtotle*, who, though a philoſopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than moſt of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticize, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect, that we ſhould here put an end to this ſection, eſpecially ſince he has already ſeen the hiſtory of *Perſia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But ſo it is, that in order to purſue the ſcheme laid down in the title of this ſection, we are bound to carry on our hiſtory to the death of *Alexander*; for, as we have ſhewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to ſave the credit of the *Aſiatics*, have pretended, that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into b the hands of *Alexander*, not ſo much by conqueſt as by right; in this light therefore *Alexander* was the laſt monarch of the *Dynaſty* of the *Kainites*, and his reign conſequently ought as much to be taken notice of here as the reigns of any of his predeceſſors p.

Alexander, ſon of *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, is by the *Perſian* writers ſtiled *Iſcander Ben Filoukous*, which ſignifies the ſame thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of ſurname beſtowed on him for the following reaſon; they will have it, that he was the ſon of *Darab* the firſt by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he ſent home becauſe of her ſtinking breath, but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own ſon, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himſelf out of gratitude *Alexander* the ſon of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Perſia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). c

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o De fortuna Alexand. p Mirkhond. ſect. xx, xxi. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Darab, Escander.

(W) That *Alexander* ſhould promiſe a dying monarch whatever he demanded ſeems perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eaſtern and weſtern authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquiſhed. That *Ariſtotle* gave him general precepts as to government we may eaſily believe; and if the authority of *Plutarch* had due weight, we ſhall conceive the expedition of *Alexander* againſt the *Perſians* to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philoſopher to civilize all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to ſwallow this; we ſhall therefore, inſtead of preſſing it farther, produce the paſſage from the *Greek* author laſt mentioned, to which we alluded in the text, and which will ſufficiently ſhew, that the *Perſian* writers are not abſolutely in the wrong when they aſcribe ſome points of *Alexander*'s conduct to the influence *Ariſtotle* had over him, tho' they are groſly miſtaken in making him his viſier. "If philoſophers, ſays *Plutarch*, aſſume to themſelves "their higheſt applauſe for cultivating the moſt "fierce and rugged conditions of man, certainly "*Alexander* is to be acknowledged the chiefeſt of "philoſophers, who changed the wild and brutiſh "cuſtoms of ſo many various nations, reducing them "to order and government. 'Tis true indeed, that ſo "much admired commonwealth of *Zeno*, firſt au"thor of the ſtoick ſect, aims ſingly at this, that "neither in cities nor in private houſes we ſhould "live under laws diſtinct one from another, but "that we ſhould look upon all men in general to be "our fellow countrymen and citizens, obſerving "one manner of living, one kind of order, like a "flock feeding together with equal right in one "common paſture. This *Zeno* wrote, fancying "to himſelf as in a dream a certain ſcheme of civil "order, and the image of a philoſophical commonweal. But *Alexander* made good his words by "his deeds: For, as *Ariſtotle* ſagely adviſed him, "he did not rule the *Grecians* like a moderate prince, "and inſult over the barbarians like an abſolute "tyrant; neither like one that took particular care "of the firſt as his friends and domeſticks, but "ſcorning the latter as mere brutes and vegetables; "did he fill his empire with fugitive incendiaries "and perfidious tumults. But believing himſelf "ſent from heaven as the common moderator and "arbiter of all nations, and ſubduing thoſe by force "whom he could not aſſociate to himſelf by fair "offers, he laboured thus, that he might bring all "regions far and near under the ſame dominion. "And then as in a feſtival bowl, mixing converſa"tions, manners, cuſtoms, wedlocks all together, "he ordained, that every one ſhould take the whole "habitable world for his country, of which his "camp and army ſhould be the chief metropolis "and garriſon; that his friends and kindred ſhould "be the good and virtuous, and that the vicious "only ſhould be accounted foreigners. Nor would "he, that the *Greeks* ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from "the *Barbarians* by their long garments, by their "targets, by their ſcimitars, or turbants; but that "the *Grecians* ſhould be known by their virtue and "courage, and the *Barbarians* by their vices and their "cowardice. However, that their habit, their diet, "their marriages, and cuſtom of converſe, ſhould "be every where the ſame, engaged and blended "together by the ties of blood and pledges of "offspring (46). How glorious a reputation would *Alexander* have obtained, if his actions had been uniform, and apparently founded on ſuch notions as are attributed to him by the philoſopher? His burning of *Perſepolis* is a little inconſiſtent with the idea given us by *Plutarch*; but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to ſhew us what *Alexander* would have done, if he had always acted up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor *Ariſtotle*. On the whole, it may be juſtly ſaid, that it was the paſſions of *Alexander* only which ſpoke him a man: in his cooler moments, and when he acted without their impulſe, he ſeemed ſomething more than man; ſuch are the effects of an excellent education, and of ſuch importance it is, that thoſe who are to govern multitudes ſhould be ſuperior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The hiſtory of *Alexander the Great* has not only been intermixed with fables by the *Perſian* writers; the eaſtern authors in general, even the moſt eſteemed, abound with very extraordinary circumſtances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Zonaras*, a very celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious hiſtory of the *Conſtantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us ſome ſtrokes in his account of

(46) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

3 The oriental writers in general bestow another surname upon him, *viz.* that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which signifies literally *with two horns*, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers

of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which he joins with the *Persian* historians, who, as we have seen, alledge, that the emperor of *Persia*, in his last moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouschengh*; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes*; but this is a small matter: we have in the same author a story of some length, which is quite in the oriental taste: "It was the custom, says he, of *Alexander* "*the Great*, in the expeditions he made after the "conquests of *Persia*, to go in disguise with such "ambassadors as he sent to the courts of neighbour"ing princes, that in this situation he might make "such observations as might facilitate his designs. "Of this it seems *Candace*, queen of the inner or "higher *Æthiopia*, had notice, whereupon she made "strict inquiry as to the form and presence of this "conqueror; the result of this was, that she was "told, he was low in stature, had large broad "teeth, some of which stood out; that of his eyes, "one was of a light grey the other quite black, "which marks she carefully remembered. When "therefore *Alexander* appeared with his ambassa"dors in her presence, she instantly singled him "out, adressing herself to him in these words; "*You*, O Alexander, *have been too wise for all the* "*world, and yet one woman has been too wise for you* "to which he replied, *I therefore grant you and* "*your subjects my protection, as a reward for your* "*extraordinary capacity; I also accept you for a wife*, "to which *Candace* readily yielded. After this "marriage *Alexander* went into *Æthiopia* and se"veral other countries (47)". If we were critically to enquire into the origin of such stories, we should perhaps find it no difficult thing to shake off all romantic circumstances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compass of these notes neither admit of such disquisitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our present business is to shew what oriental writers have said of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to cite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celebrated historian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanser* as the *Persian* writers do, and in his short account of the *Persian* kings preserves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkhond*; I mean the latter race of kings, the descendants of *Gushtasp*, who succeeded after the *Greek* power ceased to have dominion in *Persia*; he calls the last king of *Persia Darab*, the son of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he speaks thus: "*Alexander*, "the son of *Philip*, reigned six years after the death "of *Darius*, having also reigned six years before "his death. He subdued many nations, so that his "dominions extended even to *India*, and the fron"tiers of *China*. He was called *Dhul-Karnain*, "i. e. *two-horned*, because he seemed to have passed "from one horn of the sun to the other, *i. e.* "from east to west. Five-and-thirty kings he slew, "and twelve cities he founded; two of these in "the province of *Chorasan*, viz. *Hera* and *Marwa*; "one in the region *Alsogd*, viz. *Samarchand*, and "in *Egypt Alexandria*; when he returned out of "*India* he went to *Babylon*, where he died of "poison, and his body being put into a chest of "gold, was borne on the shoulders of kings and "nobles to the *Egyptian Alexandria*, where it was "interred. It was *Alexander* who began the wall "*Yajuji*, which was composed of stone and iron, "the iron being let into the stone to fasten it by "the help of fire, each of the stones being twelve "cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall "when it was finished came down to the place "called *Babo l' Abwab*, in the vallies of the region "of *Kaphjak*, from whence it was carried over and "through the mountains as far as the sea of the "*Greeks*; nor were there wanting many of the *Per*"*sian* kings, who to defend their dominions from "the incursions of the *Turks*, sought to find the "foundations of this wall; at last they were found "by *Yazdejerd*, the son of *Bahram Jur*, who "began to carry on the work, but did not live to "see it finished; several succeeding kings prosecuted "the same design, but none of them with effect, "till God rendered it easy to *Chosroes Nusherwan*, "who built it strongly, uniting it to the moun"tains, and at last brought it down to the sea, plac"ing iron gates at the end, so that a hundred men "were then able to defend what would otherwise "require an army of an hundred-thousand (48)". Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of *Persia*, it is necessary that we should give some farther account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, in his genealogical history of the *Tartars*, has given us the following account of it: "Those of *Kitay* have built a great wall to "cover their country, in which there are two iron"gates for the passage of the merchants and other "travellers. This wall is called *Sat* in *Arabick*, "which signifies *Fortress*; in the antient *Turkish* "language it is called *Turk-urga*; and in the lan"guage of *Kitay Ungu*. *Alexander the Great* caused "a like wall to be raised to cover the frontiers of "his dominions; but it was composed of all sorts "of metals. His design by this wall was to hinder the "nation of *Jadsutz-Madzuth*, i. e. of *Gog* and *Magog* "from carrying their ravages into the lands under "his dominion, where they had done great mischief "in times past. 'Tis a general tradition with the "*Tartars*, that those people have the muzzle of a "dog; and this wall being made up of all sorts of "metals, they did all in their power to make a pas"sage through it by dint of licking, but they could "not succeed. That nevertheless before the day of "judgment, they shall come and lick their way "through the wall, and that then they shall do a "great deal of mischief in the world. *Nassir* "*Wanadill*, sultan of *Samachy*, caused in like man"ner a wall of earth to be built round about his "kingdom (49)". On this passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the follow"ing remarks; "The remains of this wall, which "the *Persians* pretend their king *Nave-shirwan* caused "to be drawn from the *Caspian* to the *Black-sea*, "are at this day to be seen upon the confines of the "province of *Shirwan* and *Georgia*: it begins at "the higher town of *Derbend*, and extends thence "north-eastward across the mountains of *Georgia* "towards the *Black-Sea*. These remains are every "where three feet thick, but its height is very "unequal; for in some parts it is still six and seven "feet high, in others only one or two, and in some "places it is quite beaten down. It appears at first "sight to be built of stone, but when one comes "to examine it near, it proves to be only a kind of "petrified earth, sand, and shells, which has formed "so solid a body, that there is no free-stone better "than it; and it is on this account that our author "thinks it might be called a wall of earth. The

"late

(47) *Chronographia*, p. 249. (48) *Historiæ Dynastar.* p. 97. (49) *Genral. Hist. of Tartars*, Vol. I. p. 42.

writers affirm to have been conquered by two *Alexanders*, to whom therefore they have given this surname. The first *Alexander*, if any credit could be given to the authors who have written about him, ought to be preferred far before the latter, since he stretched his conquests to the very extremity of the globe, if we may be allowed the expression, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the descendants of *Gog* and *Magog* from pouring down like a torrent upon their southern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to discover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of *Abraham*, and say, that he lived sixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counsellor the prophet *Khedher*, who it is said found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himself immortal; which prophet, according to others, was cotemporary with *Keykobad*, of whom we have spoken so much already. As to the latter part of this story, it is easily cleared up, since it is certain, that they confound *Khedher*, the counsellor of this mighty monarch, with a latter prophet of the same name, or rather surname, who is no other than the prophet *Elias*, whose translation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a discovery of the fountain of life, and gaining immortality by drinking its waters [q]. But enough of this elder *Dulcarnein*, unless we could say more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our *Alexander* received the same surname from his being monarch both of the east and west. The eastern writers, and especially the *Persian* historians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* histories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being asked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he answered, that it was but just, because his father made him descend from heaven to earth, whereas the instructions of his master had made him to rise from earth to heaven [r]. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, I am not satisfied with your service, for this reason, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and mistakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you did know them, and yet were silent, it was treason [s]. It is likewise reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought himself to discharge its functions; Very well answered the courtier, since it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it, since every post requires sense and honesty to execute it well, and he who possesses these cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation. *Alexander*, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward [t]. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring, so young, so large an empire, and adding it was still stranger he preserved it, he thereupon turned about, and said, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it their interest to become my friends; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise out of gratitude a double affection for my service. *Khondemir*, the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the Great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleasure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the style, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus: Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as

[q] MIRKHOND. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. DHOULCARNEIN, KHEDHER.
[r] Vit. RABIALAKIAR. [s] HAFEZ. in BAHARISTAN. [t] MOIANNABI. ap. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESCANDER.

" late emperor of *Russia*, in his *Persian* expedition, " had the curiosity to go see the remains of this " wall, so far as the situation of the country and " his affairs would permit him; and he could not " but admire the solidity of that composition, which " he found every where so exceeding hard, that " there was no breaking off any pieces of it with- " out employing a good deal of strength. He found " also some leagues within the mountain a skirt of " it which seemed to be intire, and was about fif- " teen foot high. In all probability, this wall had " stood intire to this day if it had nothing to fear " but time; but the hands of men which built it " have also destroyed it; and most of the towns, " burroughs, and villages of the country thereabouts " are built with the ruins of this wall (50)".

(50) *Ibid Vol. II. p.* 722.

as neat and decent as that in which you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much better pleased with you than I am; to which the man readily answered, Your servant has received from nature that capacity of speaking and writing which you are pleased to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must be indebted for such a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a considerable sum of money gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *Nighiaristan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a *gallery* or *place* b *to walk in*; we are told, that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to such a man; and I, replied *Alexander*, who am not in yours, have pardoned him; then after a short silence, he added, I the more readily pardon my enemies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure one tastes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. *Khondimer*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, assures us, that finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to console her to the purport following; *Your son, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to* c *death, he is gone like a flash of lightening, and has only left behind him matter of discourse*[u]. It may be supposed, that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, so human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore she ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more matter of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes censuring the conduct, of others. On what authority these stories are grounded is difficult to say; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions and wise sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which d without such reflections instruct very little. A *Persian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his sparing *Thebes*, because it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Persian* story runs thus: "*Alexander* having given orders after the reduction of a "very strong place, that it should be given up to the mercy of the soldiers, some of "his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this place a philosopher of great "note who deserved his majesty's notice; the king ordered, that he should be immediately sent for; when he appeared, it so happened, that he made but a very "indifferent figure; upon which *Alexander*, turning to those who had sent for him, "said, with a smile of contempt, What strange figure have you brought me here? e "Which so piqued the philosopher, that he repeated immediately the following "lines, which he made upon the spot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
Why should'st thou slight my person, though uncouth?
Dost thou not know, that man's exterior form
Is but the scabbard of the enliv'ning mind?
Why should'st thou judge then of the weapon's edge,
When yet you've nothing seen except the case?

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose: "One may say "of a man unendued with virtue, that his body is no better than a prison, since the f "soul must find itself so penned up therein, that any other confinement would seem "liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious man is tortured continually, there is "no occasion for a hangman and guards to punish or distress him, the very skin which "covers his body is at the same time the unsurmountable wall of a perpetual prison" The same philosopher added, "There is nothing more unreasonable than to envy others "those gifts which God and nature have bestowed upon them. The bosom of the "envious man is continually full of anger and spleen against his creator, he thinks "every thing amiss which is given to others, and at the same time covets whatever is not designed for him. As it is thus the custom of the envious to oppose "constantly

[u] D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. Art. ESCANDER.

" constantly the conduct of him who governs the world with infinite wisdom, so a
" the mouth that thus murmurs against providence deserves no other answer than to
" be filled with earth. One of this disposition exclaims at every thing he sees in
" the hands of his neighbour; *For what reason should this man have more than I*"?
At these words he stopped, but *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of the man, bad him go on, assuring him, that he took all that he said in good part; the philosopher on this proceeded in his harangue: " Wise men, continued
" he, are liberal of their wealth, and give part of it to their friends while they
" are alive, while the covetous are such fools as to fatigue themselves in laying
" up riches for their enemies. The railleries thrown out by the great against such
" as are in low condition tarnish the lustre of their high qualities, and take b
" off that deference which otherwise would be paid them. Whoever wearies him-
" self with striking those who dare not strike again, will be easily beaten when
" he meets one who dares oppose him; and he who puts to the sword without pity,
" will one day feel without pity the edge of a sword." *Alexander* at this stopped him, revoked his resolution, pardoned the citizens whom he had destined to destruction, and rewarded the philosopher for his timely advice[w]. It may very possibly happen, that some rigid critick may object to the inserting of this dubious relation in our history; but we hope, though it should be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper instance of the *Persian* mode of writing history, and at the same time we remark this, let us be indulged another observation, that the c
writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well acquainted with the antient *Persian* learning, correspond nearly with the manner of those authors we have lately cited; for he reasons on all the facts which he delivers, insomuch, that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the *Persian* writers, from the class of historians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatise of the education of *Cyrus* has within these few years found many warm and learned defenders, so, it may be, the time is near, when we shall see apologies written in favour of oriental historians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps restored, when the subjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y). The

[w] FAREZ in BAHARISTAN.

(Y) It is a common mistake which reigns in *Europe*, that the eastern nations, and particularly the *Persians*, are in the gross very illiterate, and absolutely passive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be established *jure divino*, and therefore not to be contradicted, or else stupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is imposed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the east, and in *Persia* particularly, would have overturned this notion, because there could be no such thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject slaves; there must be some reasoning to persuade people to take arms on the one side, and some arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other; of consequence therefore, there must in such countries be politicians, nay, and there must have been always politicians, since rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good sense in *Persia* have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it must be allowed, they have unanimously preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have professed a dislike of any form of rule but it; it is likewise true, that they have a professed fondness for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into such high ridicule by some of our great politicians; but after all, though they allow their kings to be absolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked; they acknowledge, that we owe them the same duty we do our parents; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that respect; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as God's vicegerent, this was the old and catholick opinion among the *Persians*; but at the same time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king from hiding himself, as the *Greek* writers would persuade us, from the sight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one who dwelt in such state; the truth of all this will appear from an antient custom in use among the kings, of whom we have been speaking, on the first day of *April*, called from thence, that is, from this custom, *Chorrem-ruz*, i. e. *the day of mirth*, on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king descended from his throne dressed in a white garment; afterwards riding abroad on a white horse, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiscriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aside all distinctions, and acting as if they were equals; husbandmen and clowns sat down at the same table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made such requests as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addressed them in these terms; I am one of you, and notwithstanding the elevation of my station, I know that all I have arises from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings; let us then agree like brothers, since nothing but union can preserve us (51). The foregoing history hath shewn us, that the *Persian* kings in antient times were really as wise, as humane, and as condescending as any that have reigned in the north or west; it would be invidious to say more so. If we look

(51) *Hyde H. R. vet. P.* c. xix. p. 253.

a The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*, they are also wonderfully pleased with that of his vizir as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor *Aristotle*; this wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly by way of abbreviation *Aristou*; they report, that he was wonderfully sagacious even in his childhood, that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *Maschaioun*, i. e. the *Peripateticks*; they affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive, that he was prime minister to *Alexander*, the son of *Philip*, and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings
b and moral maxims under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us, that *Aristotle* composed above a hundred different treatises on various subjects, and amongst the rest mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus; *A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle*; which, *Ben Cassan* says, he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly studied by the ancient *Persians*, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians* [x]. But to return to *Alexander*; *Mirkhond*, who has wrote very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and
c that he advanced as far as the *Indies*, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri*, or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*; he reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises written in that language to be translated into *Greek*, the first relating to physick, the

[x] D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Aristhalis.

look for the reasons which occasioned this, we may find them even in a *Greek* writer: "At fourteen "years old, says this excellent writer, those who "were called the royal preceptors among the *Per-*"*sians* take charge of the children of the crown; "they are in number four, the most renowned "persons in the kingdom for wisdom, justice, "temperance, and valour; the first of these teaches "the magick of *Zoroaster*, the son of *Oromazes* "(he should have said the worshipper, for *Oromazes* "was the name of God), and teach also the royal "institutions, *&c.*" As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they too are wise enough to abhor slavery, and to speak and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet *Sahdy* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called *an advice to kings*; among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these: "It is the "wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and "not to oppress the rich; the felicity of a state "depends on the good sense and right disposition "of the sovereign. The security of his country "depends on his administring justice impartially, "prosperity follows security, and will be where "that is. If a country is once known to be secure, "merchants will resort thither; the gain from "thence will be large, and all temporal blessings "will abound. If the country become rich, the "king cannot well be poor, and besides, at the last "day he shall be recompensed amply by God for "so well discharging his duty, whereas he who "acts in a contrary manner will in every respect "meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to "merchants and publick ministers, that strangers "being well received may carry a good report of "you into their own country; soon will that king-"dom fall wherein the souls of strangers are af-"flicted; be wise therefore, use the traveller well, "that wheresoever he goes he may speak well of "you.——A prince ought always to have before "his eyes this maxim, dominion really belongs to "God, and he has no certainty how long it shall be "delegated to him; he ought likewise to remember, "that the country he rules was given by God to "the people who inhabit it, to the end he may not "be misled by false ideas of things that have no "solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not "perhaps last five days. It is reported of the caliph "*Aaron Keschid*, that he one day said to the famous "*Beloul* his Brother, *Give me some good advice*; he "answered, *There is nothing to be carried out of "this world into the other but good and bad works; "it is in your power to carry which load you please.*— "This *Beloul* was a very knowing man, who, that "he might have the more leasure to attend his "studies, would never marry. The caliph his bro-"ther asked him another time for his advice, how "he might govern his people for their advantage "and his own; the sage answered, Let your deci-"sions become laws through their apparent equity, "and never make reason yield to your will; prevent "as far as you can requests, give little to such as "ask, but think of giving in time to such as merit "and do not ask; the king is the head; the peo-"ple are the body of the state; if the king is either "ignorant or wicked, the head will devour the body "with its teeth.—The government of an empire "is an affair which requires a genius attentive and "collected, and a heart which turns itself conti-"nual towards the Most High God to invoke "his aid, that its owner may turn his feet, his "hand, his tongue, and his pen aright; and the "king who acts thus God will undoubtedly endue "with grace to conserve his empire and his "piety (52)". It is evident from these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always had very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects; and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writing peculiar to the east is not without its advantages, since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings as well as great actions of the famous kings.

(52) *ap Chardin Voyages, tom.* iii. *p.* 253.

the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z); he divided, says a
the same historian, his ample dominions into ninety governments; and, after a short
and glorious life, ended his days at *Babylon* in the thirty-sixth year of his life, and
seventeenth of his reign[y], leaving his conquests to be divided among his captains,
who are distinguished by the *Arabians* and *Persians* with the title of *Molouk al Shaovaif*,
i. e. *the kings of nations* or *families*. The *Persians* likewise take notice of *Alexander*'s
brother *Aridæus*, whom they stile *Ardous*, and generally speaking make him the
son instead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the *Greeks*,
in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account,
by pretending that he despised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from
Aristotle to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take b
away.

We

[y] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. xxi.

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkhond* might have inserted this story of *Alexander*'s causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the commonwealth of learning in *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But as *Mirkhond* has set down the subjects of the books, which he alledges were translated by that conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physic, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates* and other antient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use were most of them brought from the east, and not a few from *Persia*; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of these places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of *Zerdusht*, there is a treatise which bears the title of *Bizishk-nama*, i. e. *the book of physicians*, which is said to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been so very skilful in these matters, that *Sharistani* in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have so often quoted, attributes expresly all the miracles *Zerdusht* is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inspired, he knew all things, if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treatises on physic among the *Persians* well worth *Alexander*'s directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the testimony of the *Greeks* themselves; it is true, that the modern *Persians* stand indebted for most of their knowledge in these sciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are translated into *Arabick* and *Persian*; but the reason of this is plain, because the antient books relating to these abstruse sciences were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the sight of *many*; those precious only in the eyes of *few*. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkhond*, it was the darling study of the antient *Persians*, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the subject of the book, intituled *Gjouidan Chrad*, ascribed to *Hushang*, a king far older than *Zerdusht*. Morality was the subject of most of *Zerdusht*'s writings, as we gather from such fragments of them as we have seen, and especially from the book *Sad-der*, which, though written *ad captum vulgi* in verse and in a ballad stile, contains as many moral sentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius*'s lives of the philosophers. To these arguments in favour of the learning of the antient *Persians* we may add the amazing love of science visible in the modern *Persians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their stores, since they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eastern nations, except the *Chinese*, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we shall alledge the reigning maxims in their schools, not unworthy perhaps of being ecchoed in our universities: *Doubting is the beginning of science: he who doubts nothing discovers nothing: he who examines nothing discovers nothing: he who discovers nothing is blind, and must remain blind.* An extraordinary affection for mysterious theology seems to have been the reigning passion of the antient *Persees*, and of the *Persians* at this day. Among the latter there is a sect stiled *Suphi* or *Sophi*, who profess themselves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philosophy. *Pythagoras*, as we have shewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, supposed to have been the scholar of *Zoroaster*, and is thought to have learned from him those refined notions with which these men are charmed. To describe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we must say, that, according to their own account, they are *quietists* or *enthusiasts*; in the opinion of the vulgar *atheists*. They fast often and to excess, they pretend to ecstacies and conversations with God. They profess themselves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are saved. They have a remarkable aversion for church-men, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy shew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimsical instance of this; he says he was present, when a preacher at *Spahawn* told the people in his sermon that the *Suphis* were atheists, that they deserved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this sect did an action more pleasing in the sight of God, than if he saved the lives of ten other men. As soon as he came out of the pulpit, five or six *Suphis* who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interposed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them answered briskly, *What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder complain of a beating?* (54)

(53) *Sharistani ap. Hyde, R. vet. P. c.* xxii. *p.* 300.

(54) *Chardin. Voyages, tom.* iii. *p.* 211.

a We have now conducted the history of the *Persian* empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of *Alexander the Great*; in our next period we shall see it revive again, under a prince descended from their antient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*; but before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history, which may arise from the very tenour thereof. For first it may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years generally speaking assigned for the reign of each are so incredible, that a prudent man b will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient historians must be condemned in the lump. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Ctesias*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others [z] will share the same fate with *Mirkhond* and the rest of the *Persian* writers. But after all, there is so tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the *Persian* history, that if a critic's stomach be not very nice, he may, after a little consider- c tion, be brought to digest it. We opened this section with observing, that the antient *Medes* and *Persians* were very curious and exact in setting down all matters of consequence in their chronicles, and in preserving those chronicles through a long succession of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities sacred and profane. As to the stile of these records, we may form some judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the sacred scriptures, and from the passage cited in relation to a conspiracy against *Ahasuerus* in the book of *Esther*; and from all these it is plain, that though it was noble and sententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic [a]. But these records are no more; what we have now is taken from *Mohammedan* writers, who have certainly altered the old *Persian* history, and digested it d according to their own taste; nay, what is still worse, many of these writers, neglecting the more antient and plain accounts of the old *Persian* empire, have taken up with the romance written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to serve other purposes, which at this distance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing history? Can we suppose, that strangers, born with a contempt for the *Persees*, the descendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their ancestors strict justice? Can we believe, that those who, in consequence of the religion themselves profess, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever speak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that these writers have made e many other alterations, when we find them asserting of such kings as they report to have lived wisely and piously, that they were not *Magians*, but *true believers*, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the *Persian* monarchs from *Keyomaras* to *Yezdegherd* were all of one religion, allowing for such alterations in that religion as are incident to all religions in so long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of *Persia* remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be just, but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every antient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars* written, by *Abu l'Ghazi Bahader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, from records the most antient f and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but seventeen *Khans* between *Bertizena Khan* and *Kabul Khan*, though, according to his history, there intervened 2550 years between those princes; and in another part of his history he allows a thousand years for the reigns of six princes [b]. These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this single one is sufficient for our purpose; we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended,

[z] Stillingfleet. Origines Sacræ, lib. i, c. v. [a] vi. 2. [b] Preface to the genealogical history of the Tartars, p. viii.

defended; we only alledge, that they are not more prepoſterous than the numbers a
which are met with in other oriental hiſtorians, who are notwithſtanding allowed to
have ſome truth in their works. This confeſſion we hope will procure us ſome
favour, and pave the way to thoſe amendments which we ſhall offer in due time. But,
ſecondly, It may be objected, that our *Perſian* hiſtory from the oriental writers,
being in moſt reſpects directly oppoſite to the hiſtory in the foregoing ſection, which
is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two muſt be rejected, ſince oppoſites
can never be alike true. To this we may ſay, that we would be glad to compound
the difference, and to allow, that the *Perſian* hiſtory from the *Greeks* is frequently to
be preferred to this, and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to
that. Something in ſupport of this demand has been already ſaid on account of b
Xerxes's expedition, the life of *Zoroaſter*, and the death of *Darius*. Beſides, as we have
before obſerved, the *Greeks* differ among themſelves, nay, there is not one author
amongſt them, who in ſpeaking of the *Perſian* affairs may not be proved to have been
miſtaken in ſeveral points, even from his own works. As for inſtance, *Herodotus*, who
in one part of his hiſtory makes them worſhippers of the elements, and in another
polluters, in a third chaſtiſers of them; add to this, that the *Greeks*, like all other writers,
were notoriouſly partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the
Perſians; ſo that on the whole what we aſk will not appear very unreaſonable, eſpecially
when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to
decide as he pleaſes. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that theſe accounts, being c
oppoſite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to ſupport
them but their reputed antiquity, ought for this reaſon to be rejected, ſince
true hiſtory is always ſupported by concurrent teſtimonies of natives and foreigners,
the latter of which is wanting here; the ſtrength, however, of this objection, which
is the laſt, and perhaps the moſt plauſible of all that can be offered againſt the foregoing
ſeries of facts, will be effectually weakened from the following conſiderations,
which we had no opportunity of inſerting in the body of the work. Firſt, amongſt
thoſe writers which are beſt known to the learned, there are none which come near
the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* hiſtorians
the hiſtory of the *Medes* and *Perſians* aſcends, as we have ſhewn, very little higher d
than *Cyrus*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has tranſcribed from *Cteſias* (A), which
has

(A) We have ſo often mentioned *Cteſias* and his works in the courſe of this ſection, that there ſeems to be a neceſſity of our giving a ſhort account of this author and his works, to render thoſe remarks we have had occaſion to make perfectly plain and clear. *Cteſias* lived thirty or forty years after *Herodotus*; he was by profeſſion a phyſician, and ſeems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken priſoner by *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought againſt his brother *Cyrus*. He reſided ſixteen or ſeventeen years in the *Perſian* court, and, though the favour he was in there, had leave to peruſe the royal chronicles and thoſe authentic hiſtories of which we have ſo often ſpoken. From theſe he compiled in XXIII books the hiſtory of the antient empires of *Aſſyria*, *Media*, and *Perſia*; which hiſtory of his he brought into *Greece*, where it was received with the greateſt applauſe. *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom we are as much indebted as to any antient author whatever, has tranſcribed into his bibliothec the ſubſtance of *Cteſias*'s firſt ſix books, after having given us the following character of their author; "*Cteſias* the *Cnidian* was later than "*Herodotus*, for he flouriſhed at the time of *Cyrus*'s "expedition againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*, in "which being taken priſoner, he was, for his ſkill "in phyſic, received into *Artaxerxes*'s favour, in "whoſe court he lived in much honour and eſteem "ſeventeen years. During that ſpace he digeſted "into a regular hiſtory whatever he found worthy "of notice in the *Perſian* chronicles, wherein, by "a fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable "actions were exactly regiſtered; and this hiſtory "he brought with him into *Greece* (55)". *Diodorus* in the very place from whence we have quoted this paſſage, prefers *Cteſias* to *Herodotus*, as he does in moſt other places of his book where he cites either of them. *Xenophon*, ſpeaking of the death of the younger *Cyrus*, quotes this writer with applauſe (56). *Plato* agrees with him as to the power of the antient *Aſſyrian* empire (57). *Ariſtotle* alſo commends him (58), and in a word almoſt all the antient authors who have written in *Greek* prefer him to *Herodotus*. The very learned patriarch of *Conſtantinople Photius* has preſerved in his bibliothec an abridgment of this author's *Perſian* hiſtory, before which he premiſes, that this writer differed not a little from *Herodotus*, and even from *Xenophon*, who was univerſally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the eaſt, and particularly of thoſe of *Perſia*, than any of the *Greeks*; but ſo it is, that *Xenophon*, as well as *Cteſias*, has been ſuſpected of mingling fiction with true hiſtory, becauſe he has not repreſented the *Perſians* as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in ſenſuality and ſloth, according to the uſual cuſtom of his countrymen. Beſides his *Perſian* hiſtory, *Cteſias* wrote alſo an *Indian* hiſtory wherein, it is generally agreed, there are a great many ſtrokes of fable; this *Indian* hiſtory of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and ſeems to be the true ſource of thoſe ſevere cenſures, which many, and eſpecially modern authors, have paſſed on this famous hiſtorian. *Photius* at the end of his abſtract gives us this character of the writer we are ſpeaking of; "The ſtile of *Cteſias*, ſays he, though it is extremely plain and "ſimple, is far from being unpleaſant; he uſes the "*Ionic*

(55) *Biblioth. lib.* ii. *p.* 109. (56) *In Exped. Cyri. p.* 226. (57) *In. leg.* (58) *Hiſt. Anim. lib.* viii. *c.* 28

a has been generally exploded by the critics [c]. With respect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our history be unsupported by them, it is likewise uncontradicted. The first race of *Persian* kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix besides, unless we take up with the feigned catalogue of *Assyrian* monarchs contrived by *Annius* of *Viterbo*; and as to writers of a later date, our *Persian* history is not destitute of friends amongst them, such as are unbiassed, and against whose credit there is nothing to be said. The royal author of the history of the *Tartars*, speaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as most of oriental writers do, from *Turk* the eldest son of *Japhet*; he proceeds thus: "*Turk*
" was a man of superior genius, having been the first who invented many of the
" conveniencies of life; he made himself tents, and pitched upon a fixed residence
b " in a place called at present *Isachkoll*, he had four sons; 1. *Taunak*; 2. *Zakale*;
" 3. *Bensazar*; 4. *Amlak*. At his death he appointed his son *Taunak* for his succes-
" sor, who became a very rich and ingenious prince, author of many fine inven-
" tions. It happened one day, that *Taunak* having gone a hunting and killed
" much game, ordered a piece to be roasted; but when he was just going to eat
" some of it, he by chance let a bit drop upon the ground, and having taken it up
" and put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by reason a grain of salt had stuck
" to it; which having given him to understand, that this land was impregnated with
" salt, he set himself to improve this discovery, and became the first inventor of
" the use of salt, no one before him having known what salt was, or that it could
" season victuals. Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in the country of *Iran*,
" called *Cajumars* or *Keyomaras*. *Taunak* lived 240 years, and at his death left his
" throne to his son *Ieïza Chan*, who lived many years, and before his death appointed
" his son *Dibbakin Chan* to succeed him. *Dibbakin Chan* lived also a long time, and
" disposed of the succession before his death to his son *Kajak Chan*, who reigned a
" great length of years, and had for his successor after his death his son *Alanza*
" *Chan*. From the days of *Japhin* and his descendants to the time of *Alanza Chan*,
" the true religion was preserved, and during the reign of this prince his subjects
l " lived in a profound peace, having great abundance of all sorts of riches [d]. From
this passage it is evident, that the records of *Tartary* mention this *Keyomaras* just where the *Persian* historians place him; and it is likewise plain, that the belief of the

[c] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 9. [d] P. 1. ch. ii. p. 6.

" *Ionic* dialect, not every where as *Herodotus* does,
" but in some words only, for the sake of varying
" his language; what is objected to him of his fre-
" quently running into fabulous stories, is not with-
" out grounds, especially in what he has written
" concerning *India*. The delightfulness of this
" history arises chiefly from his disposition of facts,
" which are so placed, as continually to surprize
" the reader, and keep his attention engaged: even
" his most fabulous accounts being adorned with a
" pleasant and easy eloquence (59)". Besides these large extracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of *Athenæus* (60), *Apollonius* (61), *Plutarch* (62), *Ælian* (63), *Stephanus Byzantius* (64), &c. It would constrain us to draw this note into too great a length, should we pretend to shew wherein this author differs with the *Greek* writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the *Persian* history; for the satisfaction, however, of the inquisitive peruser, we shall subjoin a short account of those reigns which interfere with the foregoing sections of the *Median* and *Persian* empires.

Cyrus is by him said to have married *Amytis*, and to have had two sons *Cambyses* and *Tanyoxarces*; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and says, that he died of a wound received in battle.

Cambyses, according to him, married *Roxana*, and, after a reign of eighteen years, died of a wound which he casually gave himself in the thigh.

The *Magian*, stiled by the *Greek* writers *Smerdis*, is by him called *Sphendadates*; he computes his reign to have lasted only seven months, and to have been slain by seven conspirators.

Darius, the son of *Hystaspes*, reigned thirty-one years, died of a sickness which lasted thirty days, and left his empire to his son *Xerxes*.

Xerxes had to wife *Amystris*; his children were *Dariæus*, *Hystaspes*, *Artaxerxes*, *Achæmedides*, *Artarius*, *Amytis*, and *Rhodaguna*; this king was slain by *Artapanus* and *Spamitres*.

Artaxerxes, his wife's name was *Damaspia*; he reigned forty-two years, left but one legitimate son, viz. *Xerxes*, but seventeen by concubines, of whom *Secyndianus* and *Ochus* afterwards succeeded him.

Xerxes the second, he held the regal dignity forty-five days and was destroyed by a conspiracy.

Secyndianus, after a reign of six months and twenty-five days, was smothered in ashes.

Ochus, called also *Dariæus*, married *Parisatis*, he reigned thirty-five years, and had the following children, viz. *Arsaces*, *Cyrus*, *Artostes*, *Oxendras*, and thirteen others; he died of a languishing disease at *Babylon*.

Arsaces, this is the same prince whom the *Greek* writers stile *Artaxerxes Mnemon*; he overcame his brother *Cyrus*, his wife's name was *Stateira*; and in his time *Ctesias* resided in *Persia*, and compiled his history (65).

(59) *Phot. Biblioth*, *Art.* lxxii. *p.* 106. (60) *Deipnosophist.* x. (61) *Histor Mirab.* xx. (62) *In Vita Artaxer.* (63) *De Animal. Natura, lib.* vii. *c.* 1. (64) *Voce* Δυρδανια (65) *Photii. Biblioth. p.* 135, 136.

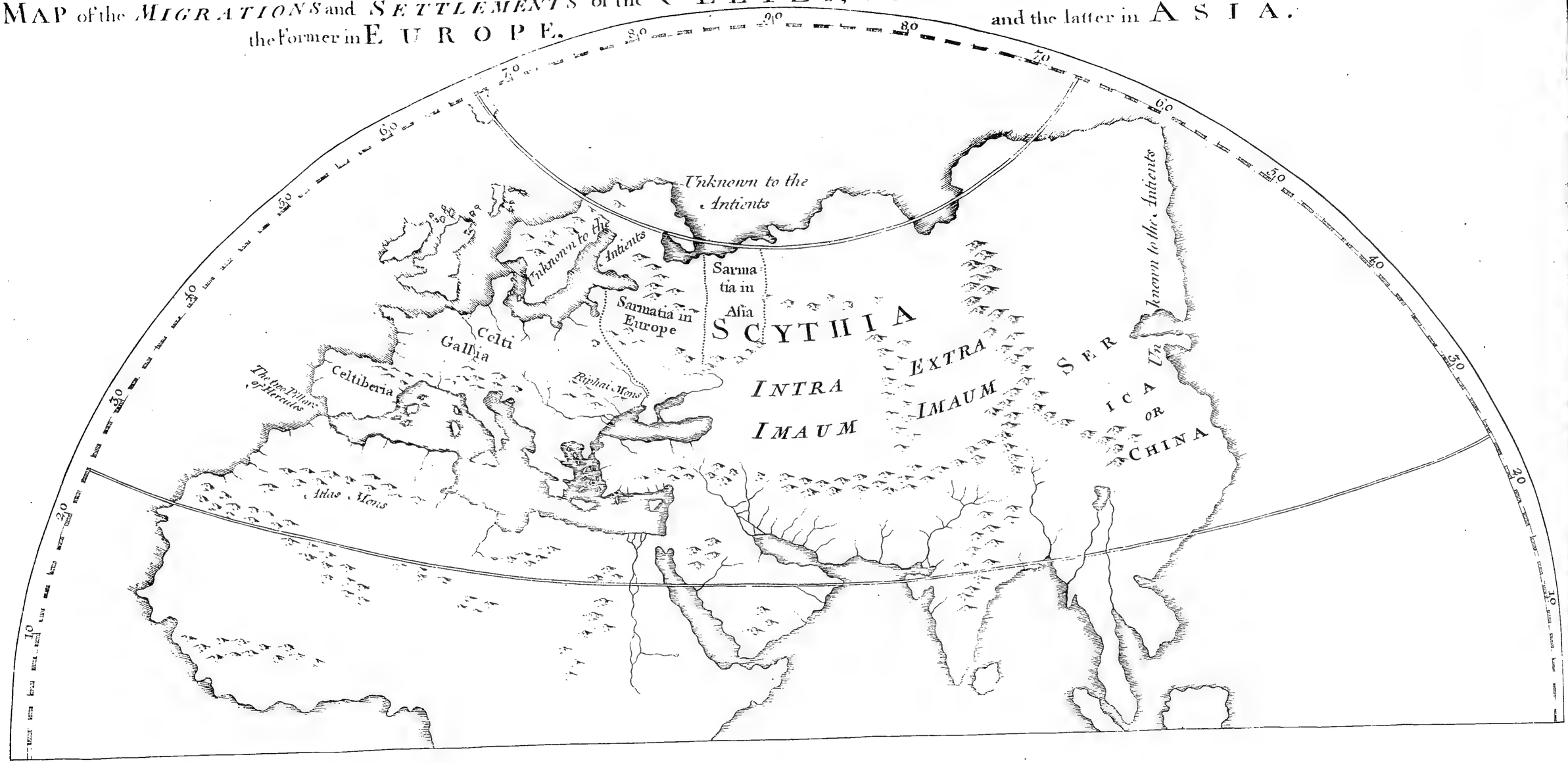
the true religion is reported by the same records to have remained untainted in these countries, which is exactly what our *Persian* writers say; the same author agrees with them in many other things, such as making *Sam*, i. e. *Shem*, and his descendants the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Persia*, and in acknowledging *Hushshangh*, the grandson of *Keyomaras* his successor: he relates likewise the wars carried on by the descendants of *Turk* against the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of those *Khans* to the reigns of the kings of *Persia* mentioned in the foregoing history. In Dr. *Hyde*'s learned book of the religion of the antient *Persians*, there are many *Arabic* and other historians quoted in support of such passages of the antient *Persian* history, as he has occasion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all these oriental historians have delivered ought to be taken on trust; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does also those of the *Greek* writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likeliest method for attaining truth is to read and compare both [c]. Secondly, the whole series of antient history teaches, that in the most remote ages of the world these countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Persian* history and other oriental authors affirm; so that we must either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of these eastern countries being first and most fully peopled, or we must admit, that these accounts are probable, if it were in respect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the ancient *Persians*, those poor distressed creatures who are now stiled *Persees*, as so many living witnesses of the truth of this history. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this proposition, that the religion they profess is the very same which their ancestors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and if so, we must trace this religion from their accounts, those of their conquerors, and such as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Persees*, as well those in *India* as those which still remain in their own country, affirm steadily, that it was settled by *Keyomaras*, reformed by *Zerdusht*, and so continued till the dissolution of the empire of the native *Persians*. The modern *Persians*, and the *Arabic* historians, acknowledge these facts to be so; they are likewise admitted by such of the oriental christian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that there is not so much in this third objection as at first sight there may seem; but that, considering the nature of the thing, this history has as strong evidence in its favour as any other history of equal antiquity, excepting that of the *Hebrews*; a proposition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto prosecuted with no small pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of some deviations in this section from our ordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts, which have drawn this section to an extraordinary length; but at the same time we hope it will be observed, that this is a subject that hath hitherto been untouched, a scene of confusion, wherefrom little was expected; if therefore it has cost an unusual trouble to give it some form, it ought to be excused, since transactions of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing *Chaos*, wherein there was first *motion*, and then *light*. The first is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental histories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been despised as trifles by some, and esteemed as treasures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our business to bring them here, to place them in the view of our *English* reader in the best method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

[c] HYDE, H. R. vet. P. in Præf.

CHAP.

A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES, *OR* GOMERIANS, and SCYTHIANS;

the Former in EUROPE, and the latter in ASIA.

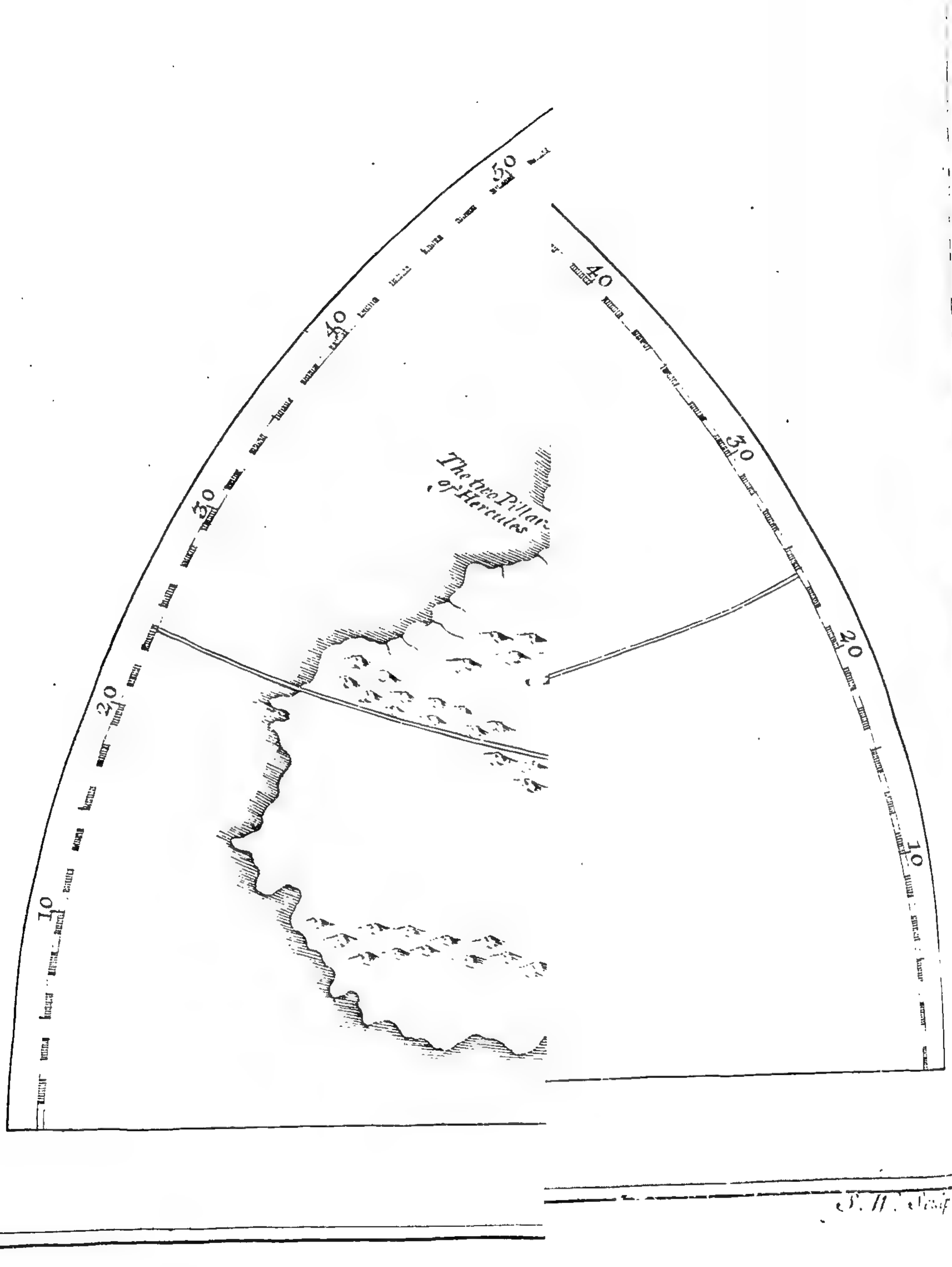


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YTHIANS.

A MAP of the *MIGRATION*

the Eon



CHAP. XII.

The History of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *their Migrations into* Europe, *under the several names inserted in the Margin* *.

* viz. *the former of* Scythians, Celto Scythes, Sarmatians, Massagetes, *&c. the latter of* Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, *and* Celtiberians.

SECT. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians *and* Gomerians, *considered as two distinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their History.*

Celtes *and* Scythians *descended from* Japhet.

a THESE two nations are so blended in ancient history, that it would be next to impossible to assign their different territories, or give their history with any tolerable clearness, without previously tracing them to their distinct originals, taking a cursory retrospect of their migrations and settlements, and considering each of them under those various names, by which they are mentioned by antient historians. We have already seen at the beginning of this history, that they were both descended from *Gomer* †, the eldest son of *Japhet*. This last we have also proved to have been the eldest son of *Noah* *, and to have received this peculiar blessing from his father, that *God would enlarge his borders* [a], upon which account *Moses* observes immediately after, that the *isles of the Gentiles*, by which is understood *Europe*, *was divided by*, *or among*, *his posterity* [b]. This perhaps is what induced *Berosus* and those who have followed him, to make such desperate haste to settle *Gomer*'s children in *Italy*, *Asturia*, *Biscay*, and other parts of *Europe*, even so early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no less sanguine, have ventured to bring *Gomer* into *Gaul*, *Tubal* into *Spain*, *Askenaz* into *Germany*, and *Magog* into *Sweden* or *Denmark* [c]. These precipitate migrations stand sufficiently confuted by their palpable impossibility [d] (A), were there nothing else to disprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that those patriarchs never came out of *Asia*. On the contrary, we find their descendants making a considerable figure in that cradle of the world, and settling themselves as near as they conveniently could to one another, c till scantiness of room, want of pasturage, accidental discords, or some other reasons, obliged them to branch out further on all sides towards *Europe* and northern *Asia*, whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Ham* enlarged their territories in their several allotments, in the southern parts of *Asia* and *Africa*, as we have already seen in their several histories.

To make the same appear the more clearly with respect to the sons of *Gomer*, let us now take a short retrospect of their first settlements in *Asia*, their migrations thence into *Europe*, their successive stations before they came into those parts in which they settled themselves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which some of them returned again into *Asia* in process of time, where they gave names

† See before, Vol. I. p. 166. & seq. * Ibid, p. 117. d. e. [a] Genes. ix. 27. [b] Ibid. x. 5. See before, Vol. I. p. 116. e. [c] Pezron. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. [d] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hist. p. i. c. 8. sect. 3. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & seq. Pezron. ubi sup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more absurd, than to suppose, that they separated themselves from the rest before the general dispersion at *Babel*; and if immediately after, how little time soever be allowed for the building of that stupendous fabrick, the remainder will be vastly too short for a migration of near 3000 miles, thro' woods, forests, and deserts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for so far Sir *Walter Rawleigh* has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were still more monstrous to suppose, that they could come into *Europe* by sea, with such a numerous retinue, so long before any thing of navigation, even by coasting, was known.

names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have caused such a confusion in antient historians, for want of rightly distinguishing between those two distant migrations. This circumstance makes it very necessary to examine, in the first place, whether the *Scythians* and the *Gomerians*, properly so called, were originally the same, or two distinct nations. Without such a previous inquiry, we shall find their names, countries, and exploits so confused, that it would be next to impossible to settle their geography, or understand their history, with any satisfactory clearness.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which seems chiefly to be owing to these two causes. 1. That none of the sacred historians mention these two nations by any other names than that of their progenitor [e]; and 2. That prophane authors have been so confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in several parts of *Asia* as well as *Europe*, and particularly by the affinity of those names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not easy to know whether they spoke of the same nation under different names, or of two distinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have most egregiously confounded them, by ascribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to discover when they speak of the *Scythians*, and when of the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. At least it is evident, that *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Justin* [f], to name no more, have called the *Scythians*, who remigrated into *Asia* by some names, and attributed some actions and places to them, which, upon closer examination, are found to have belonged to the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, whom they had driven thither out of their *European* territories. An accurate ancient geographer tells us [g], that the old *Greek* historians gave the name of *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians* to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a considerable part of them were properly *Celtes* or *Gomerians* [h]. And in the same book he adds, that those people who inhabited beyond the *Caspian* sea, which should be the *Scythians*, were by the same *Greek* historians called some *Sacks*, and others *Massagetes*, though the former of these names, at least, belonged only to the *Celtes*, as we shall shew in its proper place.

FOR these reasons, many learned men have chosen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters, under which they are distinguished in history. Notwithstanding which, and the silence of the sacred books, *Josephus*'s authority has been more universally received both by antient fathers and modern authors; who affirms, the *Celtes* and *Gauls* to be descended from *Gomer*, and the *Scythians* from *Magog* his next brother [i]; and we think very justly too. As to the first, there is not the least reason to doubt of it; for, besides the testimony of the *Jewish* historian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithstanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which seem rather to have been given to them by other nations than assumed by themselves (B); they have still preserved their original name of *Gomro*, or *Cymro*, or descendants of *Gomer*, and retain it to this day in all those countries where the *Celtic* or *Gomerian* language is preserved; which is therefore called *Gomeraeg* or *Cymbraeg*, that is, *the language of Gomer* [k].

TO all this we may add the concurrent testimony of *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, or rather *Charax*, *Mela*, and others, who mention them under the

* Vol. I. p. 166. d. 167. d. [e] Vid. int. al. EZEK. xxxviii. 2, 3, 6. [f] See PTOLOM. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. HERODOT. lib. i. & 4. JUSTIN. lib. 1. c. 8. & seq. [g] STRAB. Geogr. lib. ii. [h] Vid. GENEBR. 1949. LEWIS's Introduct. in Hist. Britan. cap. iii. PEZRON. ubi sup. JUN. in Genes. x. 2. [i] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. Vid. HIERON. THEODORET. & al. in Genes. x. 2. BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. RAWL. ubi sup. p. 1. c. 8. sect. iv. JUN. LE CLERC. PATRIC. in Genes. x. 2. PEZRON. ubi supra. c. iv. & al. mult. [k] PEZRON. LEWIS. & al. ubi supra.

(B) By these names we mean, not only those which were a palpable corruption of their original one, such as *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, *Cammerians*, and the like; but those of *Celtes*, *Gauls*, *Galatians*, *Titans*, *Sacks*, and perhaps also those of *Scythians*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Celtiberians*, and some others; all which, if we may guess at them by their etymons, seem to have been given to them, some out of compliment and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incursions, plunders, and conquests. Thus the word *Celtæ*, in *Greek* κελεται or κελητες, signifying horsemen in *Homer* and *Pindar*, might be given them on account of their great expertness in horsemanship (1).

(1) *Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæsar. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *Not.* 3.

a the names of *Comarians*, *Camarians*, *Chomarians*, *Cymbrians*, *Cymmerians*, and such like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of *Gomerians* [l]. We have likewise the authority of some antient fathers, who agree, that *Gomer* was the father and founder of the *Gomerians*, called afterwards *Celtes*, *Galatians*, and *Gauls* [m]. And if all this be not enough to prove the *Celtes* to be derived from *Gomer*, we shall add another pregnant argument out of *Cluverius*, who proves, that the antient *Celtic* nation, which according to him included the regions of *Illyria*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Spain*, the *Britannic* and other northern isles, did all speak the same language [n], which could be no other than the *Gomeraeg*, or the language of *Gomer*, which had been universally preserved among all his descendants, as we
b shall shew more fully when we come to speak of their language and history. To all these we shall add at the bottom some authentic monuments, which the warlike descendants of *Gomer* and his brethren have left in their various settlements, which still more corroborate what we have said concerning their origin, migrations, and settlements (C).

WERE we as well acquainted with the *Scythian* nation, with respect to these two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain-head, and to dispel that obscurity which we find in antient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the *Gomerians*. However, we are not without some additional proofs to the testimony of *Josephus*, who affirms them
c to be descended from *Magog* above-mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns [o]. For first, we find some antient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers *Meshech* and *Tubal*, in the neighbourhood of his brother *Gomer*, in the regions of lesser *Asia*, where they planted themselves after the dispersion (D). Secondly, As they spread themselves towards *Europe*, and *Gomer*'s descendants turned towards the north-west, so those of *Magog* may be reasonably supposed to have spread themselves towards the north east into both *Scythias*, where we find some plain foot-steps of their progenitor, besides the name of *Mogli*, which was that of the antient *Moscovites* and *Tartarians*

[l] PTOLOM. lib. vi. c. 11—13. MEL. ubi supra. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 16. DION. per. v. 700. [m] HIERON. tradit. hebr. in Genes. EUSTAT. Com. in Examer. ISIDOR. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. ZONAR. BED. & al. [n] Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6. & seq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & seq. [o] HIERON. AUGUST. EUSTAT. THEODOR. BED. JOSEPH. BEN-GOR. Judæi fer. omn. JUN. BOCHART. RAWLEIGH. MUNST. HEYLIN. PATRIC. & al. innum.

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of *Gaul*, from the *Celtic*, in which both signify a warlike man. *Bochart* conjectures, that they were called *Gauls* and *Galatians* from the redness of their hair (3).

That of *Titans* may either allude to it, as it was a name of the sun, whose etymon can no where be so appositely found as in the *Celtic*, which *Ti* or *Ty*, signifies a *House*, and *Tan*, or *Taen*, *Fire*, and both together, *The house of fire*. Some, however, fetch it from the *Celtic Tit*, which in that as well as in the *Hebrew*, signifies dust or dirt; so that Τιτανες shall signify the same as *terrigenæ*, or children of the earth or dirt. This last etymon, if admitted, may be supposed to have been given them in scorn, and to imply the baseness of their origin, as that of *Sacks*, which signifies *thieves* and *plunderers*, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of *Celtiberians*, or inhabitants of *Celtiberia*, or *Spain*, might be designed to distinguish those *Celtes* on that, from those of this, side of the *Pyrenees*, as we shall have further occasion to shew in another note. For thus we find *Gallia* or *Gaul* divided into *Cis* and *Trans-alpina*, and the word *Iberia* seems derived from the old *Celtic* and *Teutonic Iber*, which signifies *over* (4); and thus *Spain*, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into *Citerior* and *Ulterior*.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, because authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them square with their own hypotheses, because they were ignorant of the *Celtic*, from which it is most natural to derive them, as shall be further proved in due time.

(C) Thus the *Gomerians* left their name to the *Albanian* mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleasant plains of *Phrygia*; and to a city of this province, which in *Pliny*'s time was still called *Cymmeris*. *Askenas Gomer*'s son gave his to the *Sinus Askanicus*, to a lake and river of the same name, and in the lesser *Phrygia* to a city and province, and to the *Insulæ Askanicæ*.

From *Riphath*, another of his sons, we have the *Riphean* nation and country, since called *Paphlagonia*, and from *Togarma*, his youngest son, whom the *Greek* version calls Θογαμα and Τοργαμα, the *Trogmans* or *Trocmans* of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*; all these the reader may further see in the learned *Bochart* (5).

In like manner *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*, whose bands are joined together by the prophet (6), have left their names to several countries bordering upon those of *Gomer*; as *Magog* to the *Gogarens*, *Meshech*, or, as he is called by the ancients, *Mosoch*, to the mountains *Moschici* between *Colchis* and *Armenia*; and mentioned by *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*; as the reader may see it further proved in *Bochart* above quoted.

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of *Mongog* or *Mongug*, *Congigo*, *Gigwi*, and some others; and the cities of *Gyngui*, *Angui*, *Gorgangoi* and *Goigui* in *Tartary* †.

(2) *Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap.* 3. (3) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 6. (4) *Vid. Cluver. lib.* ii. *c.* 3. (5) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 8. *& seq. Rawleigh; Heylin, Pezron, & al. Vid. & sup. Vol. I. p.* 166, 167. (6) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 2. xxxix. 1. † *Vide Bochart. ubi supra. & al. sup. citat.*

Tartarians (E); and seems only a corruption or abbreviation of *Magogli*, *the sons of Magog*. To these we may add, Thirdly, that there is scarce a nation under heaven that so fully answers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the scriptures give us of *Gog* and *Magog*, as that of the barbarous *Scythian*; upon all these accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with *Josephus* to derive them from that patriarch.

HAVING thus far cleared the way, and disentangled, as much as possible, the intricacy of antient authors concerning these two nations, we shall now proceed to add something of their different migrations from *Asia* into *Europe*, which will still give a further light to what has been said already. The reader may remember, that we formerly settled *Gomer*, their common progenitor, with his descendants about him, in the province of *Phrygia* [p]: *Askenaz* his eldest son, or, according to the *Armenians*, *Togarmah* his youngest, or, it may be, both of them, in *Armenia*; and *Riphath* the second son in *Cappadocia*; or, in some province in the neighbourhood of *Phrygia* [q]. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds [r]; even when they began to spread themselves further and wider into *Europe*, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a settled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the *Gomerians*, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *France*, and so quite up to *Spain*, whilst the *Scythians*, or descendants of *Magog*, moved to the right eastward, towards *Moscovy* and *Tartary*, as far as the borders of *Cathai*, if not beyond.

THUS was all *Europe*, and the far greater part of *Asia*, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, that is from the utmost parts of *Spain* to *Scythia Europeana* eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of *China*, as we shall see in the sequel. So that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the 10th degree west to the 8th east longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the artic circle.

UPON the whole then, it appears, that the first rank belongs to the noble *Celtic* nation, as descended from the elder brother, tho' the preference has been given to the *Scythians* by the universal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted, that their progenitor was *Gomer*'s younger brother. *Scytharum gens antiquissima* was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the first rank in the plan of this history. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are so by this time, we shall restore it to its right owners the *Celtes*, who claim it on account not only of their eldership, but much more on that of their superior merit; as will appear more fully from the history of both.

SECT.

[p] See before, p. 166. c. f. &c.
[q] Vid. EUSEB. Loc. Hebr. & BOCHART. ubi supra. l. iii. c. 8.
[r] See RAWL. hist. ubi sup. sect. vi.

(E) Accordingly, we do scarcely find any part of *Europe* in which some of these are not mentioned by antient geographers and (7) historians, under the names of *Gomerians*, *Cymbrians*, *Celtes*, *Celtiberians*, *Celto-Scythians*, and such like, as we shall more fully see in the sequel.

As for *Iberia* or *Spain*, *Josephus* doth indeed affirm, that it was first peopled by the *Thobalines*, or sons of *Tubal* or *Thobal*, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth son of *Japhet* (9). On the other hand, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* thinks it more probable, that it was first inhabited by the *Africans*, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (10). But we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to the concurrent testimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the surname of *Celto*, given to that province, and that of *Celtiberians* or *Celto-iberians* to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the *Celtes* were the first peoplers of it, especially if we consider, that the name of *Iberia* signifies in the old *Celtic* and *Teutonick*, *over*, or *on the other side*, as we hinted in a former note. So that the *Celtiberians* might mean only the *Celtes* on the other side of the *Pyreneans*, to distinguish them from those on this side (11).

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of *Spain* might invite the *Celtes* thither from the more northern climates of *Europe*, than that the *Africans* could come thither so early by sea; unless we can swallow that ridiculous *Spanish* tradition, which makes *Tubal* to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of St. *Vael*, which is still standing at this day (12).

(7) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib.* i. *c.* 7. *Ptolom. Geogr. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. & 13. & *alib. Mela. lib.* i. *c.* 2. iii. *c.* 2. *Cæs. Comm. c.* i. *Plin. lib.* vi. *c.* 16. *Strab. D. Sicul.* & *al.* (8) *Ant. lib.* i. *c.* 7. (9) Genes. x. 2. (10) *Hist. chap.* 8. *sect.* 3. & *seq.* (11) *See above, Note B.* (12) *Hist. of the world, ubi sup. sect.* 4.

SECT. II.

The History of the CELTES, *under the names of* GOMERIANS, CYMMERIANS, CYMBRIANS, CELTES, GAULS, GALATIANS, TITANS, SACKS, *&c.*

WE have already ſpoken of the migrations of theſe ſons of *Gomer*, from *Aſia* into *Europe*, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the laſt ſection; wherein we obſerved their regular pro-
a greſs from *Phrygia* their firſt ſettlement, through *Thrace*, *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Gallia*, *Italy*, till they had ſpread themſelves to the utmoſt borders of *Spain*. In this large *European* tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the *Scythians* and themſelves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the name of *Gallia* and *Gallatia*, whilſt themſelves did retain their own antient name of *Gomero*, or *Gomerians*. As for thoſe of *Cymmerians*, and *Cymbrians*, &c. which ſeems only a corruption of that, it is obſervable, that it was given to none of the *Celtes*, but thoſe who inhabited the more northern regions of *Europe*, above the *Euxine* ſea and the north of the *Danube*, where they were leſs known and intermixed. Thus that part
h of *Germany* now known by the name of *Holſtein* was called *Cymbria Kerſoneſus*. The names of *Titans*, and *Sacks* were given only to thoſe of leſſer *Aſia*, ſo that they ſeem to have been only known in this part of *Europe* by thoſe of *Celtes* and *Gauls* (A). The name of *Galatians*, γαλαται, was given them alſo by the *Greeks*, but it is plain, it meant the ſame with the *Gauls*, and accordingly antient authors make them deſcended from the ſame father, namely *Gomer*. It was not, however, in this tract of ground they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already ſignalized their names in ſeveral parts of both the higher and lower *Aſia*, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by ſeveral valiant princes of their own, and this is the reaſon that we find the name of *Gomerians* and *Gomarites*, as
c well as thoſe of *Sacks* and *Titans*, in thoſe parts, among antient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of *Celtes*, after their ſpreading themſelves into *Europe*, as will more fully appear by the ſequel. But thoſe early exploits are ſo intricate, and built ſo much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too ſtrenuouſly upon them. At the moſt, it is plain, that theſe *Aſiatic* conqueſts did not remain long enough in their poſſeſſion to deſerve a place in this geography of their country. Thoſe exploits will be beſt reſumed in the hiſtory of thoſe nations with whom they had to do. Whilſt we confine their territories at preſent within thoſe limits of *Europe*, in which we can ſpeak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

The Various names of the Celtes.

Their Territories.

It

[a] See PEZRON. Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2. [b] Comp. JOSEPH. Ant. JUD. l. i. c. 7. EUSTAT. Comm. in Examer. HIERON. tradit. hæbr. in Geneſ. ix. ISIDOR. Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & PEZRON. ub. ſup. [c] Vid. PTOLOM. STRAB. MELA. & al.

(A) *Cæſar*, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of *Celtes* to themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* did give them that of *Galli* or *Gauls* (1), not knowing in all likelihood, that they both ſignified the ſame thing in the old *Celtic*, namely *warriors* (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give ſome other ſenſe of theſe two names; as they are fetched from other languages, and indeed there is nothing more eaſy than to find in all languages ſuch likeneſs of ſounds as *Gauls* and *Galli*, *Celtes* and κελται, though of ſuch different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At leaſt thoſe are the moſt likely to be the trueſt, which are derived from the language itſelf unto whom the name belongs; excepting, however, ſuch of them as, we obſerved there, were given in contempt and by way of reproach, as that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*. But here it is certain, that the *Celtes* made too great a figure in the world, long before *Cæſar*'s time, to have been called *Galli* in deriſion.

(B) We muſt not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the *Jews* with bringing *Gomer* and his armies againſt them from the north quarters (3), he ſeems to intimate, that there were ſtill ſome of the deſcendants of that patriarch ſettled in ſome of the northern parts of higher *Aſia* even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till ſome years after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, when they made that terrible irruption into *Paleſtine*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find *Ptolemy* placing the *Chamarians* and *Comarians* as two diſtinct nations, though originally the ſame; the firſt with *Chamara*, their ſuppoſed metropolis, in *Bactria* along the ſouth banks of the river *Oxus*; and the latter a little further north in the province of *Sogdiana* (4). *Mela*, though he differs ſomewhat from *Ptolemy* in their ſituation, doth

(1) *lib.* 1. (2) *Vid. Pezron, Ch.* ii. (3) Ezek. xxxviii, 6. (4) *Ptol. lib.* vi. *c.* 11. & 13.

Geography.

It is not eaſy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the *Celtes* from the *European Scythians*, for the reaſons given in the laſt ſection. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that the former extended from the *Danube*, their ſuppoſed boundary, to the fartheſt part of *Spain* and *Portugal*, reaching at leaſt three degrees from eaſt to weſt, that is from that famous river to cape *Feneſtre*. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Mediterranean* ſea, and weſt and north-weſt by the weſtern and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the *Hyperborean* or frozen ſea, or only to the *Baltic*, we preſume not to ſay. The laſt, however, ſeems moſt probable, for reaſons we ſhall give in the hiſtory of *Scythia*. For it is probable, they did not advance towards *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the other more northern regions, till they found themſelves too ſtreightned in the more pleaſant climates of the ſouth; which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into *Europe*. However, it is certain, that in the time of *Julius Cæſar*, not only they, but alſo the northern iſlands of *Britain*, *Ireland*, and even *Iceland*, were inhabited, and made part of the *Celtic Gallia*. As for the ſouthern iſlands on the *Mediterranean*, ſuch as *Sicily*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, and others, we need not doubt, but they were much ſooner peopled than thoſe on the northern ocean.

So conſiderable was the *Celtic* nation, even in *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur and ſhrunk into much narrower limits; that it contained no leſs than ſixty great people, diſtinguiſhed by the names of cities or diſtricts according to *Strabo*. *Tacitus* ſays 64 [d], but this is nothing to *Joſephus*, we reckoned the number of theſe nations about 315 [e], or to *Appianus*, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greateſt part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they muſt have made before that time, may be gueſſed by that notable expedition they made into *Italy*, in the time of *Tarquin* the elder, that is almoſt 600 years before Chriſt, when *Belloveſus*, having penetrated through the *Alps*, with a numerous army, did in a ſhort time invade a great part of *Italy*, called from them *Gallia Ciſalpina*. For this and their ſucceeding exploits againſt that province, and their conqueſt of its metropolis, we may juſtly look upon it as part of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* territories, tho' we ſhould grant it to have been originally peopled by ſome other nation than the deſcendants of *Gomer*. But this doth not ſeem to us to be the real caſe, for though we have already ſufficiently diſcountenanced the fable of *Beroſus*, who brings *Gomer* into *Italy* ſo ſoon after the flood; yet it is much more likely, that his deſcendants were the firſt that peopled it with the reſt of *Europe*, it being impoſſible ſo fine a country ſhould eſcape them in their progreſſive migration, than to ſuppoſe, that either *Kittim* the ſon of *Javan* or his deſcendants were got thither before them. To make this ſtill more probable, we muſt remind our readers of two things, namely, that the *Umbrians* were by many antient authors eſteemed the moſt antient people in *Italy* *. And *Pliny* in the place laſt quoted tells us, that when the *Hetrurians* entred that country, and made war againſt the *Umbrians*, they deſtroyed 300 of their cities; which proves, that they muſt have been there a conſiderable time. Our next obſervation is, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by other antient hiſtorians to have been the deſcendants of the *Gauls* or *Celtes* †. And if it be ſo, it will be more reaſonable to believe, that theſe *Gauls* or *Umbrians* had already paſſed the *Alps* and ſettled themſelves in *Italy*, long before *Saturn*'s time, ſince we find, that he made no ſcruple to go and take refuge amongſt them, and was courteouſly received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the ſons of *Javan*, or, as others pretend, that the *Arcadians*, their ſuppoſed deſcendants, could come thither ſo early by ſea; they who are only famous for their paſtoral life, and conſequently ſo unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever therefore either of theſe did poſſeſs

[d] Annal. l. 3. [e] Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 16. [f] Vid. Reynecc. ap. Rawley hiſt. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2. * Florus lib. i. c. 17. Plin. l. iii. c. 14. Dionys. Halic. l. i. c. 8. com. Serv. in Virgil. † Solin. ex Bocho. Isidor. & al. ap. Pezron. c. 10.

doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of *Aſia* (5), where we may have occaſion to viſit them again in the ſequel of this hiſtory, as well as the *Sacks* another branch of the *Celtes*, whom *Strabo*, (6) places a little farther weſtward in *Cappadocia* along the ſouth coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea.

(C) We need not obſerve further to our readers, how fond the *Arcadians* were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations, and how much they valued themſelves for their aſſumed name of *Aborigines* every where. Whether the *Celtes* did take that of *Tytans* or Τυτανες, one ſignification of which is almoſt

(5) *Lib.* i, *c.* 2. (6) *Lib.* xi.

a poſſeſs themſelves of *Italy*, as ſome have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and ſome intricate teſtimonies from antient authors, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greateſt part of the *Celtes* out of it over the *Alps*; and this may be the reaſon of their making ſo many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

Plutarch, indeed ſpeaking of the *Gallic* or *Celtic* nation, tell us, that ſome of them paſſing over the *Riphean* mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern ſea, the extreme or the northern parts of *Europe*, whilſt others remained in the ſouth parts, between the *Pyrenees* and the *Alps* [g]. Where he adds, that having taſted of the wine that came out of *Italy*, they marched over the *Alps*, under the conduct of a b malecontent, named *Arron*, and conquered thoſe territories which had been till then held by the *Tuſcans*. But the name of *Celtiberia*, by which *Spain* was antiently known, and that of the *Celtic* promontory, now *Cape Feneſtre* or *Finiſter*, the utmoſt verge of *Spain* weſtward on the one hand, and of *Gallia Togata* or *Ciſalpina* on the other, including near one third part of *Italy* [h] weſtward, ſhews nothing leſs than their having confined themſelves within the limits of thoſe two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of theſe *Celtic* names, or if he did, that he thought the *Celtes* had been only the invaders of thoſe two provinces, rather than the firſt inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have ſhewn by this time to be at leaſt the more probable of c the two.

Upon the whole then, the antient territories of the *Celtes* extended themſelves eaſt and weſt, from the head-ſpring *Iſter* or *Danube*, which divided them from the *European Sarmatia* (E), quite croſs *Europe* unto *Cape Finiſter* and the ſtreight of *Hercules* now *Gibraltar*, and contained the following provinces, namely *Iberia*, now *Spain* and *Portugal*; *Gallia* [i] or *Celto-galatia*, now *France*, with the low countries; *Germany* as far as the *Danube* eaſtward and *Denmark* northward; *Rhetia*, *Vindelicia*, and *Noricum*, ſince *Swiſſerland*, *Savoy*, and *Lombardy*, and the *Gallia Ciſalpina* or *Togata*, containing that part of *Italy*, now *Piedmont*, the dutchies of *Milan*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, &c. and the republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, beſides the d ſouthern and northern iſlands of *Europe*, which we have lately had occaſion to mention.

These extenſive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before *Julius Cæſar*'s time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* mountains from eaſt to weſt; by the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth; and by the *Rhine* and *Britiſh* ocean on the north and north-eaſt. In *Cæſar*'s time we find it ſtill leſſened by all that tract which lies between *Geneva* and the *Alps*, which had been ſometime before added to the *Roman* empire, over and above the *Gallia Ciſalpina* lately mentioned, which they had invaded in *Tarquinius Priſcus*'s time, and advanced almoſt as far as the middle of *Italy*. This *Gallia*, thus curtailed, was called c *Comata*. *Cæſar* divided it into three nations, namely *Belgæ*, *Aquitans*, and *Celtes* or *Gauls* [k] (F). But by this time a great part of the *Celtic* territories had been diſmembered

[g] In vit. Camill. [h] Vid. Ptolom. ub. ſup. Mela. lib. iii. 1 2. Cluver. & al. [i] Vid. Polyb. lib. iii. [k] Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 1.

almoſt of the ſame import with that of *Aborigines* or *Terrigenæ*, out of the ſame oſtentation, we would not venture to affirm after *Pezron*, ſeeing it is capable of another ſignification, as we ſhewed in a former note. We may ſay in general, that the etymons of the various names of *Italy* are manifeſtly forced, as *Latium* from *lateo to be hid*, becauſe *Saturn* ſheltered himſelf there, and *Italy* from the *Greek Æolia* or the *Arcadian Elatus* (7). Upon the whole then, thoſe who will not allow it to have been peopled at firſt by the *Umbrians* above mentioned, and theſe to have been a colony of the *Celtes* or *Gomarians*; muſt be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in *Spain* and *Italy*, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which, being plainly of *Celtic* origin, do ſhew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we ſhall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(E) *Herodotus* ſays much the ſame thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the *Iſter* hath its ſpring in the land of the *Celtes*, and traverſing the *European* regions enters obliquely into the borders of *Scythia*.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Romans*. Thus we find alſo the *Gallia Citerior* called *Togata* from the long robes, and the *Ulterior* or *Tranſalpine Braccata* from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(7) *Reyncc. ub. ſup. Camden. Heylin. & al.* (8) *De his vid. Wott. Archæol. Lhuid. lexic. Cambrobrit. Hick, lexic. Breerw. de orig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. ſeptent. Lewis hiſt. Mag. Brit. Pezron. ubi ſup. & al. mult.* (9) *Comm. lib.* ii. *c.* 4. *& ſeq.*

dismembered from it; as *Spain*, which had passed from the *Carthaginians* to the *Romans*; the *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was become a province of the *Roman* empire [1], and included all the southern provinces of *Gallia* along the *Mediterranean* from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*: this last contained at least *Gascony*, *Languedoc*, *Province*, and *Dauphine*. Nevertheless, these three divisions were far from being all that the *Celtes* had left in *Europe*, though *Cæsar* has made the most of them in his account of that war (G). Other divisions of *Gallia*, which were made by *Augustus* and other *Roman* emperors (H), after the conquest of it, will be best seen in the *Roman* history.

SEAS

[1] Bell. Gallic. lib. iii. c. 20.

(G) By which distinction it is plain, that he speaks only of the *Gallia* which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the *Celtic* or *Gallic* nation, which still spread themselves vastly further, at least towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himself, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of those three nations, it appears, that he goes no further than his own conquests (10), so that it should seem, as if he had affected to compliment himself with the subduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the *Celtes*, so famous both in *Europe* and *Asia*, were but the third part

It was probably out of the same ostentation, that he ranks, for instance, 16 people under the name of *Belgæ*; namely the *Bellovaci*, or those who belonged to the city or district of *Beauvais*; the *Suessones* those of *Soissons*; *Nervii* now *Cambraisians*; *Atrebates* or *Artois*; *Ambianes* or *Amiens*; *Morini* whose capital was *Teroüana*; *Menapii*, or the *Gantines*, *Antverpians*, and *Brabantines*; *Caletes* or those of the district of *Caux*; *Velocaces*, now *Vexinois*; *Veromanduos*, or *Vero-mandois*, now St. *Quintin*; *Aduatici*, now not known, and variously guessed at; the *Condrusi*, *Eburones*, *Cæræsi*, and *Pannones*, concerning which we are also much in the dark. Now it is plain, that all this pompous list did take up little more than the north part of *France* and the *Netherlands*.

The same may be said of another third, *viz.* *Aquitain*, among which he reckons twelve distinct people, making up in all the *Gallia Armorca*, so named from the *Celtic* word *Armor*, which signifies those countries which are upon the sea coast; this province was afterwards called by the *Romans Aquitain* from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at most the western provinces of *France* from the river *Ligeris*, now *Loire*, to the *Pyrenees*, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the *Celtæ*, to whom *Cæsar* tells us the *Romans* gave the name of *Gauls*, their country extended only north and south from the *Ligeris* or *Loire* to the *Sequana* or *Seine*, and east and west at most from *Burgundy* to *Low Britanny*, including the *Gallia Lugdunensis*, part of which last was already under the *Romans*. But how short did all these three come of the *Celtic* territories, when some authors tell us, that they extended from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* quite to the *Scythians* (13)? When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each side of the *Rhine* were still called *Celtes* (14)? so that all that were on the other side of that river were out of the boundaries of the *Gallia Belgica*, and much more so out of those of the other three. Whether or no this *Gallia Celtica* was so called, and its inhabitants *Celtes*, in *Cæsar*'s time, by way of excellence above the rest, as the province of *Holland* is commonly taken for all the seven, and whether or no the other *Celtes* were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three *Gallic* provinces which he subdued, one of which only he distinguishes by the *Celtic* name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time.

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have spoken of the isles of *Great-Britain*, both as they were first inhabited, and are still in some parts, by the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*, which last name, as well as the antient language of that nation, is still preserved amongst them, especially in the north part of *Wales*. But as they make so great a figure in antient history, from their being first planted by some colonies of that nation, their history will be better referred to another book, wherein we shall resume that of the western and northern empires according to our first plan of this work.

However, it will not be amiss to hint something here concerning the name of *Britain*, which has been confounded by *Camden* and others with that of *Gomro*, as if they had both belonged to the same people; for it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the *Britains* in *France*, who call themselves *Britained*, and are as great strangers to the name *Gomro*, as the *Gomros* or *Welsh* are to that of *Brithained* or *Briton*. It seems therefore, that those antiquaries have too lightly rejected the story of *Brutus* coming into *England* and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conquest that part was afterwards called *Britania* or *Britain*, which *Camden* and his followers will have to be derived from *Brit painted* and *Tain region*; because the *Britains* painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the *Romans Picts* or *Painted*.

It doth not appear at all probable, that if the *Britains*, who went out of *England* into *France*, had been the same with the *Gomros*, or antient inhabitants of *Britain*; they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other descendant of *Gomer* did so pride themselves, for the nickname of *Britained* or *Painted*; much less, that they should have quite obliterated the former, which was still so carefully preserved by their neighbours. But if the *Trojans* were themselves a colony of the *Gomerians* or *Welsh*, as a modern author seems to have nearly proved (15); and these after the destruction of their city, came under *Brutus*, or *Trotus*, as he is called by *Vitus*, and by others *Brito*, and from him they were called *Britains*, and invaded a considerable part of this island; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the *Gomeraes* or *Welsh*, and the *Britained* or *British*, which last is objected by the antiquaries against the probability of the first.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but also more reasonable to suppose with Sir *John Price* (16), that these isles were at first peopled by the antient and warlike *Gomerians*, than by the conquered and fugitive *Trojans*; for who can think, that they should have been so long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the dispersion; for so long at least it was before the latter can be supposed

(10) *Vid. Godwin. annot. in Cæs. Comm. ibid.* (11) *Vid. Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 17. (12) *Comment. lib.* i. *c.* 1. & *alib.* (13) *Diodor. l.* v. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vit. Camil. vid. & Mel. Cluver. & al.* (14) *Dio. Cass. l.* xxxix. (15) *Lewis Introd. in. hist. Britan. c.* iv. & *lib.* ii. *c.* 14. (16) *Jeffen's hist. Brit.*

a SEAS of note were the *Mediterranean*, the weſtern, *Britiſh*, and northern ocean, and the *Baltic*. Their principal lake in theſe territories is that of *Geneva*, which is upwards of twenty miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableneſs inriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of *Serviere* in high *Dauphine*, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the *Alps*, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much ſmaller at eight or nine miles diſtance, and is calculated to ſtand near a half mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or ſending out more water than a very inconſiderable ſtream, ſcarce ſufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the *Pyrenees* and *Alps*, otherwiſe called b *Apenine*, which are of very great length, and of ſuch prodigious height, that they are always covered with ſnow of incredible hardneſs. The latter were ſuppoſed by *Livy* and others to have been called *Apenine* from *Hannibal Peninus*, but much more probably from the old *Celtic* word *Pen a head*, by reaſon of the exceeding height and whiteneſs of them. So that *Apenine* may be only a contraction of *A Pen Ghwin*, *white heads*, as the word *Alps* may be derived from the *Celtic Alp* or *Alb*, *white*.

THE chief rivers are the *Iſter*, which runs into *Scythia* and empties itſelf into the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Rhine* which ſprings from the mountains of *Switzerland* and runs through *Germany* and *Holland* into the *Britiſh* ſea. The *Seine*, *Loyre*, and *Garonne*, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak, as they divided the c *Gallia Celtica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquitana* from each other. The *Durius* now *Ducro*, which deſcends from the mountains of *Sierra* in *Aſturia* into the *Atlantic* ocean at *Oporto*. The *Tagus* or *Tajo*, which croſſes great part of *Spain* and *Portugal* and falls into the ſame ocean below *Olyſipon* or *Liſbon*. The *Anas* now *Guadiana*; the *Bætis* or *Tarteſſus* now *Guadalquivir*; theſe two empty themſelves in the gulph of *Cadis*. The *Iber* now *Ebro*, which deſcends from the ſame mountains of *Sierra* with the *Durius*, but, taking a contrary courſe from it, runs eaſtward into the *Mediterranean* and empties itſelf into the gulph of *Valencia*. The *Rhodanus* or *Rhoſne*, which hath its ſpring from the mountains of *Switzerland* but deſcends a contrary way, and croſſing the lake of *Geneva*, runs through the ſouth part of *France* and empties itſelf into d the *Mediterranean* about *Marſeilles*; the *Padus* or *Po*, and *Adeſis* now *Adige*, which deſcend, the former from *Piedmont* and the latter from *Switzerland*, and fall at a ſmall diſtance from each other into the gulph of *Venice*. Thoſe of *Italy* and of the *European* iſlands will be ſeen in another chapter.

WE ſhall only add, that the greateſt part of the names of theſe and of other ſmaller rivers are certainly of *Celtic* extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus *Garunna* from *Garw*, *rough*, expreſſes its great rapidity. *Rhodanus* from *Rhedog*, *to run ſwiftly*, implies its ſwift courſe. *Arar* now *Saon* is ſo called from its ſlowneſs, its deſcent into the *Rhoſne* being ſcarce perceptible. *Durius* or *Duori* from *Dour*, *water* or *river*, whence the names of a great many cities and towns ſituate near the water-ſide ended in e *Duro* and *Durum*. Thus likewiſe the names of counties and diſtricts which end in *Tan*, or *Tain*, and in the *Latin Tania*, as *Aquitain*, *Britain*, *Luſitania*, &c. are formed from the

ſuppoſed to have come from *Troy* hither, by which time the others had ſpread themſelves all over *Europe*. And is it not alſo more probable, that theſe give it the antient name of *Albion*, which in their language ſignifies *white*, from the whiteneſs in which the *Cliffs* of *Dover* appeared clad from the other ſide of the water, than that it received it from *Albion*, the brother of *Borgion*, the ſon of *Neptune*?

We may add, that *Beroſus* and thoſe who have followed his ſteps (17) have given us a liſt of 20 kings of the *Celtes* who reigned in *Gaul*, and the greater part of them alſo over the *Gomeros* on this ſide of the water, before *Brutus*. The reader will ſee by the following liſt of their names how ſeveral *Cantons* of *Gaul* might probably receive theirs from them, as *Longobards* from *Bardus* and *Longus*, their fifth and ſixth monarchs. *Gallia Narbonenſis* from *Narbo*; *Lugdunenſis* from *Lugdus*; the *Belgic* from *Belgius*; the *Allobroges* from *Allobrox*, &c. they run as follow: 1. *Samothes*, by others called *Dis* & *Dicelia*. 2. *Magus*. 3. *Saron*. 4. *Druis*. 5. *Bardus*. 6. *Longus*. 7. *Lucus*, 8. *Celtes*. 9. *Galates*. 10. *Narbon*. 11. *Lugdus*. 12. *Belgius*. 13. *Jaſius*. 14. *Allobrox* 15. *OEgyptus*. 16. *Paris*. 17. *Olbius*. 18. *Galates* II. 19. *Namnes*. 20. *Franicus*.

It is true, this liſt ſeems rather to be that of the princes of ſeveral cantons of the *Celtes*, than a regular ſucceſſion of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one ſole monarch. Nevertheleſs as they reigned either in *Gaul* or *Britania*, long before this *Brutus* (ſuppoſe him to have come from *Troy*, as will be further ſeen when we come to that part of our hiſtory) the moſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the *Gomeros*, its *original* inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire further weſtward, where they have continued ever ſince.

(17) *Vid. Vitus Baſinſt. hiſt. Brit. lib.* i. *not* 25. & *auct. ab eo citat.*

the *Celtic Tan* and *Stan*, *a region* [m], and imply *the country of waters*, *of the Britons*, a
and *Lusians*, which last were a *Celtic* people from whom came the *Portugueſe*. We
omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other antient names which are
palpably of the ſame extraction, concerning which the curious may conſult the
authors above named.

NATURAL and artificial rarities in ſo ſpacious a field would take up too much room
in this hiſtory, and are ſo well known to the curious, that we think, they may be ſafely
omitted, thoſe only excepted as have ſome immediate relation with ſome remarkable
facts as ſhall fall in the courſe of this hiſtory, when we come to reſume it in another
chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the *Littus Lapideum*,
otherwiſe the *Campus Lapideus*, or *ſtony ſhore* or *field*, of above a mile in length upon b
the coaſts of the *Gallia Narbonenſis* or *Languedoc*, where *Hercules* is ſaid to have
fought the giant *Albion*, the ſon of *Neptune*; which place is ſtill called by the inha-
bitants *Les Craux*, from the multitude and largeneſs of ſtones with which it is covered;
that word being derived from the *Celtic Craig* or *Craic*, which ſignifies *rocks* or
ſtones [o].

[m] Vid. CAMDEN, Brit. LEWIS introduct. in hiſt. Britan. PEZRON. antiq. lib. iii. ſub. voc. tan. & alib [n] Hiſt. Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498. [o] Vid. LEWIS Introd. in hiſt. Brit. c. iv.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, and trade of the antient CELTES.

THO' the *Celtes* exceed all other nations in antiquity, their deſcent being, as we have c
ſeen, from *Gomer* the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, in which reſpect
they outgo the *Egyptians*, *Phrygians*, and even the *Scythians*; yet it muſt be owned,
that our knowledge of their government comes vaſtly ſhort of the two firſt, whether it
be owing to the want of records, or rather to the ſlowneſs and length of their migrations
into *Europe*, where we find them firſt ſettled into a ſpacious and regular polity. A late
antiquary [a] hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the diſperſion of *Babel*, *Gomer*
and his immediate deſcendants did preſently enter into *Armenia*, thence into *Phrygia*
and *Cappadocia*, till at length, under the conduct of *Acmon*, and afterwards of his
ſon *Uranus*, two warlike princes, they ſpread themſelves further, and ſent their
colonies from leſſer *Aſia* even into *Sparta*. *Chronus* or *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and *Mercury* d
or *Teutat*, were their three next ſucceſſors; and it was this laſt, according to our author,
who ſettled the *Gomerians* then called *Titans* in *Europe* into a regular government,
gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of *Celtes* and *Gauls*.
According to this ſyſtem then this *Gomerian* polity muſt have begun about the time
of *Terah*, *Abraham*'s father, or even of *Nahor*, if *Maneus* be admitted to have
been, as ſome hiſtorians think, the father of *Acmon*; tho' *Saturn* was the firſt who
took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for from antient authors, which would carry us
too far to repeat; we ſhall find a proper place for the hiſtory of thoſe princes, ſince e
deified by a great part of the world; for the preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that
nothing is more likely, than that their government was originally monarchical as
well as that of other nations, ſince we find it in the ſame form even in *Cæſar*'s time,
when they had ſpread themſelves all over *Europe*. Only by that time they had ſo
far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that hiſtorian, that
inſtead of one monarch they were divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and did
not yield the abſolute command to any one, except when their territories were
threatned with invaſion from a common enemy [b]. This is further confirmed in
part by another hiſtorian [c], who tells us, that the *Cimmerians* or northern *Gomerians*,
being invaded by the *Scythians* their neighbours, called a council of their kings and
people, whoſe diſagreement about defending or abandoning their country occaſioned f
the loſs of it, as well as the lives of thoſe who reſolved upon oppoſing the invaders.
It is indeed hard to conceive, how ſo warlike a nation, extended over ſuch large
tracks

[a] PEZRON. antiq. Na. Celt. paſſ. & ch. 15. [b] Comment. l. 6. &. al. HERODOT. l. iv.
[c] PEZRON. ubi ſup.

a tracks of ground, and in ſuch a difference of climates, ſhould continue long under one head, without ſplitting itſelf into ſeveral kingdoms; ſo that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preſerved ſo much of their antient affinity and government in *Cæſar*'s time, as to unite themſelves under one head in caſes of common danger.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their ſovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary above-mentioned, that *Mercury* did poliſh and give them laws, and by others [d], that *Samothes*, otherwiſe called *Dis* and *Diſcelta*, a man of ſingular learning and wiſdom, and the firſt founder of the *Celtic* monarchy, gave them a body of laws and diſcipline, which he wrote in the *Hebrew* tongue but in the *Phœnician* character; and
b that the *Greeks* did borrow the latter from the *Celtes* when they re-entered *Aſia*. The miſtake of theſe authors in affirming, that he wrote in *Hebrew*, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the deſcendants of *Heber* excepted, may be eaſily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the *Celtic* and it, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak; and as to his uſing the *Phœnician* character, there is nothing extraordinary in it, ſince it was the moſt univerſal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the ſame with the *Samaritan* or antient *Hebrew*. The reader may ſee what has been heretofore ſaid upon that ſubject †. It is added, that he was therefore called the *Saturn* of the *Celtes*, and that their learned men, ſuch as their divines and philoſophers, were called from him *Samothei*. But if ever he wrote
c ſuch a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footſteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the ſimplicity of their brethren the *Scythians* in their manner of life, they can no more be ſuppoſed to have been without ſome for the preſervation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial diſcipline. *Their government.*

THE *Curetes*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all cauſes whether criminal or civil, and their ſentence was reckoned ſo ſacred, that whoever refuſed to abide by it was by them excluded from aſſiſting at their ſacred rites; after which no man dared converſe with him, ſo that this
d puniſhment was reckoned the moſt ſevere of all, even more than death itſelf.

THEIR religion was very like that of the *Scythians*. They worſhipped the ſame gods, as *Jupiter* under the name of *Taran*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies *thunder*. *Mercury*, whom ſome authors call *Heus* or *Heſus*, probably from the *Celtic Huad* which ſignifies *a dog*, and might be the *Anubis latrans* of the *Egyptians*. But *Mars* was held in the greateſt veneration by the warlike, and *Mercury* by the trading part, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. It will not, however, be eaſy to reconcile the greateſt part of theſe *Celtic* deities with what *Pezron* ſays of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. All that need be ſaid at preſent on that head is, that the *Celtes* after
e having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the *Cretans* at once worſhipping *Jupiter*, and ſhewing his ſepulchre at the city of *Gnoſſus*; for which reaſon, whilſt *Callimachus* calls them lyars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, eſpecially the chriſtian fathers, juſtly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How theſe gods, or at leaſt their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be ſhewn, when we come to ſpeak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour loſt to inquire what gods or religion the *Celtes* had before they deified their kings; but ſince that time we find them very much addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition, divination, aſtrology, magic, and
f other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their *Curetes*, ſince known by the name of *Druids* and *Bards* (A). Theſe were, as *Cæſar* tells *Religion.*

[d] Vid. LEWIS hiſt. Brit. cap. 2. & auct ab eo citat. † See before, Vol. I. p. 404. & 719. & ſeq.

(A) The *Curetes* were among the *Titanic Celtes* what the *Druids* were afterwards among the *Gauls*, and were had in the ſame reverence and eſteem, inſomuch, that the education of *Jupiter* was committed to them, and *Cres* one of his ſons was of their ſociety. It is not eaſy to trace their original; and *Strabo*, exact and learned as he was, doth not ſeem to be ſatisfied with all he has ſaid about them (1). Their name of *Curete* ſeems derived from the *Celtick* word *Curo*, to *ſtrike* or *beat one thing againſt another*, whence the *Greek* κρουω, by the tranſpoſition of a letter, which ſignifies the ſame. And this ſeems to have

(1) *Geogr. lib. x.*

tells us [e], the performers of ſacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They alſo inſtructed youth in all kind of learning, ſuch as philoſophy, aſtronomy, aſtrology, the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote againſt the fear of death. Theſe they taught their diſciples by word of mouth, eſteeming them too ſacred to be committed to writing. *Learning.*

OTHER more common ſubjects, ſuch as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and eſpecially before a battle, all theſe were written in elegant verſe, and recited, or rather ſung, by them upon all proper occaſions. *Diodorus*, ſpeaking of the *Celtes*, tells us farther, that theſe poets uſed to accompany their ſongs with inſtrumental muſic, ſuch as that of organs, harps, and the like, and that they were had in ſuch veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, if one of theſe poets or *Bards* appeared, both ſides immediately ceaſed fighting, ſo that their fury gave way to wiſdom, and *Mars* to the muſes. But the true reaſon was, that they were univerſally believed to be prophets as well as poets, ſo that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to diſobey what they ſuppoſed came from their gods.

THESE prophetic philoſophers kept academies, which were reſorted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth but even of other countries, inſomuch, that *Ariſtotle* ſays, that their philoſophy paſſed from thence into *Greece*, and not from *Greece* thither [f]. Other authors add many things in praiſe of their virtue and morality [g]. But a *Roman* hiſtorian [h] makes no ſcruple to call their religion an impious one, and as ſuch to have been forbidden by *Auguſtus* and aboliſhed by *Claudius*. *Lucan* is no leſs ſevere againſt them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the *Romans* bore to them; yet it muſt be owned, that they had ſome barbarous cuſtoms, ſuch as ſacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than thoſe of any other animals [i]. And *Diodorus* tells us of another inhuman cuſtom they uſed in their divinations, eſpecially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a ſcimetar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs. *Cruel Cuſtoms.*

BUT though they reſembled the *Scythians* in ſome of their barbarous cuſtoms and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their paſtoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with ſpacious walls, towers, and ſumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the *Romans* with following the oldeſt law in the world, which ever leaves to the ſtrongeſt what the weaker cannot defend [k]. And indeed ſo greedy were they of conqueſt and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with ſuch ſtrength and fury, that nothing could withſtand them. And ſo ſudden and violent were their onſets, that, like fire and ſtorm, they drove all before them. They ſeldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people [l]. As for the priſoners they took in war, they ſold them to their

[e] De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12. [f] Ap. LAERT. de vit. Philoſ. c. i. [g] See VITUS BASINSTOC, CAMDEN, LEWIS, & al. [h] SUETON. in vit. Claudi. [i] MELA. lib. iii. c. 2. [k] Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Camil. [l] Id in vit. Mar. Vid. & STRAB. TACIT. DIO. HERODIAN, MELA & al.

have been given them on account of their ſtriking their ſhields with their javelins. which an antient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young *Jupiter* concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noiſe and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the *Druids*, as ſome pretend (3), we will not determine. If the *Druids* were exempt from that duty, they muſt have been different from the *Bards*, who, though in all other reſpects of the ſame order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and muſical compoſitions. Upon this account it is, that theſe *Bards* are affirmed by *Cæſar* (4) to have been the inventors of muſick and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king *Bardus*, whom *Beroſus* affirms to have reigned over the *Gauls* and *Britains*, or *Cymbri* (5), from whom they were called *Bards*.

The *Druids*, ſome think, were ſo called from *Beruſus*'s *Druys*, the 4th king of the *Celtes*, a man of uncommon learning for thoſe days (6); but we think with *Camden*, that *Pliny*'s is far more probable, who thinks, that they were ſo called from the *Celtic* and *Greek* word *Dros* or *Droſs*, *an oak* (7), which tree was held ſo ſacred by the *Celtes* as well as *Scythians*, that they performed moſt of their religious rites near ſome large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no ſacrifice without ſome leaves of that tree. As we ſhall ſhew more fully in their hiſtory

(2) *Apollod. Bibl. lib.* i. *c.* 1. *ap. Pezron.* (3) *de Bell. Gall vid. & Lewis hiſt. Brit. c.* v. *Pezron. c.* xiii. *Heylin & al.* (4) *Vid. Caius ant. Cantab. Perion. Baſinſtok.* (5) *Nat. hiſt. lib. vid. Camd. Lewis; Pezron.* (6) *Bell. Gall. l.* vi. (7) *Vid. Caſ. ubi ſup. ex Beroſ. & Cæſar. Com.*

a their great men, who made ſlaves of them, and appointed the moſt ſightly of them for their retinue. Inſtead of the ſkins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more ſavage *Scythians*, theſe choſe to adorn themſelves with their ſpoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dreſs, as we have had occaſion to hint a little higher.

Warlike diſcipline.

We have alſo obſerved, that they were expert horſemen, ſo that, conſidering their martial genius and diſcipline, their cavalry ſeldom failed of doing execution. They were no leſs famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing of them. In other reſpects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to almoſt all other nations, and ſo ſhall not dwell longer upon them. Their other

b arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and ſcimetars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewiſe ſhields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the ſame manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the buſineſs of their poets to record the actions of thoſe that ſignalized themſelves in ſongs and ſtories, which were afterwards ſung at their games and other ſolemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had ſuch an effect upon them, that they choſe to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than to be made priſoners.

c It was alſo their cuſtom before a battle to obſerve the moon, and, if poſſible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not ſo much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a ſuperſtitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the *Lacedæmonians*. They uſed alſo, like other nations, to conſult their prieſts or augurs upon all emergencies, but eſpecially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, theſe prieſts uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, till the onſet was begun; but if their augury proved otherwiſe, they gave ſuch heed to it, that nothing but abſolute neceſſity could prevail on them to fight.

Their martial laws uſed likewiſe to be written in verſe, and ſet to ſome warlike

d tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions, ſo that their very youth were verſed in them, and knew the theory of military diſcipline, long before they were of age to bear arms. They ſeem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inſpire them with a deſire of conqueſt and glory, and cheriſh the warlike temper for which they have been ſo famed in hiſtory. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the *Romans* and other *European* nations, will be ſeen in another chapter, and we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this, that they ſignalized themſelves no leſs in *Aſia*, both before and ſince their migration into *Europe*.

Language.

Their language, which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak of, was the old *Celtic* or *Gomerian*, preſerved ſtill by the *Welſh*. This has been ſo fully proved by

e numberleſs antiquarians, that we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to them, without entering into ſo ſpacious and intricate a field [m]. Thoſe who are acquainted with it muſt readily own, that no tongue, either ancient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this *Gomroeg*; and that, though it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been very much blended with the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *German* in proceſs of time, yet it retains ſtill ſo much of the admirable ſimplicity of the *Hebrew* grammar and conſtruction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of the ſame

[m] De his vid. Camd. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierw. inquir. in Orig. ling. Lluydd. Davies & Robert. Gram. Wooton, Hick. lexic. Lewis & Pezron. ubi ſup. & al. mult.

(B) With reſpect to the *Hebrew*, we refer our readers to what has been ſaid of it in the hiſtory of the *Jews* *, and it would be endleſs to enumerate in how many inſtances the *Gomroeg*, now the *Welſh*, doth imitate it. We ſhall, however, give our reader ſome few inſtances of it by way of ſpecimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The *Gomroeg* is ſo near akin to the *Hebrew*, that an antiquary (8), who was maſter of both, has given the learned world a ſpecimen of a conſiderable number of phraſes out of the *Old Teſtament*, which are ſo alike in both, that they ſeem to have been originally the ſame, and their difference to be only owing to diſtance of time and place, and other ſuch like cauſes, by which a language is naturally altered. It diſtinguiſhes the caſes like the *Hebrew*, not by different terminations as the *Greek* and *Latin*, but by prepoſitive articles: 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the prepoſition, adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it ſometimes a harder, ſometimes a ſofter ſound, more for the ſake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aſpirations and gutturals, which

* *See before, Vol. I. p. 717. & ſeq.* (8) *Ch. Edward's ſpecimen printed An.* 1675. *Vid. & Lloyd Gram. & al.*

same tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the *Arabic*, a seem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would be, that the *Gomerians* should be the only people that have preserved their own in such purity, whilst the *Jews*, and all other nations, have suffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with those of their neighbours, and especially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former having still preserved themselves from foreign conquests and bondage, chusing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries stronger by nature and less tempting to a conqueror, than to submit to their yoke? And as this at once inspired them with an over-weening value of themselves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preserving them from suffering their original tongue to be corrupted by those of their neigh- b bours?

Poetry.

IT were labour lost to endeavour to find out what their antient poetry was, in which their *Curetes* and *Druids* recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reason for mentioning it here is to observe, that as these poets were their only historians, and their tongue abounded, like the *Hebrew* and other eastern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we observed in the last note; this might probably enough administer matter sufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been since stuffed, as we shall have further occasion to shew when we come to speak upon that head. As to their musick, of which we have already hinted something under a former head, they are supposed to have c brought it from *Crete*, where, having found an iron mine on mount *Ida*, they began to forge themselves tools, then arms, and shields, and armour; hence sprang not only the trades of smiths and armourers, but even the first notions of music are said to have been taken from the sound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their shields, especially when the *Curetes* were nursing up young *Jupiter*, of which we have spoken already[n]. How far they improved these, and what other arts they cultivated, must be only guessed at from their manner of life; for since their warlike disposition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting some grandeur in their equipages, dress, and houshold furniture, we may reasonably suppose, all those arts and manufactures that d tended to it to have been likewise encouraged amongst them. To these we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their slaves and inferior sort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with respect to dress and equipage, we do not find, that they used any in their food. Pulse of all sorts was their common diet, especially that which the *Greeks* called *Elimos*, which we take to be same with *Lim*, which in the *Celtic* signifies *millet*, and is a very nourishing grain. Milk was also a considerable part of their diet; and as to flesh, they eat very sparingly of it, if we except that of swine, called in the *Celtic Souckh*, whence perhaps the *Greek* Ξυκα or Ξικα, and the word *Sick*, used by the country people in several parts of *Europe* to call their hogs. e

CONCERNING

[n] See NEWTON's Chronol. p. 14.

which are more or less dense like those of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third person singular, as *Car*, he loves; *Cari*, thou lovest; *Cara* I love; *Caren*, we love; *Carich*, ye love; *Carant*, they love.

With respect to its genius, it is strong, masculine, very poetical, and figurative, and though, perhaps more thro' corruption than primitive orthography, it seems harsh in the pronunciation by reason of its vast number of consonants, yet when put into verse, and spoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is, like the *Hebrew*, very soft, melodious, and musical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed also by historical facts (9). But we dare not be so sanguine as he in so delicate a point, lest we should be thought to write rather the panegyrick than the history of that antient nation and tongue.

Here, however, the reader may find the most rational account for that surprizing affinity which the learned have found between the *Celtic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *High-Dutch*, and some other *European* and *Asiatic* languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourse to antient history; in which it seems at least highly probable, that all these were tribes or colonies of the *Gomerians*, and used the same language, till in process of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with *Scythians* and other nations, it split itself into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without losing the greatest part of their primitive words, which are still the same in them, as may be seen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the history itself.

(9) *Pezron. Ant. ling. Celt. pas.* & *p.* 3.

a CONCERNING, their ancient traffick we have not much to ſay, only when *Mercury* the ſon of *Jupiter* had obtained the empire of the weſt, that is of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, he is ſaid to have poliſhed them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worſhipped as the patron and protector, and had every where ſtatues reared to his honour, as *Cæſar* himſelf aſſures us †. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the *Scythians* their younger brethren, he ſo poliſhed them by degrees, as to vie in moſt reſpects with all other nations in learning and politeneſs, as will further appear by what we have to ſay of that deity under the next ſection.

b † Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of *Mercury* ſeems to have been given him from the *Celtic Merc*, *merchandiſe*, and *Ur*, *a man*, as if he had been called by way of excellence *the man*, *maſter*, or *founder of merchandiſing*. That of *Teutat*, which he is ſuppoſed to have taken at his going or returning from *Egypt*, ſeems likewiſe to be of *Celtic* extraction, *Teut Tat*, ſignifying *the father of the people*, ſuch as he was upon this and many other accounts.

SECT. IV.

c

The chronology and hiſtory of the GOMERIANS *or* CELTES.

IT muſt be owned, that all that has been ſaid concerning the time of their migration from *Aſia*, as well as of their moſt famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to ſay fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to ſettle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about theſe as we are about the *Scythians*, nothing being more confuſed than the hiſtory of thoſe two nations. Sir *Iſaac Newton* [a] thinks, that theſe two nations had already ſpread
d themſelves over leſſer *Aſia* and *Europe*, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is about the latter end of the *Iſraelitiſh* judges. But before that time they had ſignalized themſelves in *Aſia*, under the names of *Sacks* and *Titans*, and had a ſucceſſion of kings. The firſt of which was, according to the author whom we chuſe to follow, contemporary with, if not before, *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this hiſtory. The perſon we mean is the learned *Pezron* [b], who has taken greater pains, and made more conſiderable diſcoveries, concerning the *Celtic* nation, than any hiſtorian
e we know of. It were indeed to be wiſhed, he had built leſs upon conjectures, and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without ſome ſolid teſtimonies from antiquity, and that his hiſtory of the *Celtes* carries a greater ſhare of probability, than any that has been attempted, concerning this ancient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conqueſts, and ſettlements. We ſhall upon the cloſe of this hiſtory make ſome kind of apology for preferring his notion, that *Uranus*, for inſtance, and *Saturn*, as well as their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, were *Celtic* princes reigning in *Aſia*, about the times of *Terah* and *Abraham*, to that of biſhop *Cumberland*, who ſuppoſes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Chronus*, or *Saturn*, to have been *Ham* the ſon of *Noah*, and ſo on; becauſe it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his ſyſtem carries from ancient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable hiſtory at leaſt of thoſe heroes, and of
f the *Celtic* and *Titanic* nations, diveſted as much as poſſible from the fable, and that there is at leaſt more reaſon to believe, that there really were ſuch men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

BUT in order to open a way to their hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to mention what is previous to it, with reſpect to the migrations and exploits of the *Gomerians* in the ſeveral parts of *Aſia*, before their ſpreading into *Europe*. For though they are mentioned by ancient geographers and hiſtorians under other names, ſuch as *Titans*, *Sacks*, *Parthians*, *Celtes*, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the ſame people and the deſcendants of *Gomer*, and that theſe names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilſt they not only preſerved ſtill

[a] Chronol. p. 10. [b] Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & ſeq.

ſtill that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to thoſe very authors, who a
mention them under their other names (A).

Thus then from *Phrygia*, the place of their firſt ſettlement, we find them under the name of *Comarians*, fixed along the river *Jaxartes*, beyond the *Caſpian* ſea, quite up to the province of *Bactria* [c]; theſe *Ptolomy* expreſly calls *Sacks*, *Comerians*, and *Curetes* [d]; his words are, the *Saccæ*, which inhabited along the *Jaxartes*, were the *Comarians* and *Curetes*. And as we find the *Saccæ* in the more fruitful plains of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Gallogrecia*, and all thoſe provinces which lie along the *Euxine* ſea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they ſpread themſelves through all that part of *Aſia*, till their courſe was ſtopt, (not by the *Bactrians*, who ſeem rather to have been of *Celtic* extraction, and are accordingly called *Chomarians* b by *Ptolomy*, who makes *Chomar* to have been their metropolis), but by the *Sogdians*, who being of *Scythian* race, had probably poſſeſſed themſelves of that province long before the *Chomarians* reached that of *Bactria*, and had by that time ſpread themſelves much farther northwards from *Armenia*, either for want of room or through diſcord. Some of them probably paſſed over the vaſt mountains which lie on the ſouth of the *Margiana*, and entered into the country of the *Median Arii*, where having fixed themſelves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by, the reſt, they were called in ſcorn *Parthians*, which ſignifies in the *Celtic*, *parted* or *divided from*. This is affirmed by *Juſtin*, only with this difference, that he makes them of *Scythian* extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient c *Greek* writers, who, as *Strabo* tells us [f], called all the nations towards the north of *Aſia*, *Scythians* and *Celto-Scythians*. This origin of the *Parthians* is likewiſe confirmed by ſeveral other authors [g], though it doth not appear to us, that the *Perſians* were deſcended from them †.

That the *Saccæ* poſſeſſed themſelves of at leaſt the beſt part of *Armenia*, is expreſly affirmed by *Strabo* [h], who adds, that they called that country by their name *Saccacena*

[c] Mela. lib. i. c. 2. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13. † Id. ibid. lib. ii. [e] lib. xli. c. 1. [f] Geogr. l. xi. [g] Vid. Arrian. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. Steph. Byz. in voc. Parthy. Jorand. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud Pezron. c. iv. † Vid. ſup. vol. II. p. 26. and 57. [h] lib. xi.

(A) This really holds true with reſpect to all except the name of *Titans*, with this difference, however, that they ſometimes confounded them with the *Scythians*, as has been obſerved more than once, which was doubtleſs owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and ſuch like, as well as to their regular progreſs, and ſpreading to the right and left of north *Aſia* and *Europe*, ſo that there is no other way to diſtinguiſh them but by thoſe countries through which each of them took its way towards *Europe*. Accordingly we find *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and others ſpeaking of them in thoſe reſpective provinces of *Aſia* under the name of *Sacks*, *Celtes*, *Celto-Scythians*, *Curetes*, *Comarians*, *Chomarians*, and *Cymbrians*. Thus *Ptolomy* tells us, that the *Saccæ*, who lived near the river *Jaxartes*, were of the *Curetes* and *Comarians* (1). *Pliny* likewiſe ſeems to mean the ſame thing, when, ſpeaking of them, he ſays (2), Beyond are the *Scythians*, whom the *Perſians* did in general call *Sacks*, from their next neighbouring nation, *à proxima gente*, &c. which nation could be no other than the *Celtic*, becauſe, as *Pliny* obſerves elſewhere, the *Chomarians* in *Bactriana*, who were a more civilized ſort than the *Scythians*, had a capital city called by their name *Chomar* (3), whereas the *Scythians* were known to live in the open fields at large, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

Thus then it is plain, that, bating their confounding them with the *Scythians*, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of *Gomerians*, though they uſed in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we obſerved in the firſt ſection had been done by *Herodotus* in his account of the *Scythians*. But as to the name of *Titans*, as it was both leſs known to the antients, and conſequently with leſs probability applicable to the *Celtic* nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it; but which we own is not altogether ſo clear as could be wiſhed.

He firſt ſuppoſes, that the *Gomerians*, or, as they had been ſince opprobriouſly called, *Sacks* or *Robbers*, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of *Titans*, which, as we have ſhewn, is of *Celtic* extraction, upon their removing farther into upper *Phrygia*. Here it ſeems they built a city which they called *Acmona*, from *Acmon* the ſon of *Magus* the founder of it (4). *Acmon* being by the *Greeks* reckoned the father of *Uranus*, who is therefore called *Acmonides*; our author ſuppoſes him to be the ſame with *Sanchoniatho*'s *Eliun*, or *moſt high*, becauſe this firſt is there affirmed to be the father of *Uranus*; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other *Celtic* princes.

Theſe conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that paſſage in *Judith*, where the *Titans* are mentioned as ſynonymous with the *Giants* (5); and from another in *Iſaiah* (6), which the ſeptuagint renders Γιγαντες οι αρξαντες τῆς γης *the Giants who ſubdued the earth*, which he thinks can be applied to none ſo well as to the *Titans* or *Celtes*; but the misfortune is, that the *Hebrew* doth by no means ſupport that verſion, any more than that verſion doth the univerſal rule of the *Celtes* over all other nations; ſo that the moſt that can be inferred from all this is, that as the fable of the *Titans* ſeems to have been founded upon ſome antient facts, and that theſe ſince deified heroes being ſaid to have ſignalized themſelves for their wonderful exploits, in theſe very regions of which the *Gomerians* had made themſelves maſters

(1) *lib.* vi. *c.* 13. (2) *Nat. hiſt. l.* vi. *c.* 17. (3) *ubi ſup. l.* xi. (4) *Vid. Steph. de urbib. ſub voc. acm. Ptolm. Geogr. lib.* v. *c.* 2. *& Numiſm. Paper. ap. Pezron. c.* 8. (5) *Ch.* xvi. 7. (6) *Iſai.* xiv. 9.

a *Saccacena* (B). It likewiſe appears from the ſame author, that they paſſed over the mountains, bordering upon *Armenia*, and penetrated into *Cappadocia*, that part eſpecially which is upon the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea [i]. This expedition ſeems to have been made under the conduct of *Acmon*, the father of *Uranus*, and of his brother *Doeas*, where they gave their name the former to the capital city called *Acmonia*, in which we are alſo told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the ſpacious *Doean* plains near the city of *Themiſcyra* along the river *Thermodon* (C). From the *Euxine* ſea their progreſs towards the *Palus Mæotis* is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the *Cymbrian* or *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, from which they needed but to croſs the *Tanais* to enter into their *European* terri-

b tories.

We muſt now leave thoſe colonies extending themſelves towards *Europe*, and return into *Phrygia*, whither *Acmon* is ſuppoſed either to have returned from *Cappadocia* [l], or, which is more likely, where he continued after his anceſtors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called *Acmona*, and ſaid by the ſame authors to have been founded by him; likewiſe another grove dedicated to him, and ſome ſpacious plains called *Doeantes* from his brother *Doeas* [m] (D). From which one may reaſonably infer, that he both reigned, and was afterwards worſhipped here likewiſe; and conſequently, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe him a fabulous perſon, any more than his deſcendants *Uranus*, *Saturn*, and

c the reſt of the *Titan* princes. And as for the *Celtes* being deſcended from them, we find it expreſly affirmed by a very ancient author [n], who was no friend to the *Celtes* or *Gauls*, and yet ſays, that the κελτοι were οφιγονοι Τιτανες *the deſcendants* or *late poſterity of the Titans*. If it be objected, that the *Druids* in *Cæſar*'s time did boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from *Dis* or *Pluto* [o], it will appear, that he alſo was a *Titan* prince, who had the weſtern part of the empire, that is *Europe*, to his ſhare, whilſt *Jupiter* kept the eaſtern part to himſelf; ſo that both *Cæſar* and *Callimachus* agree in the main point, *Pluto* being the great grandſon of *Acmon*, the firſt prince of note of the *Gomerian* or *Titanic* race.

This

[i] Strab. ubi ſupra. [k] Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph. Byzant. ſub voce Acmon.
[l] Pezron. ch. viii. [m] Byzant. ubi ſupra. [n] Callimach. hymn. in Delum. verſ. 170. & ſeq.
[o] Vid. Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.

maſters under the name of *Sacks*, ſince abſorbed into that of *Titans*; it is much more probable, that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the *Celtic*, eſpecially conſidering, that the greateſt part of their names and ſurnames, which were ſtill retained by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, are plainly of *Celtic* extraction, as we ſhall ſee when we come to their hiſtory. To this may be added the tradition of the *Cretans* concerning the *Titans* and *Curetes* being cotemporary in that iſland, the ſepulchre of *Rhea*, *Saturn*'s ſiſter and wife, being ſhewn there, and their boaſting, that ſeveral of the gods were born there, all which have been preſerved to us by *Diodorus Siculus* (-).

(B) Or rather perhaps *Saccaſtena*, as we find it more properly ſpelt by another author (8); from the *Celtic Stan*, which ſignifies *region*, and is ſtill preſerved by the *Perſian*, as in *Indoſtan*, *Chuſiſtan*, &c. which perhaps the *Celtes* ſoftened afterwards into *Tan*, as in *Aquitan the country of water*, *Britania the country of the Brits* (9).

(C) That theſe two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the teſtimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that *Themiſcyra* means no more than *the city of Themis*. *Kir* in the *Hebrew* and *Ker* in the *Celtic* ſignifying *a city*. As for *Themis*, whom the *Greeks* made goddeſs of juſtice, he ſuppoſes her to have been the grand-daughter of *Acmon*, and a famous magician or propheteſs; and that *Doeas Acmon*'s brother was of the ſame profeſſion; his name in the *Celtic* ſignifying *a diviner*, from *Ddoc* or *Duoc*, *God*.

(D) If any ſuch monuments were really in two different provinces of *Aſia*; the one in *Phrygia*, as the authors above quoted expreſly affirm, and the others in ſome other parts, for they do not name *Cappadocia*, it will only follow, that both had been under *Acmon*'s government, and there will be no neceſſity to ſend him into the one to bring him back into the other, ſince his colonies could eaſily atchieve the conqueſt of the latter, and leave thoſe monuments in honour of their prince.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of *Sacks* is from that time wholly abſorbed into that of *Titans*; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into *Phrygia*, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of *Titans*, which either ſignifies *ſons of the ſun*. or *of the earth*, as we ſhewed elſewhere †; whilſt that of *Sacks* ſtuck only to thoſe who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of *Aſia*. It is not eaſy to ſay, when or why they aſſumed the name of *Titans*; but if we ſuppoſe with our author that word to ſignify *ſons of the earth*, which anſwers to that of *Aborigines*, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to aim at it much earlier in *Phrygia*, becauſe it was the original ſettlement of their progenitors *Gomer* and his deſcendants, whilſt thoſe colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and ſettle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, muſt be contented to quit it for that of *Sacks* or *Robbers*, which the loſers gave to them.

(-) *lib.* v. (8) *Iſidor. ſeu Charax. Parthen. Stathm. ap. Pezron. c.* v. (9) *Id. ibid.* (10) *Ibid.*
† *Vol. II. p.* 243. *Note B.*

This prince was the ſon of *Mon*, *Man*, or *Maneus*, his name *Acmon*, or perhaps rather *Ack-man*, ſeems to imply as much. He is ſuppoſed by our author to have lived in the days of *Terah* the father of *Abraham*. So that, including *Maneus* in the liſt, we have a ſucceſſion of ſix *Titan* princes, whoſe government, according to him, laſted about three hundred years [p]. And are as follows, a

Man or *Maneus*	*Saturn*
Acmon	*Jupiter*
Uranus	*Theutat*

We have already mentioned how impoſſible it is to adjuſt the chronology of theſe princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give ſome light to it out of ſome ancient writers; we ſhall give what he has there ſaid in his own words. b

I have taken no ſmall pains to find out what ancient authors have ſaid on this head. I find, that *Jupiter* began to reign when *Iſaac* had attained the one half of his age, or ſome years after *Abraham*'s death, and this is what may be made out from ancient hiſtorians, ſuch as *Evemerus*, *Ennius*, *Thallus*, and ſome others, who all agreed, that *Jupiter* reigned in the time of *Belus* the firſt king of *Aſſyria*; which agrees exactly with the opinion of thoſe who made the verſes of the *Sybils*, which expreſly ſay, that *Saturn* with his brother *Titan* and *Japhet* began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were thoſe whom people called the children of heaven and earth, becauſe they excelled all others in vertue and ſtrength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly anſwers to the time of *Abraham*. *Saturn* muſt therefore begin his reign many years before *Abraham* had been in the land of *Canaan*. Nay, his father *Uranus* muſt already have been very potent, both in *Aſia* and alſo in *Europe*, in the time of *Terah Abraham*'s father. All this ſeems plain to me upon examining thoſe monuments of antiquity which are ſtill extant. But the chronicle of *Euſebius*, which has been regulated from ancient hiſtories, and eſpecially thoſe which related to the iſland of *Crete*, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about thoſe times, *Cres*, one of the *Cureles* who took care of *Jupiter*'s education, reigned in *Crete*, and that the iſland received its name from him. *Euſebius* by the words Κατα τϑς χρονϑς, *about theſe times*, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of *Abraham*'s life. Now *Jupiter*, according to his calculation, muſt have begun his reign about the latter end of *Terah*'s life. But I have many reaſons to believe, that *Euſebius* was miſtaken in making him of ſuch old ſtanding, and that this *Titan* prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, *that is the* 98*th year of* Iſaac's *life*, and that he could not precede *Moſes* above 300 years. c d

Thus far *Pezron*; according to whoſe account it might be eaſy to conjecture the times when *Jupiter*'s predeceſſors reigned, by tracing ſo many generations back; eſpecially becauſe we have the length of *Jupiter*'s life recorded, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which if it come ſhort of the number of his contemporary *Iſaac*, may be atributed to his living a quite different life from him. e

Maneus. We have nothing recorded concerning *Maneus*, but that he is reported to have been the father of *Acmon* [q].

Acmon. Concerning *Acmon*, if he be the ſame with the *Elion* of *Sanchoniatho*, as this author makes him the father of *Uranus*, who was therefore called *Acmonides*, or *the ſon of Acmon*; we have nothing particular, except that he had a ſon named *Epigeus Autochton*, called afterwards *Ouranus*, and that being killed by a wild beaſt, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worſhipped by his deſcendants [r] (E).

Uranus,

[p] Pezron. c. 15. [q] Polyhist. ap. Byzant. ſub voce Acmon. [r] Sanchoniath. lib. iii.

(E) If his deſcendants paid him thoſe divine honours preſently after his death, we have here, as *Pezron* obſerves, one of the ancienteſt heathen deities in all antiquity. But we ſee no reaſon for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; thoſe groves which were conſecrated to him in *Phrygia* might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to thoſe of the *Scythian* kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, whilſt the idolatrous worſhip

† *See before, Vol. I. p.* 872. *Note E. p.* 889. *Note W. & alibi.*

a *Uranus*, according to the ſame ancient author, ſucceeded his father, and married his own ſiſter, רא *Ge*, or *the earth* (F), by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom, called *Itus* or *Chronus*, afterwards *Saturn*, alſo ſucceeded him. *Sanchoniatho* obſerves, that he had two other names, and that that of *Ouranus* was not given him till afterwards; but tho' he knew not the reaſon of it, yet if we attend to the *Celtic* etymology, *Ur* or *Our*, *a Man*, and *en heaven*, it will appear highly probable, that he was called *Our-en*, *a man of heaven*, from his being very much addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology. From this the *Greeks* might eaſily alſo call him *Uranus* or *Ouranus*, if not wholly derive that word from him. We paſs by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the *Greeks* and other
b writers, and ſhall only add, that his new conqueſts in *Aſia* and *Europe* ſeem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic, to his policy than to his ſkill in aſtrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having inlarged his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious ſon and ſucceſſor *Saturn*, who, having intercepted him, put him into cloſe confinement, where he either died with grief, or was diſpatched by the order of that unnatural ſon.

Saturn, ſirnamed afterwards *Chronos* or *Cronos*, is ſaid by *Sanchoniatho* to have *Saturn*; been the eldeſt ſon of *Uranus* [s], whilſt other authors affirm him to have been the youngeſt of all [t]; and that his eldeſt brother, who was called *Titan*, did for a long
c while conteſt the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. *Saturn* is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt, who took upon him the regal dignity; for we are told [u], that all his predeceſſors, down to *Uranus*, had contented themſelves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us [w], upon the authority of *Pherecydes*, *that he was the firſt that wore the diadem*, whence he is ſuppoſed to have been ſirnamed *Cronos*, which in the *Celtic* ſignifies *crowned* (G). He likewiſe tells us in another place, that he much *delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a ſhort coat, of the* Galatic *dye*, from which perhaps came alſo the royal purple, ſo much worn by kings and perſons of the higheſt rank (H).

Saturn, though he was no leſs politic and crafty [x] than prone to ambition, could
d not ſo well conceal his treaſonable deſigns, but that *Uranus* had ſome ſuſpicion of them, and to be before-hand with him diſpatched his daughter *Rhea* to make away with him by ſome private means. But *Saturn*, who perhaps was apprized of it by his mother *Titea*, whoſe jealouſy had ſo far tranſported her (I) as to encourage

[s] Ubi ſupra. [t] Hesiod. in Theogn. Apollon. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. Pezr. c. x. [u] Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 13. [w] Tertull. de Coron. c. 17. [x] Hesiod. ubi ſupra.

worſhip of them was not introduced till many ages after.

Theſe *Titans* of *Sanchoniatho*, whom the *Greeks* called αλητας or *wanderers*, ſuch as the *Gomerians* really were, are alſo ſuppoſed to have been of gigantic ſtature, like thoſe we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Canaan*; the fable indeed reckons them as ſuch. The apocryphal book of *Judith* (11) mentions the *Titans* and giants as ſynonymous, as we hinted before; and the ſeptuagint have tranſlated the words *the valley of Rephaim*, or *giants*; *the valley of Titans* (12). The *Greeks*, which called them Τιτας and Τιγαντες, ſeem to have borrowed that word from the *Celtic Gugg*, which ſignifies *proud, fierce, arrogant*, ſuch as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe their monſtrous ſtature might incline them to be, and ſuch as we find thoſe to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the *Titans*, kings and prieſts as well as people, were extremely given to ſuperſtition, divination, magic, and all ſuch-like vile practices, an ancient father had reaſon to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

(F) It is obſervable, that the *Greeks* who have tranſlated this name have alſo retained the ancient one of *Titea*, which is derived from the *Celtic Tit*, which ſignifies the ſame thing. We ſhall find many more ſuch *Greek* names in the ſequel, which are palpably of *Celtic* extraction.

(G) That of *Saturn*, which ſome have abſurdly derived from the *Hebrew* סתר *Satar*, *to hide*, becauſe he went and concealed himſelf in *Italy* from his ſon *Jupiter*, is more naturally deduced from the *Phrygian Satorn*, or rather *Sadorn*, which ſignifies *ſtrong* and *potent*; for ſo he really was, till weakened by his ſon's unnatural rebellion, as the hiſtory will ſhew immediately. *Sanchoniatho* gives him alſo the name of *Il* or *Ilos*, which may be properly enough derived from the *Hebrew* word אל *El*, which ſignifies *ſtrong* and *mighty*, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) *Saturn* being ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Phrygia*, part of which was afterwards called *Galatia*; *Pezron* obſerves, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the *Greek* κοκκος, and *Latin Coccus*, may naturally be derived from the *Celtic Coch*, which ſignifies *red* (14).

(I) This jealouſy and reſentment, *Sanchoniatho* tells us, was occaſioned not only by the number of other wives which *Uranus* took, but becauſe though ſhe had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what moſt of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to deſtroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her ſon's rebellion (15).

(11) *Chap.* xvi. 7. (12) 2 Sam. v. 18. (13) *Euſeb. pr. evang. l.* ii. *c.* 5. (14) *Chap.* 10. & *ſeq. Cel. Latin. ſub voc. Coccus.* (15) *Id. ibid.*

encouraging him, if not to inſpire him with the firſt deſign of this unnatural rebellion, a ſoon found a way not only to divert her from her enterpriſe, but to bring her over to his ſide. This cauſed an open rupture, in which *Saturn*, after a conteſt of ſeveral years proving the ſtronger of the two, impriſoned his father, as we have ſeen above, and made himſelf abſolute; after which it is ſuppoſed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he aſſumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had inlarged his dominions, not only in *Aſia* but in *Europe* as far as *Spain*, and gained alſo ſome provinces in *Africa*, a leſs title than this could not well ſuit his ambitious mind.

HE had two notable counſellors beſides his mother, the one from his youth named *Hermes Treſmegiſtus*, a great philoſopher and conſummate politician; ſome add that b he was alſo a great conjurer [y]; the other was his ſiſter *Rhea*, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). Theſe three did ſo far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and eſpecially with his other brothers, what with their addreſs and munificence (L), that they all came into his party, ſo that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conqueſts did ſo vaſtly exceed thoſe of his predeceſſors, and himſelf proved ſo ſucceſsful both at home and abroad. But his happineſs was ſoured many different ways: he was extremely miſtruſtful of his children: he had himſelf dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, leſt his crime ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame kind. This made him ſacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as ſome think, or, as others believe, to the ghoſt of his father. He was extremely given to ſuperſti- c tion and divinations, and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increaſe his ſuſpicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by ſome of them, as he really was by *Jupiter*. He had ſtill another private enemy to ward againſt, namely his brother *Titan*, who, though forced to yield to him, at leaſt in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was ſo intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of ſurpriſing him and his wife *Rhea*, whom he immediately conveyed into ſome province of *Aſia*, and kept them in cloſe confinement, till his ſon *Jupiter* came with a conſiderable army of *Cretans*, and reſtored his cap- d tive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

WHAT we have obſerved concerning *Saturn*'s jealous temper and cruelty to his children, muſt in all probability have been the cauſe, why his wife *Rhea* took ſuch pains to preſerve her youngeſt ſon *Jupiter*, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and ſending him to be privately educated in another (N). This action therefore of *Jupiter*, pious and generous as it was, did

[y] SANCHONIAT. ubi ſupra.

(K) This cuſtom of marrying ſiſters had nothing extraordinary in thoſe days; we have ſeen in a former volume, that it was common to the *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, and many other great and polite nations. The name of *Rhea* is likewiſe of *Celtic* extraction, and ſignifies *a lady*, as *Rhey* ſignifies *a lord* (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called *Japhet* or *Japet*, a name preſerved only among the deſcendants of *Gomer*. *Sanchoniatho* likewiſe names *Atlas*, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the ſon of *Japhet*. It is very probable, that *Saturn*, in recompence of their friendſhip to him, gave that part of his conqueſts in *Mauritania* to *Atlas*, and that the famous mountains of *Africa* received their name from him (17).

(M) This remarkable tranſaction has been preſerved to us by an ancient father (18) upon the authority of *Ennius*, or rather of *Euemerus*, whoſe tranſlator he was; and as he produced it to prove againſt the heathen, that the gods they worſhipped had been meer men, he introduces it with this ſingular preface: *Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accipiendis religionibus ſequi aut probare videamur.* It ſhould ſeem by theſe words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic teſtimonies of hiſtorians, and knew full well how to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We may add, that many other fathers and apologiſts have appealed to the like hiſtorical facts concerning *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as ſuch by thoſe againſt whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of *Jupiter*'s birth. The *Cretans* did pretend, that he was born in that iſland on mount *Ida*, and *Callimachus* (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there alſo, becauſe ſuch a god as he could not die, yet, abſurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount *Lycæus* in *Arcadia*. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymniſt adds, that the place was ſince held ſo ſacred that no women dared to approach it. It was alſo called by way of excellence *the ſacred top*, and the *Puerperium*, or *place of Rhea's lying-in*: As for the *Cretans*, they might be eaſily led into the belief of his being born among them, becauſe he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmoſt privacy

(16) *Pezron. ubi ſupra.* (17) *Id. ibid.* (18) *Lactant. Inſtit. lib.* i. *c.* 14. (19) *Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apol. cap.* x. *& alib. paſſ. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch. Dion. Felix, Arnob. Auguſt. Jul. Firmic & al.* (20) *Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.*

a did rather increaſe than diſpel his jealouſy. His ſurprize to find himſelf over-reached by his wife, and to ſee his ſon, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage and ſtrength ſufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time deprive him with the ſame facility of his kingdom and life. *Lactantius* adds, upon the authority of *Evemerus*, that he went to conſult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his ſon *Jupiter*, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he loſt no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into *Crete* with an army, for his ſon was again retired thither after he had atchieved his deliverance; but he ſoon found, that the *Cretans* were all in his ſon's intereſt, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than
b obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of *Greece* ſince called *Peloponneſus*, whither *Jupiter*, enraged at his cruel deſign againſt him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into *Italy*. *Janus* was then king of the *Aborigines*, who, we obſerved before, may either have been of *Celtic* extraction, or upon ſome other account friends to the *Titans* (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and, as ſome affirmed, admitted him into a kind of partnerſhip with him in his kingdom [z]; ſo that the region where *Saturn* reigned, and which is adjoyning to the *Tyber*, was ſince called *Saturnia* from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impoſſible to gueſs, except that his tomb being ſhewed in *Sicily* [a] may induce one to ſuppoſe, that he went and ended his days
c there.

Jupiter, or, as he was rightly called, *Jou* (P), becauſe he was the youngeſt of *Saturn*'s children; did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle *Titan*, or perhaps one of his ſons, having probably found means to ſtrengthen his party whilſt he was taken up againſt his father, raiſed a war againſt him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, both by ſea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of *Titan* and his army. *Jupiter*.

THIS war ſeems to be the trueſt original of the fabulous war of the *Giants* or *Titans* againſt the gods, which the poets have ſo interlarded with their inventions, that

[z] TERTUL. Apolog. ubi ſup. [a] PHILOCOR. ap. CLEM. ALEXAND. Admonit. ad Gent.

privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the *Curetes*, and theſe being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him ſo powerful an army to go to his father's reſcue. And it is not improbable, that they were the perſons that inſpired him with that pious deſign, which might probably cure the father of his unjuſt ſuſpicion, and entitle the ſon to the ſucceſſion of his kingdom.

The ſtory of *Saturn*'s cruelty, in ſacrificing ſo many of his children to his jealouſy, may alſo have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring of them, as *Jupiter*'s depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occaſion to their accuſing him of caſtrating him.

(O) We have already taken notice, that the *Umbrians* are affirmed by antient hiſtorians both to have been the oldeſt people in *Italy*, and to have been the deſcendants of the *Celtes* †; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that *Saturn* would have truſted himſelf, in his deſperate circumſtances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether theſe were the ſame with the *Aborigines*, or another colony incorporated with them in proceſs of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from *Janus*, ſcarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by ſome other tie.

Some critics have found fault with *Julius Firmicus* for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the *Spartans* in *Italy*. *Pezron* has taken ſome pains to prove, that they were really in *Italy*, before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the *Sabines* were deſcended from them, and they from the *Celtes* or *Gomerians*. But if this ſhould not ſeem altogether ſo plain, as it is impoſſible to grope into thoſe dark and remote ages with any tolerable ſatisfaction, the words of *Firmicus in Italia a Spartis abſconditur*, if there has no error crept into them, may be underſtood proleptically. The nation that received *Saturn*, whatever they were, might in time, if not by *Jupiter* himſelf, be drove out of *Italy*, and go and ſettle in *Sparta*, or upon ſome other account be thenceforth called *Spartans*. At leaſt the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from *Italy*; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into *Jovis*, &c. ſhews it plainly. It is therefore abſurd to derive it, as *Cicero* doth upon the authority of *Varro*, from *Juvans Pater*, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the *Celeic Jou*, or, as we pronounced it, *Joo*, which ſignifies *young*, is on all reſpects ſo much nearer to it; and *Jupiter* ſeems plainly to be the ſame with *Jou-pater*, which laſt was added to his former name of *Jou*, when he came to be worſhipped as the greateſt of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the antient *Latins* did not write his name *Jupiter*, but *Jaopiter*, *Joupiter*, and *Japiter*. But the *Celtic* has ſtill preſerved his antient name of *Jou*, and call *Thurſday*, or the *Dies Jovis* of the *Romans*, *Diz-jou*, and *Di-jou*, *the day of Jove* (22). We ſhall have occaſion by-and-by to ſpeak of ſome of his other names.

† Vol. II. p. 246. Note. (21) *Lib. de Error profan. relig.* (22) *Vid. Pezron. ch.* xii.

that it is ſcarcely poſſible to diſcover it through them (Q). This final overthrow was given them near the antient city of *Tarteſa* in *Spain*, a ſea-port town a little to the north of *Cadis* [b] (R), whither it ſeems he went in perſon with a great fleet and a puiſſant army, and having brought over ſome of their confederates to his ſide, and gained this ſignal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life. a

Jupiter, after the example of his predeceſſors, married his own ſiſter *Juno* (S). But as he was ſeldom without ſome amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous iſſue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleaſures ſo cloſe, but he allowed himſelf proper ſeaſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and *Banditi* who ſheltered themſelves in the foreſts of *Theſſaly*, *Macedonia*, and *Illyria*, where they committed the vileſt outrages. But as he had made *Mount Olympus*, [c] (T) one of the moſt delightful parts of *Theſſaly*, his chief reſidence, he was under a kind of neceſſity to rid thoſe countries of ſuch vermin, that his ſubjects might have the freer acceſs to his court. b

Before his death he is affirmed by the laſt quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern, or *European*, part of it to his

[b] Tertul. Apolog. Scholiaſt. in Iliad. viii. ad verſ. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11. Lactant. Inſtitut. lib. i. c. 10. [c] Evemer. ap.

(Q) We have deferred till now to obſerve how much this ſyſtem of hiſtory, for we dare not to venture to give it a ſtronger name, doth claſh with that of our learned *Camberland*, who, as we have fully ſhewn in the beginning of this hiſtory*, makes his *Sanchoniatho*'s *Uranus* to have been *Noah*, *Cronus Ham*, *Mizor Mizraim*, *Zadic Melchizedeck*, and ſo on: that our readers might ſee which of the two carries the greateſt probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both ſupported by ſome collateral kind of proofs, and upon a ſuppoſition, that this fragment we have left is the relick of a fuller hiſtory, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We ſhall not repent what we have ſaid elſewhere on this laſt head, much leſs do we deſign to draw a parallel between thoſe two ſyſtems or their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may ſay without partiality concerning that of our *Celtic* antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as chriſtians. But the latter, eſpecially the apologiſts, ſeem plainly enough to have been generally of the ſame mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned againſt their ſtupid worſhippers.

How far all this is further corroborated by numberleſs *Celtic* etymons, the greateſt part of which are both eaſy and natural and confirmed by hiſtorical facts, muſt be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been ſaid concerning the names of *Uranus* and *Titea*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, and *Rhea*, *Jou* or *Jupiter*, *Theutat*, and others, beſides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be ſeen in our author, and ſome few which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at leaſt, juſtify our giving it a place in this hiſtory, as we have that of our learned biſhop in the former volume.

(R) This ſeems alſo confirmed by what *Juſtin* (23) adds, that the *Curetes* lived formerly in the foreſts about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after *Voſſius*, that it ought to be read *Cinetes*, becauſe the *Curetes* were a people of *Crete*. We have already ſhewn, that the latter were the prieſts or ſoothſayers of the *Titans* and *Celtes*, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that ſome of them who had followed *Jupiter* in this expedition, and delighted otherwiſe in a kind of aſcetic life, ſhould be induced to make thoſe foreſts their abode? But we ſhall have occaſion by-and-by to ſay ſomething further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profeſſion in thoſe parts of *Spain*.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of *Celtic* extraction, and to be derived from *Ghuin*, which ſignifies *fair*, *white*, and by way of excellence, *beautiful*; Such as *Juno* is ſaid to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient *Gloſſaries* call her alſo *Jolinta*, a *jolly* or *fine woman*.

Thus *Jupiter* had ſome other names among the *Greeks* which ſeem to flow from the ſame fountain, as Ζευς, from which they irregularly made their Διος δις δια, &c. in the oblique caſes. Now the *Zeus*, from which the *Latins* made *Deus*, ſeems more plainly derived from the *Celtic Dhew*, *God*, and the *Dis* and *Dia* from *Di*, *bright*. He was likewiſe ſurnamed Πικος and *Piccus*, from the bird of that name, which *Pliny* tell us was then much uſed in auguries (24), which bird ſeems to be ſo called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of *Woodpecker*. *Pliny* indeed pretends, that he was called *Picus* from a king of *Latium* of that name; but it ſeems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like *Jupiter*, ſo ſurnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the *Celtic* word *peck* or *beak*, ſignifies *a bird's bill*; and hence it is likely our verb to *peck* is delivered.

(T) Hence the laſt quoted father obſerves, that after his apotheoſis the place of his reſidence came to be called by his ſuperſtitious worſhippers *heaven*, or to be ſynonymous to it (25).

* *Vid. ſup.* Vol. I. p. 133. & *ſeq.* † *Ibid. p.* 139. *not.* B. & *alib.* (23) *lib.* xliv. *c.* 4. (24) *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l.* x. *c.* 18. (25) *Pezron, c.* xii.

a his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto*, surnamed also *Agesilaus* (U), whilst himself kept the *Asiatic*, or eastern, part of it. We observed also before, that he gave some part of *Africa* to his nephew *Atlas*, but having afterwards either conceived jealousy of him, or detected him in some criminal design against him, he is reported to have caused him to be put to death.

This *Atlas* (W) had a daughter named *Maia*, or *Flowry*, whose beauty *Jupiter* was not proof against, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a son named *Theutat*, since *Mercury*, of whom we shall speak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage *Juno*, who was ever plotting something against him. We cannot guess whether *Atlas* had been unfor-
b tunately drawn into some rebellion by the jealous queen, but *Jupiter* is by some accused to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual seditions which she raised against him, which yet he did find means to discover in good time [c].

On the other hand, the *Cretan* historians extolled his vertues up to the skies. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Ennius*, upon their authority, bestow the greatest encomiums on him for his strength, valour, prudence, justice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and punishing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholesome laws and regulations for the publick good [f]. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62 [g], this great, and since deified, hero, resigned his breath
c like other men, and was buried by the *Curetes* in the isle of *Crete*, and in the city of *Gnossus*, where his sons erected a stately monument, which was shewn many ages after by the inhabitants [h]. The same authors add, that he divided his kingdom among his relations and friends. His son *Cres* or *Cret* (from whom that island of *Crete* is supposed to have had its name, *Cret* in *Celtic* signifying *bold* and *daring*, was then at the head of the *Curetes*, and performed the last devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that island [i] (X). How the rest of his kingdom was divided among the rest of his successors is not to be guessed at, only we find, that his son *Theutat* or *Mercury*, of whom we are going to speak, had the western part assigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle *Dis* or *Pluto* [k].

d *Mercury* is allowed by all antiquity to have been the son of *Jupiter* by *Maia*, as we have seen above. We have given already in a former note the etymon of those two names †. The *Greeks* did likewise call him Ερμης, *Hermes*, (Y), and the *Latins Faunus* (Z). He was famed for his learning and wisdom, and especially for *Mercury*.

[d] Id. ibid. [e] Pezron. & auct. ab eo citat. [f] Diod. Sicul. lib. v. Enn. ubi supra. Callim. Hymn. in Jov. [g] Suid. sub. voce Πικος. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. [h] Cicer. Evemer. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 11. [i] Vid Pezron. ibid. [k] Suid. sub. voc. Πλουτος. Chronic. Alexand. ubi sup. † Vol. II. p. 255. Note.

(U) This last name which signifies *a leader of the people*, or *Agesander*, as it is found in other writers (26), and signifies *a leader of men*, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into *Europe*, and perhaps as far as *Spain*, where we observed a little above, there had been both *Titans* and *Curetes* in the neighbourhood of the ancient *Tartesa*. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out such rich mines of gold, and silver (27), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of *Pluto*, in *Greek* Πλουτον, which signifies *rich*, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced *Strabo* to believe, that the *Tartara* of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came from the above-named *Tartesa*, a country situate in the utmost parts of *Spain* westward (28).

Hence likewise, *Jupiter* having the dominion of the east or sun-rising, and *Pluto* of the west or sun-setting, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewise, might the mythologists of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the same deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(W) He was also called by the *Greeks Talamon*, from the *Celtic Tell-mon*, or *Man*, on account of his high stature, and as he was also a great astronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have since made of him.

(X) This is at least intimated by *Lactantius*'s words out of *Ennius*, *Curetes filii sui (Jovis) cum curaverunt*, for *Cres* was then a *Curete*, and probably the head or principal of that society. *Eusebius* seems also to confirm his having succeeded his father in the government of that isle, when he makes him the first king of *Crete* (29); that is, as we understand him after *Pezron*, he was the first who reigned in that only island, whereas his father's kingdom is said to have reached from *Euphrates* to *Spain*, besides some parts of *Africk*, which he had given to *Atlas*, as we have seen elsewhere.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the *Celtic Armes*, which signifies *divination*. For *Mercury* seems to have out-done all his ancestors in the knowledge and constant practice of that art, as we shall see by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the *Celtic*; nor can we guess upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of *Faunus* and

(26) *Æschyl. Callimach. Athen. Hesych. ap. Pezron. ibid.* (27) *Vid. Strab. Geograph. l. v.* (28) *Ibid.* (29) *Euseb. ap. Pezron. cap. xii.*

for his skill in auguries, magic, and philosophy. He was active, couragious, and elo- a
quent; and so prudent, that he always kept close to his father's interest. For all these good qualities he became his chief favourite and counsellor, and was also by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An ancient father tells us, that he went down into *Egypt* to penetrate further into their mysterious arts and sciences, and that at his return he assumed the name of *Theutat* [1] (A). It was probably from the *Egyptians* that he learned the art of melting, refining, casting, and working of metals, which art he is said to have first brought into *Europe*, whence it again dimanated itself into *Asia*, as was shewn under another head.

HE not only taught them the metallick trades, but how to make an advan- b
tagious traffick of them into other countries, for which he had the surname of *Merk-ur* or *Mercury*. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his subjects, gave him an opportunity of polishing that rude and cruel nation, which till then seems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief study and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and sciences, and caressed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, especially those who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his address and powerful eloquence he did so civilize and improve his subjects, that his merit was still dear to them in *Cæsar*'s time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had statues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village *.

SOME attribute the invention of the olympic games to him, others to *Hercules*, c
but, if *Pausanius* be right, they must have been much older, since he tells us, that *Saturn* and *Jupiter* had wrestled together at them [m]. They may, however, be sup- posed to have made some considerable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipsed the memory of their first inventor. He reigned, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, 34 years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not easy to say. *Suidas* [n] and the above-mentioned chronicle say, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his superior power and merit, formed such a conspiracy against his life, that he found himself under a necessity of packing up all his treasure and retiring into *Egypt*, where he spent the re- d
mainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, *Livy* acquaints us [o], that there was a large tomb near *New Carthage*, in the time of *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, which was called the tomb of *Mercury Theutat*; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no less in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conquest by the *Romans*, except that the un- weildiness of so vast an empire did probable cause it to split itself into many petty kingdoms under some of his successors. This was at least the case in which the *Roman* conqueror found them, when he invaded the *Celtic* territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of the *Roman* empire, this is not a proper place to speak of them; they will be the subject e
of another volume, in which the history of the *European* kingdoms will be resumed.

THESE

[1] CYRIL. ALEXAND. lib. cont. Julian. Arcad.

* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16.

[m] lib. viii. qui est

[n] Sub. voc. ερμης.

[o] Hist. lib. xxii. c. 44.

and *Mercury*; so that this *Faunus* must not be con- founded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in *Italy*, especially with *Fau- nus* the father of *Latinus*, in whose time *Æneas* came into that kingdom. Whereas our *Mercury*, according to this chronology of *Titanic* princes, must have lived at furthest about the time of *Jo- seph*'s being in *Egypt* (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the antient *Egyptian Mercury* or *Thout*, who, as we have seen in the former volume *, was worshipped by the *Egyptians* for his great learn- ing, wisdom, and eloquence. So that by only al- tering the name by a letter or two, he made him- self a more honourable one in the *Celtic*, *Theu-tat*, as we observed before, signifying the *father of his People*, such as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how these Gods, or at least their names, came to be adopted by other nations. Such a curious subject doth well de- serve to be treated of in a treatise by itself, and we hope if we have not quite, cleared that point thro' the former parts of this history, we have at least furnished the World with some considerable mate- rials towards such an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from such a design as this.

(30) *Idem, cap.* xiv.

* *Vol. I. p.* 242. *c. d.*

THESE inteſtine diviſions having once weakened the ſtrength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did eaſily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewiſe. Among the firſt *Iberia* or *Spain* was diſmembred from it by the *Carthaginians*, from whom it paſſed to the *Romans* together with the ſouthern provinces, ſince called *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the provinces on the other ſide of the *Alps*. The *Scythians*, it is likely, did alſo incroach upon them on the north ſide, and very probably ſeized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called *Scythia* in *Europe*, and drove them quite to the hither ſide of the *Danube*. For it ſeems moſt natural, that in their firſt migrations the ſame boundaries, which parted *Europe* from *Aſia*, did alſo part the *Celtic* and *Scythian* dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering ſword of their neighbours *, or through their inteſtine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occaſion it, ſure it is, that ſeveral powerful colonies of theſe *Celtes* or *Gauls* returned into leſſer *Aſia*, where, finding almoſt everywhere ſome antient monuments of their progenitors, they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of it by main force, and gave ſome of their new-gotten names to them; ſuch as that of *Galatia*, *Parthia*, and ſome others, without which it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe latter excurſions and exploits from thoſe by which they had ſignalized themſelves before their migrations into *Europe*. The firſt of thoſe, as far as it can be diſentangled from the latter, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the following hiſtories, either of thoſe nations whom they there conquered, or of thoſe by whom they were driven out of their conqueſts.

AS for thoſe whom we have ſeen in *Europe*, we hope our readers are ſatisfied by this time, that if we have choſe to follow a new guide through thoſe dark and remote ages, he has at leaſt conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed, and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to ſuch a vaſt number of *Celtic* etymologies, do at leaſt carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with any where elſe; and we may add, than we ourſelves could ever have attained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the *Celtic* language. Theſe etymologies, which ſeem to ſtrike a light to every paſſage quoted from antient authors, and which we can aſſure our readers we did not take upon truſt, will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify likewiſe our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of *Sanchoniatho*, which is at beſt but a confuſed medly of ſome dark and imperfect hints ſtolen out of the writings of *Moſes*, and jumbled with the hiſtory and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

WE ſubmit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the teſtimony of antient authors, than that which our learned biſhop *Cumberland* has endeavoured to give us out of his *Phœnician* hiſtorian. As for ourſelves, we wiſh we could meet with ſuch another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, hiſtory, that of the *Scythians*. But hence we muſt be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the beſt of thoſe few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

SECT.

* See before, Vol. II. p. 16. d.

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have ſuppoſed his hiſtory to have been a forgery writ on purpoſe to invalidate the authority of *Moſes*, as if he had ſtolen his account of the creation out of the *Phœnician* records *, yet we cannot but think it manifeſt, that he had copied that ſacred hiſtorian, and that very bunglingly too, beſides blending and adjuſting his coſmogony and theology with the hiſtory and fables of his time.

What elſe can we think of his dark and univerſal *Chaos*? his vehement wind-engendering *Mot* or *Motion* (for that is the *Hebrew* meaning of the word), which produced the ſeeds of all things animate and inanimate? the ſun, moon, ſtars, and *Sophoſemmin* or *ſpeculators of the heavens*? what means his *Colpias*, but the Almighty word, which ſpoke all things into being, his *Bau* or *Baut*, but the *Tohu* and *Bohu* of *Moſes*?

Whoever compares alſo the hiſtory he gives us of the ſecond and third line with what we read in *Geneſis*, and with what has been quoted, in the laſt ſection out of ancient authors, concerning *Elion*, *Chronos*, &c. will eaſily ſee, that it is a meer confuſed mixture of ſacred and profane hiſtory, interlarded with fable, and that if *Jerombaal*, prieſt of *Jahvoh*, from whom *Porphyry* pretends he received his information, be the *Gideon* of the *Jews*, who was ſurnamed *Jerubaal* (31), and might have been miſtaken for a prieſt of *Jahvoh*, becauſe he is recorded to have ſet up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other uſe of thoſe *Jewiſh* memoirs than to put them in a phantaſtical *Phœnician* dreſs, ſuch as beſt ſuited the theology of the heathen world, and was moſt likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the *Phœnician* records beyond all others, even beyond thoſe of the ſacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

* *Vid. int. al.* Dodwell's *diſſertat. de Sanchoniath.* (31) *Judg.* vi. 32. (32) *Ibid.* xxiv. & viii. 27.

SECT. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at firſt by the name of *Scythia*, is not eaſy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, beſides that monſtrous one which *Herodotus* gives us from the fabulous *Greeks*, and which we ſhall for that reaſon throw into the margin (A). The firſt is that which derives that name from the *Greek* σκυζεθαι, which expreſſes the fierceneſs of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the *Teutonic Scheten* or *Schuten*, *to ſchool*, at which art this nation is affirmed by *Herodotus*, *Lucian*, and others [a], to have been ſo ſingularly expert, that this name is ſuppoſed to have been emphatically given them on that account; ſo that according to this ſuppoſition the word *Scythian* did properly ſignify a great *Schooter* or *Archer*. We have, however, obſerved heretofore, that the *Tartars* and *Muſcovites* called themſelves *Mogli*, which we ſuppoſe only an abbreviation of *Mogogly*, *the ſons of Magog*. That of *Scythian* might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the *Celtes*, whoſe language, as was before obſerved, did not originally differ much either from the *Scythian* or *Teutonic*.

THIS vaſt teritory, which extended itſelf from the *Iſter* or *Danube* the boundary of the *Celtes*, that is from about the 25th to almoſt the 110th degree of eaſt longitude, was therefore divided into *Scythia* in *Europe*, and *Scythia* in *Aſia*, including, however, the two *Sarmatias*, or, as they are called by the *Greeks*, *Sauromatias*, now the *Circaſſian Tartary*, which did lie between and ſever the two *Scythias* from each other. *Sauromatia* was alſo diſtinguiſhed into *European* and *Aſiatic*, and was divided from the *European Scythia* by the river *Don* or *Tanais*, which falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and from the *Aſiatic* by the *Rha* now *Volga*, which empties itſelf into the *Caſpian* ſea [b]. But the *Sarmatians* differed ſo little from the *Scythians* in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, if we may believe *Herodotus* [c], that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very deſcendants by the *Amazons*, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this *Sarmatian* offspring. But the former ſeems to us the moſt probable, when we conſider how eaſy, ſhort, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their firſt ſetting out, and that we find in the very center between *Armenia* and *Sarmatia* a large province called *Iberia*, which is much more likely to be that which *Joſephus* tells us was peopled by *Tubal*, the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*, than the *Celtiberia* of *Spain*. We ſhall not repeat here what we have ſo lately urged againſt this laſt opinion †.

UPON the whole then, we may ſafely venture to ſay, that the two *Scythias* were only parted by the two boundaries of *Europe* and *Aſia*, that is by the river *Tanais*, deſcending, as is ſuppoſed, from the *Riphean* mountains (B) into the *Palus Mæotis*. For

[a] Vid. Gorop. Becan. Heylin. Pezron. [b] Ptolom. Mel. Strab. Cluver. & al. [c] Herodot. l. iv. * See before, p. 244. Note E.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the *pontic Greeks*, that *Hercules* being got into *Scythia* then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot having ſtraggled out of the way, whilſt he refreſhed himſelf with ſleep as he was in ſearch of them, he met with a monſter, half woman and half ſerpent, who promiſed to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and ſtaid with her till ſhe was tired, ſhe aſked him at parting how he would have her diſpoſe of the three ſons ſhe had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the loweſt ſeam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and ſend the other two away. She followed his orders, and *Scytha*, who was the youngeſt and proved the ſtrongeſt of the three, became the firſt monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of *Scythia* bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that theſe could not be thoſe of *Siberia*, which are at the diſtance of near ten degrees from the *Tanais*, are therefore of opinion, that they were imaginary, and ſupplied by the fertile fancy of the ancients to furniſh a head to that river. The caſe is hardly worth diſputing: and yet ſince we find that *Riphath* was *Gomer*'s ſecond ſon (3), whoſe migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it ſeems more reaſonable to think, he might leave his name to thoſe mountains S. E. of *Moſcow*, from which the *Don* takes its ſource, as moſt other geographers have ſuppoſed he

(1) Herodot. *lib.* iii. (2) Well's *Geogr. ch.* ii. *note* r. & Bochart. *ubi ſup. lib.* iii. *c.* 10. (3) Gen. x. 3.

a For beyond theſe mountains northward we find not that the *Scythians* advanced into any of thoſe remote regions, ſo that theſe were the proper confines of the *Aſiatic Scythia* on the weſt. The northern ones reached to the *Hyperborean* or *Frozen ſea*, called alſo by the antients, the *Scythian ſea*, the *Cronian*, *Amalchian*, or *Almachian*, *the Dead ſea*, and by ſome other names which expreſſed its extreme coldneſs and frozenneſs. On the eaſt they are ſuppoſed to have extended to the promontory of *Tabis*, and to have been bounded by the *Caſſian* mountains, which parted *Scythia* from the kingdom of *Seres*, now *Cattai* or northern *China*; and on the ſouth by the *Eoum* or *Indian ſea*, and by mount *Caucaſus*, and the *Caſpian ſea* [d].

As to the northern parts of *Scythia*, their extreme coldneſs made them uninhabitable
b by any but wolves, bears, and other ſuch-like northern wild-beaſts; and this is probably the reaſon why they ſeem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than theſe was called *terra incognita*, and their notion of their being ſurrounded by the *Hyperborean*, or *northern ocean*, they ſeem rather to have had ſome conjecture than from experience. But the ſouthern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely *Scythia* within, and *Scythia* without, or beyond, *Imaus*, and *Sarmatia*, which lay between the former and the *European Scythia*, which, as we obſerved before, was either a branch of the *Scythian* nation, or had been by ſome means ſo blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

c THE *Aſiatic Scythia* did therefore comprehend in general great *Tartary* and *Ruſſia* in *Aſia*, and in particular the *Scythia* beyond, or without, *Imaus*, contained the regions of *Bogdoi*, or *Oſtiacoi*, and *Tanguti*. That within, or on this ſide of *Imaus* had *Turkeſtan* and *Mongal*, the *Uſbek*, or *Zagatai*, *Kalmuc* and *Nogaian Tartars*, beſides *Siberia*, the land of the *Samoiedes*, and the *Nova Zembla*. Theſe three laſt being then inhabited, as we ſuppoſed, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, *Gandari*, *Sacks*, and *Maſſagetes*. As for *Sarmatia*, it contained *Albania*, *Iberia*, and *Colchis*, which make now the *Circaſſian Tartary*, and the province of *Georgia*.

OTHER ſeas, beſides the *Frozen* and *Indian ocean*, were the *Caſpian* (C), and the
d *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, and the *Palus Mæotis*. Mountains of note were *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: the firſt, beginning in the province of *Aſia Minor* called *Pamphylia*, runs eaſtward through *Aſia*, and divides it into two parts, the northern and ſouthern. The ſecond lies in *Scythia* or the greater *Tartary*: and the third is between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine ſea* [e]. Its rivers, beſides thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned, namely the *Rha* or *Volga*, and *Tanais* or *Don*, are the *Oby*, *Lena*, *Amur*, and *Helum*; the latter of which is ſuppoſed to be the *Quentung* or *Shengal*; all theſe are in great *Tartary*. To theſe we may add the *Jaxartes*, now *Jaick*, and the *Oxus*; theſe empty themſelves into the *Caſpian ſea*: in this ſea there were likewiſe ſome iſlands not diſtinguiſhed by any particular names, but commonly called by
e that of the *Scythian iſlands*.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what *Herodotus* tells us, that thoſe northern regions are altogether inviſible and impaſſable by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by thoſe who inhabited the more ſouthern parts of it, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtleſs miſtake the large flakes of ſnow, which fall in abundance in thoſe cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were ſtill more abſurd to ſeek for artificial rarities here, among a people who were ſtrangers to every thing but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

f 2. *Scythia* in *Europe*, whoſe confines we have already fixed eaſtward from the *Tanais*, reached towards the ſouth-weſt to the *Po* and the *Alps*, by which it was divided from the *Celtes*, or *Celto-Gallia*, and by the *Rhine* northward. It was bounded on the ſouth by the *Iſter*, or *Danube*, and the *Euxine* ſea. As to its northern limits, though it is not eaſy to gueſs at them, they have been ſuppoſed to ſtretch to the ſpring

[d] PTOLOM. ubi ſupra. MELA, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. CELLAR. CLUVER. WELLS, & al. [e] Vid. ibid. vid. & WELLS. ubi ſupra, c. xii. [f] lib. iv.

he did, than to believe that thoſe antients, who could know nothing either of *Riphath* or his migrations, ſhould yet ſo luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(C) Miſtaken by ſome antients for a gulph; but, as it has no viſible communication with the ocean, may be rather called a great lake, if ſea be thought too big a name for it* .

* *See before, Vol II.. p. 4. c.*

ſpring heads of the *Boryſtenes* or *Nieper*, and the *Rha* or *Volga*, and ſo to that of a
the *Tanais* (D) [g].

The antients divided this country into *Scythia Arimaſpæa*, which lay eaſtward, joining to *Scythia* in *Aſia*, and *Sarmatia Europeana* on the weſt; theſe two were contiguous to each other, and ſtretched ſome length from north to ſouth, but what divided them aſunder is not eaſy to find out. In *Scythia*, properly ſo called, were the *Arimaſpæi* on the north, the *Getæ* or *Dacians* along the *Danube* on the ſouth, and the *Neuri* between thoſe two. So that it contained the *European Ruſſia* or *Muſcovy*, and the leſſer *Crim Tartary* eaſtward, and on the weſt *Lithuania*, *Poland*, part of *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Moldavia*. *Sarmatia* is b
ſuppoſed to have reached northward to that part of *Swedland* called *Feningia*, now *Finland*, in which they placed the *Oœnes*, *Panoti*, and *Hippopodes* (E), this part they divided from northern *Germany*, now the weſt part of *Sweden* and *Norway*, by the *Mare Sarmaticum* or *Scythicum*, which they ſuppoſed ran up into the northern ocean, and divided *Lapland* into two parts, made the weſtern part of *Sweden* with *Norway* into an iſland, and *Finland* into another; ſuppoſing this alſo to be cut off from the continent by the *Gulph* of that name.

This *Scythia* had no other Sea than the *Sarmatian* mentioned before, now called the *Baltic*, with the *Gulphs* of *Bothnia* and *Finland*, and the white ſea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the *Euxine* and c
Palus Mœotis, which bounded it on the South. Lakes of any conſideration we find not, except thoſe of *Ladoga* and *Onega* in *Finland*, which were therefore unknown to the antient *Sarmatians*. Their chief rivers were on the ſouth, the *Donetz* or little *Tanais*, *Boryſtenes* or *Nieper*, *Bog*, *Tyras* or *Nieſter*, and the *Iſter* or *Danube*, all which emptied themſelves into the *Euxine*, and on the north eaſt the great and little *Dwina* which empty themſelves, the firſt into the white ſea, and the other into the *Gulph* of *Finland*, and therefore not known to the antients; and the *Viſtula* on the weſt, which runs into the *Scythian* ſea and divided *Sarmatia*, from *Germany* (F).

The whole extent thererefore of both *Scythias*, including the two *Sarmatias*, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from d
the *Alps* to the promontory of *Tabis* and ſtreight of *Anian*, and in latitude from *Caucaſus* to the artic circle above 28 degrees. *Herodotus* indeed tells us, that the *Hyper-*

[g] Vid. Mel. lib. ii. c. 1. Cluver. Cellar. & al.

(D) This is upon the ſuppoſition, hinted before, that the firſt planters of the world did ſpread themſelves along the rivers for the ſake of paſturage and correſpondence; but it is plain, all theſe northern parts were ſo unknown to the antients, that all we can ſay concerning theſe boundaries is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of *Herodotus*, that they could not be inhabited very far north, ſince they were ſo afraid of, and ſo little acquainted with, ſnow.

Mela adds, that about the *Riphean* mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north latitude, the ſnows fell in ſuch abundance, that thoſe parts were uninhabited and unpaſſable by any but wild beaſts (4).

(E) Theſe *Oœnians*, were ſo called for living moſtly upon the eggs of their ſea-fowl, which they eat with oaten cakes. The *Hippopodes* were ſuppoſed to be ſo called from their having feet like horſes, or from their going barefoot and hardening their feet like horſes hoofs. The *Panoti* were ſo called from the largeneſs of their ears, which was ſuch that they could cover their whole body with them inſtead of other rayment (5). Some other monſtrous people and creatures are alſo mentioned by *Herodotus*: of the firſt ſort are the *Arimaſpæans*, ſo called from the *Scythian Arima*, *one*, and *Spon*, *eye*; not becauſe they had but one eye, as was abſurdly believed by ſome of the antients, but rather, as *Bochart* juſtly conjectures, becauſe they were ſuch excellent archers, at which exerciſe it is neceſſary to ſhut one eye, that the nick-name of *one-eyed* was given them upon that account. To theſe we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another ſort which had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous ſatyrs, beſides ſome monſtrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up and guarded the golden oar or duſt (6), all which ſhews how little were known of theſe regions at that time.

(F) The ſame author (7) mentions ſeveral other rivers of which he gives a curious deſcription, as well as of thoſe ſouthern ones which we have mentioned above; but we ſhall refer the reader to our author for thoſe particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, becauſe they are either not taken notice of by our modern geographers, or at leaſt are not reckoned of ſuch great note and uſefulneſs.

We ſhall, however, take notice of what he ſays of the *Boryſtenes*, which he compares to the *Nile* in *Egypt*, and the next in greatneſs to the *Danube*. This noble river, ſays he, beſides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fiſh and pleaſant water, and doth breed a ſort of whale without ſpinous bones, which the *Scythians* uſed to ſalt for food. They called it *Antachæus*; he adds, that towards the mouth of it that river yields abundance of ſalt, which is inceſſantly made by the hand of nature.

(4) *lib.* ii. *c.* 1. (5) *Vid. Mel.* iii. *c.* 8. (6) *Herodot. lib.* iv. (7) *idem, ibid.*

a *Hyperboreans* were not of *Scythian* race, but another kind of people, one sort of which were *Androphagi*, or *Men-eaters*, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the *Baldheads* or *Argippeans*, a wise and peaceable people, esteemed sacred by all their neighbours [h]; but he speaks of all those remote nations only by report, and with such diffidence, that he rather confirms what we said before, that those regions were most likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in either *Scythia*, no not even a metropolis, though *Herodotus* mentions a branch of *Scythians*, called *royal Scythians*, whom he places along the banks of *Tanais*, which river divides them, he says, from the *Asiatic Sarmatians*[i]. These, as should seem from the sequel of that author, were the only ones who had b real kings among them, as we shall see in the next section, but such was their ways of living, that they never chose to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or safety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curiosities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large stone lying by the river *Tyres*, in which was to be seen the print of *Hercules*'s foot, said to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being six inches thick, and containing full six hundred amphoras or fifty hogsheads. The occasion of casting this monstrous vessel we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place.

[h] lib. iv. p. 356. & seq. LITTLEBUR. Edit. vol. 2. vid. & MEL. lib. iii. c. 9. [i] HEROD. ubi supra. p. 372. [k] Id. ibid. p. 384.

SECT. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, learning, arts, and trades of the ancient Scythians.

c ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origin of this nation, *Government.* hath been already mentioned in the first section of this chapter. How soon they began to settle themselves into a regular government, is as impossible to guess, as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of *Herodotus*, that one or two tribes at least, that is *the royal* and *free Scythians*, were under a monarchical one, and that these two made a much greater figure than all the rest. But whether the former was the eldest branch, whether it governed immediately over all the rest, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vast country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the *Philistines*, whether their succession was hereditary or elective, whether despotic or subject to the d laws, we are wholly in the dark. What seems most probable to us from the little remains we have left of their history is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might still have a kind of authority over some of the rest, whilst those who were more remote from the center had lords, laws, and customs of their own, especially those who inhabited the farther parts of it eastward and northward; and this may be the reason of that variety of names and characters, which we find in those few ancient writings we have left concerning them. Thus *Herodotus* tells us, that in process of time, when the *Scythians* were like to be invaded by *Darius*, the king, finding himself unable to make head against the invader, invited all the *Scythian* princes, namely those of the *Taurians*, *Agathyrsians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melan-*e *cblænians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*, to come to his assistance; all these seem to have been different branches of the same stock, and only degenerated from the royal one by distance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and customs, as the same author there tells us †. The result of this summons was, that the three last named nations joined with the king of *Scythia*, but the others refused to assist him, under pretence that he was the first aggressor. Hence we conclude, that they had shaken off the yoke of the *royal Scythians* some considerable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We shall speak more particularly of these eight tribes or nations in another place; at present we

† lib. iv.

we confine ourselves to the two most considerable, *the royal* and *free Scythians*, as being the most considerable and the best known of all the rest. a

Laws. What their laws were, we can only guess from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient historians. Such indeed seems to have been their justice, temperance, and contempt of riches and luxury, and so simple and primitive their way of living, that they could not stand in need of a great number of them. *Justin* [a] sums up their character in words to this effect: The *Scythians* were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious strength, yet could so well matter their affections, that they made no other use of their victories than to increase their fame. Theft among them was reckoned so great a crime and was so severely punished, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from b
place to place without danger of losing them. These they esteemed their greatest wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themselves with their skins. Instead of houses, they used to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horses or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and silver were as much despised by them as they were esteemed by other nations, so that they could not covet that which was of no use to them. Did the same moderation and disinterestedness reign among other nations, it would soon put an end to our destructive wars. What is still more wonderful, these virtues, which the *Greeks* did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philosophy, were natural to them, and they reaped those advantages c
from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A). A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to secure their property, some others they had with relation to religion, customs, and polity, which forbad, under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women from the benefit of marriage, and the men from assisting at their royal feast, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here, because we shall have occasion to mention them in the course of this history; upon the whole, what appears of them seems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetousness, and to cherish that martial spirit, for which they are so justly famed in history. d

It ought not to be objected here, that some of the *Scythian* tribes bear a quite different character, some of them being of such fierce and cruel disposition, as even to eat the flesh of their enemies. Those, as was hinted before, were, if under the same government, at such great distance from the center of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in those remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; so the distance and barrenness of their country might make them less heeded, and probably more incapable of being restrained by the common laws. However, it must be owned, with respect to the warlike temper even of the true *Scythians*, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the *Greek* historians have not wilfully misrepresented them, as we shall see by-and-by.

If

[a] lib. ii. c. 2.

(A) This excellent character of the *Scythians*, how exaggerated soever it may seem in their praise, is nevertheless confirmed by several antient historians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the testimonies which the learned *Bochart* has brought to confirm it (2), he would not have so lightly accused *Justin* of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With respect to the former, *Herodotus* tells us (3), that *Anacharsis*, a *Scythian* of no small consideration, having in his travels assisted at a festival, which the *Cizycians* celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got safe back to *Scythia* he would introduce the same worship there. Accordingly after his return he retired privately into some woody part of that country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it so secretly, but a *Scythian*, who saw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. And even one of their kings lost his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce some of the *Grecian* rites and dress, as we shall see in its proper place.

With respect to the second particular, the same author tells us, that it often happened, that some women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a shameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feast to all those who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouse in cups made of the sculls of the slain, and in proportion to the number of them; whilst those, who had not as yet signalized themselves like them, were forced to stand at a distance, beholding the feast and excluded from tasting of it.

(1) *Annotat. in Justin. Delphin. l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Note* 8. (2) *Phaleg. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. (3) *lib.* iv. (4) *Id. ibid. vid. & Mela. lib.* iii. *c.* 9. *D. Sicul. Strab. & al.*

If we may guess by some few successions we find mentioned in history, it seems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not so despotic as not to be deposed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the instance we hinted at in the last note, where *Scyles* having been found celebrating the *Bacchanalia* of the *Greeks*, his subjects revolted from him, and elected his brother *Octamasades*, who soon after took off his head. In all other cases their kings seem to have been in high esteem with the people, as we may guess from the following circumstance out of *Herodotus*.

When any of their monarchs fell sick, they sent immediately for three of their most famous prophets (C), who commonly told him, that some *Scythian* whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the false prophets mouths, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and men, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male-children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate.

Another instance of their great respect for their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate *the royal Scythians* in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with an arrow; and in this guise they accompanied the hearse to the next province, till it came at length to that of the *Gerrians*, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situate along that part of the *Borysthenes* where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber; and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be *Scythians*, those monarchs having the power of chusing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by slaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose. [b]

The

[b] Herodot. l. iv.

(C) These were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who consulted certain omens, and divined, or made a shew of divining, by willow sticks gathered up into bundles, which they loosened and spread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while some conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden causes and to pry into futurity. The *Scythians* seem to have been very much addicted to this kind of superstition, by the great number of these sham diviners which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration; and their oracles, which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the gods, and obeyed with the same readiness †.

† *Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. V.*

Religion.

The *Scythians* worſhipped a plurality of gods and goddeſſes, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was *Veſta*, whom they called *Tabiti*. The two next were *Jupiter*, whom they called *Papeus*, and *Apia*, or *the earth*, which they eſteemed his wife. *Jupiter*, it ſeems, they challenged as their progenitor, and *Veſta* for their queen, as appears by the anſwer which one of their kings ſent to *Darius*, when he came to ſubdue them to his empire * ; beſides theſe they worſhipped *Apollo*, the celeſtial *Venus*, and *Neptune*, under the names *Œtoſyrus*, *Artimpaſa*, and *Thamimaſades*. But their favourite god ſeems to have been that of war, to whom alone they dedicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which *Herodotus* ſpeaks of, he doth not tell us : neither is it eaſy for us to gueſs. It doth not even appear from any other ancient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly ſo called. Groves indeed, and very ſumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In theſe they effected to have one or more oaks of a monſtrous ſize, which were accounted ſo ſacred, that it was ſacrilege, and was puniſhed with the ſevereſt death, to lop ſo much as a branch or ſprig, or even to wound the bark. Theſe they never failed to ſprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, inſomuch, that the rind of ſome of the oldeſt of them was covered, or even incruſtate, with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that *Herodotus*, who learned theſe things by word of mouth, and had never ſeen them himſelf, might, for want of a good interpreter, miſtake them for temples, and ſuppoſe them to be built like thoſe of other nations.

Deities.

Mars.

How ſpacious theſe groves muſt have been, may be ſeen in the laſt quoted antiquarian, or be gueſſed at by the vaſt extent of the altars, which, *Herodotus* tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at leaſt they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of ſmall wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three ſtades of land in length and breadth, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three ſides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to render the top of it eaſy of acceſs. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to ſupply thoſe which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of theſe heaps was erected an old iron ſcymetar, which ſtood there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, beſides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they ſacrificed horſes, which were a martial creature ; and, what was ſtill more ſhocking, every hundredth man they took priſoner from their enemies. This laſt bloody offering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the captive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, aſcending to the top of the altar, they went and waſhed the deity's ſword. As to this victim, they only cut off his right arm cloſe to the ſhoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it expoſed in the place where it fell, and the reſt of the body in that where it was killed.

Altars.

Human ſacrifices.

As to their other victims, which they ſacrificed either to *Mars* or to any other deity, they obſerved the ſame rites every where without variation ; they brought the beaſt and tied its four feet together with a ſlip-knot, and he who officiated as prieſt came behind, and at once looſed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilſt it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then ſtrangled it with a cord which he twiſted with a ſtick ; and as ſoon as it was dead he ſet about flaying and dreſſing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The fleſh was put into pots, and whenever theſe were not ready at hand into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water ; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones inſtead of it. When the fleſh was ſufficiently boiled, the prieſt made an offering of part of the meat and inteſtines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the reſt was, we may ſuppoſe, beſtowed to feaſt the prieſt and votaries. Thus in caſes of neceſſity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furniſh them with all things neceſſary for the ſacrifice. Of all beaſts the horſe was eſteemed the nobleſt, and conſequently the moſt acceptable victim. As for ſwine, they deteſted it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be ſuffered to live among them. They took care alſo to offer to their gods the firſt-fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the ſpoil they took in war. Some conſiderable part of the latter they were wont to ſend to the *Delphic Apollo* :

* Id. ibid. See before, Vol. II. p. 65. Note L. † Vid. Keysler. antiq. Septentr. Differt. 3. & alib. paſſ.

a *Apollo*: it was usually conveyed thither by a number of their most honourable virgins, and under a sufficient escort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obstacles of the journey, our author tells us †, obliged them to discontinue it. This is all that we find remarkable concerning their religion.

But before we come to speak of their manners, customs, and such other particulars, it will be necessary to caution our readers once for all, that as we receive a great part of our intelligence from *Herodotus*, *Homer*, and other *Greek* authors, who cannot be supposed to have been well affected to the *Scythians*, by whom their country had been so often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and sometimes almost b destroyed; we must not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the dishonour of that ancient and warlike nation. Some of them we shall have occasion to confute in the sequel of this history, and others are of so horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, especially when we compare them with the character which *Justin* gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by *Bochart*, as we have lately shewn; this caution once premised, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of those authors concerning the customs of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without some mixture of barbarity.

Contracts.

This we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the follow- c ing ceremonies: they poured some wine into an earthen vessel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle some of their own blood, which they drew by a slight incision made in some part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the prints of some warlike weapons, such as a scymetar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered some dire imprecations on the first breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they desired some of the most considerable among the by-standers to pledge them, and to be witnesses of the contract, which being usually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned so sacred, that they thought no punishment severe enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

Valour.

d Their warlike temper and exploits were sufficiently known to the ancients; scarce is there any nation to be met with in history so famous for conquering where-ever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themselves remaining still unconquered. Their frugal and simple manner of life may indeed be supposed to have been a great preservative against such invasions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were exposed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the case, since we find they were once invaded by the king of *Persia* at the head of a most puissant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conquest of greater *Asia*, which could not be wrested out of their hands but by the blackest treachery. But e upon the whole, such was their strength and courage whenever they entered into an offensive or defensive war, that, as *Thucydides* himself tells us, no nation, either in *Europe* or *Asia*, could equal them either for strength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing resist their power, provided they were but unanimous among themselves [b].

Such care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, insomuch, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at least one enemy with their own hands [c], as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without some considerable encouragements to inspire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, f if *Herodotus* doth not bely them: for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the first prisoner they took, and to present the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; these were either returned or registered, and intitled the person to several privileges, such as being present at some publick feasts, sharing the spoil of their enemies, and such like; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at least one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did rise in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they used to take the skins of the slain, to stretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them

† Herodot. lib. iv. [b] lib. ii. sect. 97. [c] Vid. Herodot. ubi supra. Plat. de leg. lib. vii. Hypocrat. N Damascen. Justin. & al.

them at their horſes bridles, where they ſerved both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always moſt eſteemed who wore the greateſt number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went ſo far with ſome of them, that they took off and dreſſed the whole ſkins of the ſlain, and covered both their quivers and horſes, and ſometimes decked their own bodies with them *.

HAD they only exerciſed this kind of ſavage pride againſt thoſe who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of ſome mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country and in determent to all invaders of it; but as they might naturally enough think ſuch men deſerved no better fate, who attempted the conqueſt of a country, which had nothing to tempt or ſatisfy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (E). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to thoſe whoſe territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce ſome ſuch trophies of their martial proweſs, if they were not to be gained in any but a defenſive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to ſuppoſe to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of *Thucydides*, that, as they are affirmed to have lived moſtly upon plunder, inſtead of going out of their vaſt territories they made mutual incurſions one tribe againſt another, which they again retaliated upon the firſt opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity ſo far, as not to joyn their forces againſt a common enemy or invader, whenever neceſſity required it.

HOW populous the *Scythians* were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made ſuch frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that it muſt have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we conſider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, conſtant exerciſe, hardineſs, and other ſuch-like advantageous circumſtances, which rendered them luſty and ſtrong, prolific and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told, that very few died of ſickneſs, but all in general lived to a good old age, inſomuch, that, many of them being weary of the world before death took them out of it; it was uſual with ſuch to haſten their exit by throwing themſelves from ſome eminence into the ſea or into ſome river[d]. *Herodotus*, however, who ſeems in doubt whether they were indeed ſo populous as ſome, or ſo thin as other, reports repreſent them, gives us an authentic inſtance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it ſeems a cuſtom, not uncommon to other nations *, at their firſt taking of the field to muſter their fighting men, and to make every man caſt an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could eaſily compute not only the number of their men, but alſo that of their ſlain, or of thoſe who either ran away, or abſented themſelves from the war. It was at ſome ſuch muſter as this that one of their kings, whom *Herodotus* names *Ariantes*[c], being preſent, and obſerving theſe heads of arrows to amount to an immenſe bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and caſt, or made into that large capacious veſſel we have lately ſpoken of, and which, our author tells us, was ſtill extant in his time, and though full ſix inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is, about 50 hogſheads, and remained ſtill a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making of an exact eſtimate from this ſtory, ſuppoſing it literally

* HERODOT. ubi ſupr. [d] MELA, lib. iii. c. 5. HERODOT. & al. * See before, Vol. II. p. 64. a. [c] lib. iv.

(D) This was the argument which, *Juſtin* tells us (5), they made uſe of to diſſuade the king of *Egypt* from attempting a war againſt them, for, ſaid they to his heralds, it were madneſs for the opulent *Egyptians* to invade ſo poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds: whereas the *Scythians* would fall upon them with utmoſt fierceneſs at the ſight of ſo rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a meſſage they ſent afterwards to *Darius* when he had entered *Scythia*, that as they had neither cities, houſes, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treaſures in their country, except their families, and the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery; the invader ran a much greater riſk than they (6).

(5) *lib.* ii. *c.* 2.

(6) *Vid. & Herodot. l.* iv.

a literally true: but might not this unwieldy veſſel have been at firſt deſigned only to keep the arrows which every ſoldier threw in, and the other part of the ſtory have been foiſted in proceſs of time. However, ſuppoſing the fact as related, and that it muſt have been a prodigious army that could furniſh metal enough for ſuch a monſtrous veſſel, yet might it not therefore neceſſarily follow, that the *Scythian* nation was more populous than its neighbours, conſidering the vaſt extent of it. But what ſeems to be a ſtronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually ſending out, chiefly towards the ſouthern parts of the world, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

Arts and ſciences.

As they cultivated no art nor ſciences except that of war, nor ſcarcely any trade b or commerce except paſturage, the reader muſt expect us to be very barren on theſe two heads. *Thucydides* in the place above quoted ſeems indeed to commend their induſtry and ſagacity in procuring all things neceſſary for life, in ſuch a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of induſtry and manufacture: and another *Greek* author ſpeaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the ſea-coaſts of the *Helleſpont* *. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that, like ſome of his predeceſſors, he has miſtook them for the *Celtes*, who, as we have obſerved in a former ſection, were become great merchants both by ſea and land under their king *Mercury*. For as for the *Scythians*, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by-and-by. c They do not ſo much as ſeem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from *Aſia*, after their twenty-eight years invaſion of it: neither do we find any footſteps of their having had ſuch poetic hiſtorians as were the *Curetes* among the *Celtes*, or the *Bards* and *Druids* among the *Gauls*. *Herodotus*, who has wrote ſo much concerning them, doth not ſo much as hint his having received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reaſon why we omit many fabulous things he has ſaid of them from the common report of their neighbours; ſince it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hoſtile way.

Language.

d THEIR language is ſtill more unknown to us, whatever diſcoveries ſome modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vaſt extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cauſe it to ſplit itſelf into a vaſt number of dialects, from which moſt probably have ſprung the *Muſcovitiſh*, *Slavonick*, *Poliſh*, *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Saxon*, and many others; between which, one can but barely diſcover affinity enough to make us believe them ſprung from the ſame mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a viſible vein of the *Celtic* ſtill preſerved, as we have ſeen to this day among us, and which runs through all thoſe various languages; that they did not anciently differ much more from it, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, and *Syriac*. e Neither is it ſo much to be wondered at, that they ſhould have branched out into ſuch a vaſt variety, as that they ſhould ſtill preſerve ſo much of their priſtine affinity as we find they do. We have in a former ſection endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phraſes that are found not only in thoſe northern languages, but alſo in the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Arabic*, and *Perſic*, which ſhew them to have been ſo many dialects of the old *Celtic*; if thoſe few relicks of the *Scythians*, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and diſtricts, do not ſo plainly appear to be of *Celtic* extraction, we muſt remember, they have paſt through ſo many different hands, and have ſo often changed their dreſs, eſpecially among the *Greeks*, that they may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have quite loſt their ancient form. We may add, that ſome f of them are perfectly *Greek*, or tranſlated from the *Scythian* into that language (F).

Manufactures.

THEIR chief manufactures ſeem to have conſiſted moſtly in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the ſkins of beaſts, they muſt have had ſome notion of tanning them, as well as thoſe with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewiſe reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they fabricated their

* DICTYS CRET. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.

(F) Of this kind is the name of the *Oœnes*, a *Scythian* tribe, ſo called in *Herodotus* from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the *Greek* οων. The *Nomades* were ſo called from νομη *paſture*. Of the ſame extraction, were the *Hyppopodes*, *Androphagi*, and ſeveral others, which we need not point out to the reader.

their own weapons, which were ſcymetars, javelins, axes, but eſpecially bows and a
arrows, at which they are ſaid to have been ſo expert, that their very children
were trained to ſhoot at a mark even as they rode on horſeback; inſomuch, that it
became a common proverb, *That the* Scythians *were as dextrous at their bow, as the*
Greeks *were at their lyre.* Hence *Cyaxares*, king of *Media*, is reported to have ſent
his ſon to be brought up under them to learn the uſe of the bow. They were no
leſs expert horſemen[f] (G), inſomuch, that we find them called ἱππότοξοται by *Hero-*
dotus and *Lucian.* And their very women are affirmed to have been ſo well inured
to riding and ſhooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men[g]. The
ancients obſerve, that they had neither mules nor aſſes; and the reaſon they give b
is, that the country was too cold for thoſe creatures. Experience has ſince ſhewn
the contrary, at leaſt with reſpect to the latter; but the true reaſon ſeems to be,
that their horſes, which they bred in great quantities, could anſwer all the purpoſes
of the other two, and at the ſame time be more ſwift and expeditious than they
whenever occaſion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. *Herodotus* indeed
tells us of one province of them, whoſe inhabitants called themſelves *Olbiopolitans*,
and the *Greeks Boryſthenians*, as they lived on the north ſide of that river; and theſe
he likewiſe called huſbandmen, becauſe they ſowed grain, not for food, but for
ſale[h]. But the reſt of the *Scythians* wholly neglected it, chuſing rather to roam c
where they found the beſt paſture for their cattle, and contenting themſelves with
the ſpontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it.
And this is in all likelihood the cauſe why we read of ſo many deſarts, vaſt foreſts,
and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of ancient
hiſtorians and geographers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not,
but by their cloathing themſelves with the ſkins of wild or tame beaſts[i], as we are
told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as thoſe ſkins were
of their own dreſſing, they wanted ſtill leſs the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths
they muſt have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other
neceſſary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and ſuch-like weapons, if their
heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were if the ſtory we have rela- d
ted above of the large copper veſſel that was made of them be literally true, there
was ſtill leſs art required in making them, ſince they might eaſily caſt them in a
mould. Their bows might alſo be made of the ſame metal like thoſe of other
ancient nations, though it is not improbable, they might alſo have ſome ſmiths to
forge iron and ſteel weapons, beſides thoſe they might take from their enemies. It is
indeed hardly to be ſuppoſed, they could make their waggons without the help of
ſuch artiſts, though upon the whole it doth appear, that they wanted as few trades as
any nation, and uſed none they could poſſibly do without.

THEIR chief riches and food conſiſting in their numerous herds, they entruſted e
the care of them to *Shepherds*, who were a lower rank of *Scythians* below the mar-
tial men, and had ſlaves and captives under them. They uſed to move from paſture
Shepherds and martial-men. to paſture, with the perſons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. Theſe
did chiefly live upon honey and milk, eſpecially that of their mares, from which
creature, if *Herodotus* was rightly informed, they had a ſtrange way of forcing plenty
of it by blowing wind into their privities. What proviſions the warlike ſort made,
when they were abſent from their flocks, we cannot gueſs, and it is likely when they
came into an enemies country, they took care to ſeize upon all the cattle they could
meet with.

Polygamy. FROM an inſtance or two we read of their kings, it ſeems as if they allowed of f
polygamy, and were not over ſtrict in their marriages. Some we find took wives
from

[f] HERODOT. lib. i. [g] Id. lib. iv. LUCIAN. in Toxar. & Hermot. MELA, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. BOCHART. ubi ſupra, & al. [h] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 2. MELA & al. [i] Id. ibid.

(G) This the learned *Bochart* obſerves the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where ſpeaking of the army of *Magog* or *Scythia*, he calls their horſe סוסים ופרשים לבושי מיכלול, *Suſſim uparaſhim lebuſhe Miklol, horſes and horſemen, cloathed with perfection*, or *compleatly diſciplined and armed*, or, as *Kimki* renders it, *expert in all kind of weapons*, and our *Engliſh* verſion *cloathed with all kind of Armour*; for ſuch it appears the *Scythian* horſe were.

(7) *Ezek.* xxxviii. 3.

a from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the ſame liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reaſon the *Scythians* gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feaſts of the *Greeks*, namely, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a god ſhould drive men into all the violent tranſports of madneſs, ſeems to ſhew, that drunkenneſs was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to feaſting. *Feaſting.* One wine-feaſt they had, however, once a year in every diſtrict, for thoſe who, as we hinted before, had ſignalized themſelves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was uſed at funerals, and with which we ſhall cloſe this article, ſince we have no more to ſay concerning their other cuſtoms.

b We have already ſpoken of the funeral obſequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other perſon died, his neareſt relations cauſed his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from houſe to houſe among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feaſted them in their turn, ſetting part of the ſame things before the deceaſed, which they did to their gueſts. This was continued forty days, *Funeral obſequies.* after which the perſon was buried, and his attendants went and purified themſelves, not by any ablution, but by the ſmoke of ſome hemp-ſeed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon ſome burning ſtones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincenſe uſed in *Greece*, and ſo tranſported the company as to ſet them a howling aloud. This ſerved inſtead of waſhing, which the *Scythians*, c our author tells us, never practiſed. Not even the women, who uſed, inſtead of it, *How their women preſerve their beauty.* to anoint their bodies and face with a paſte, which they made with cypreſs, cedar, and frankincenſe, ground upon a rough ſtone, and ſoaked in water, which paſte, being taken off the next day, rendered their ſkins clean, ſhining, and ſweet [i].

There remains, that we ſhould ſay a word or two of thoſe other petty kingdoms of *Scythia*, and of ſome particularities, wherein they differed from the royal *Scythians*. For whether they were all really deſcended from the ſame ſtock, as we ſuppoſed it in the beginning, or whether they did ſpring from ſome other of *Magog*'s brethren, yet ſince they inhabited ſo conſiderable a part of *Scythia*, and made ſuch figure in the hiſtory of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well d omit at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt note.

The *Sarmatians*, we have already hinted, are affirmed by *Herodotus* to have been Sarmatians. the offſpring of the *Scythians* (H) and *Amazons*. Theſe warlike women, or, as their *Scythian* name *Aior Patta* imports, *Man-ſlayers*, in their flight from the *Grecians* having landed near the precipices of the *Palus Meotis* belonging to the free *Scythians*, and having been perſuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of *Scythia*, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to paſs into the province of *Sarmatia* on the other ſide of the *Tanais*. Hence our author ſays, the *Sarmatian* women retained ſtill the *Amazonian* temper and way of life, being more warlike than the reſt of the *Scythian* females, and the e language of the country became a corrupt *Scythian*, becauſe the *Amazons* never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offſpring, corrupt as themſelves ſpake it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had diſpatched an enemy in the field [k].

The *Taurians* had this inhuman cuſtom, that they ſacrificed to a virgin all that Taurians. were ſhipwrecked, and all the *Grecians* which they caught upon their coaſts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the perſon on the head with a club, after

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [k] Id. ibid. Mela, ubi ſupra.

(H) Some authors, however, from a paſſage in *Pliny* (8), where he tells us, that *they were reported to be deſcended from the* Medes; and another out of *Juſtin*, who tells us, that the language of the *Parthians* was a mixture of *Scythic* and *Mediſh* (9) have ſuppoſed, that the *Sarmatians*, who moſt reſemble the *Parthians*, were the offſpring of the *Medes*; and that the name of *Sarmatian* was only a corruption of the *Chaldee* שואר מדי *Sheer Madai* (10), a *reſidue* or *ſprout* of the *Medes*. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think *Herodotus* may be more relied upon than the other two, who ſpoke at a much greater diſtance of time and place than he. However, if what they ſay be true, it proves what we obſerved before, that the deſcendants of *Gomer* and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only ſeparated by degrees from each other.

As to the *Parthians*, though their name in the *Scythic* and *Celtic* ſignifies *ſeparated*, it ſeems probable, that they were rather *Gomerians* or *Celtes* driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themſelves into a country of the *Medes*, were by them called *Parthians*, or *baniſhed* (11).

(8) *lib.* vi. *c.* 7. (9) *lib.* xli. (10) *Vid. Mela, lib.* iii. *c.* 4. *& alib. Bochart. lib.* iii. *c.* 14. (11) *Vid. Pezron. Ant. Nat. ch.* iv.

after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcaſs down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and reſerving only the head to be ſtuck on a pole[a]. Theſe *Taurians* pretended, that the virgin *Deimon* whom they thus worſhipped was *Iphigenia Agamemnon*'s daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel to thoſe that fell into their hands.

Agathyrſians. The *Agathyrſians* are ſaid to have had their women in common in order to link the men more ſtrictly together, and to prevent jealouſies and other ill effects of matri-

Neurians. mony. The *Neurian* province being infeſted with dangerous ſerpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the *Budians*. They obſerved the cuſtoms of *Scythia* in moſt particulars, only pretended to greater ſkill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they reſumed their own ſhape[b].

Budians *or* Androphagi. The worſt of all were the *Androphagi* or *men-eaters*, who obſerved neither law nor juſtice, and had nothing in common with the reſt, but their dreſs and breeding of cattle. The *Melanchœnians* were ſo called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the *Scythian* cuſtoms, except that they fed upon human fleſh, which the *free Scythians* did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at leaſt as common food, but only on ſome particular occaſions, ſuch as we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by. The *Budians* were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the reſt did they build them a city, and called it *Gelonus*, whoſe houſes and high walls were of timber, and each ſide of the walls was three hundred ſtades[c] in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the *Grecian* gods; and here they

Gelonians. celebrated the *Bacchanalia* triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themſelves to the keeping of cattle, and theſe to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, theſe *Gelonians* had ſo much better minds than the *Budians*, that they ſeemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other ſuch animals: their ſkins ſewed together were uſed for garments, and the teſticles againſt hyſteric diſeaſes. The *Oxones*, *Panoti*, *Arimaſpæi* in *Scythia Europeana* we have ſpoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more reſemble the[d] *royal Scythians* than any others, in moſt particulars, eſpecially in their warlike genius, and ſimplicity of living.

The laſt two nations or tribes of *Scythians* worth our notice were the *Scythian Nomades*, inhabiting, as we have ſeen, upon the north-weſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, and

Scythian Nomades. the *Maſſagetes* on the eaſt. As for the *Amazons*, as they are accounted ſomewhat fabulous, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeparate note (I). The *Nomades* differed ſo little

[a] Id. ibid. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Id. ibid. [d] Id. ibid.

(I) Concerning theſe ſo famed and ſo much queſtioned female warriors, it were endleſs to trouble ourſelves with all that has been written on either ſide; thoſe ſeem to come neareſt the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been ſaid of them by the ancients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the *Scythian* women in general, and more particularly that of the *Sarmatians*, in whoſe neighbourhood lived theſe *Amazons* if they were not originally of the ſame blood, with the occaſion which gave birth to this ſtrange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their huſbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a ſtrange country; if, I ſay, we conſider all theſe circumſtances, there will be nothing ſo improbable in the brave and maſculine method they took to ſave themſelves from ſlavery and to revenge the ſlaughter of their huſbands. We may add, that the *Scythian* as well as *Celtic* women were anciently held in great authority and veneration, for their ſkill in divination above the men, inſomuch, that the latter are even upbraided by ancient authors (12) for ſuffering them to aſſiſt at and ſteer their councils as they pleaſed, and to have even preſided in all courts of judicature and other aſſemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned deciſive, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to be divinely inſpired (13). Being therefore thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exaſperated by the treacherous butchery of their huſbands, and become, as it were, deſperate at the proſpect of their impending ſlavery; we need not wonder, that they ſo ſoon fell upon the moſt effectual means of making a noble defence, and, like ſo many heroines, having choſen one or two of the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt among them to lead them to an offenſive war againſt their enemies, they carried it on with ſuch courage and conſtancy, and with ſuch ſurpriſing ſucceſs. And if their warlike temper, their government, cuſtoms, valour, conduct, and atchievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with reſpect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheleſs abſurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the ſame allowance in both caſes, than to ſuppoſe, that ſo many hiſtorians, who have written of either of

(12) *Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap.* viii. *& alib. Polyæn. in Stratagem. l.* vii. *Plutarch. lib. de virt. Mulier. Cæſ. Comment. l.* i. *c.* 50. *Strab. Geograph. lib.* vii. (13) *Vid. Keyſler. antiq. Septentr. diſſert.* 5.

a little from the *royal Scythians*, except in this appellative, that we shall need say no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one place than they found plenty of pasture for their cattle; after which they removed to fresh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their shepherds till their return [p].

THE

[p] MELA, lib. iii. c. 6.

of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occasion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble *Scythian* youths, whom our author calls *Hylinos* and *Scolopitus* (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the first irruptions of the *Scythians* into *Asia*, and in the reign of *Sesostris* king of *Egypt*, retired into part of *Cappadocia* with their wives and families. They brought with them also a very considerable number of warlike youths, by whose assistance they got possession of the region of *Thermosciria*, on the river *Thermodon*, from which they used to make frequent incursions into the neighbouring countries for several years, till they were at length all treacherously murdered by those nations. Their wives were no sooner apprised of it, than, partly through fear of slavery and partly through desire of revenge, they put themselves under the conduct of some of their greatest heroines, and prepared for a bloody war against the murderers. That nothing might obstruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of slavery, and destroyed the residue of their husbands who had escaped the slaughter, that so, being all upon the same foot, they might pursue their designs with equal ardour and courage. The consequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with such bravery and success, that they totally overthew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours sue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they should yearly have a month's intercourse with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breasts, that they might be no obstruction to their shooting, whence they came to be called *Amazons*; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or sent them back to their fathers, according to *Herodotus* (15).

These surprising exploits were atchieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, *Lampedo* or *Lampeto*, and *Marthesia* or *Marphesia*, who boasted themselves to be the daughters of *Mars*; and having carried their conquests into *Asia* and built some cities there, this last, who had been left there with an army to secure their conquest, whilst the former returned home loaden with spoils, was afterwards surprised, and cut off with the rest of her female warriors by some bands of barbarians.

She was succeeded by her daughter *Ortara* or *Orthya*, whose valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raise the glory of the *Amazonian* name. To this succeeded *Antiopha*, whose sisters, *Hypolite* and *Menalippe*, are reported to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theseus*, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by those two heroes. 4. *Penthesilea* was another famous *Amazonian* queen, who is said to have come at the head of an army of her viragoes to the assistance of *Priamus* king of *Troy*. 'Tis added, that she was the inventress of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles*. Some other particulars related of those heroines smell so much of the fable, that we shall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody re-encounter between *Thomyris*, another of their warlike queens, and *Cyrus* king of *Persia* has been taken notice of in another chapter †; and the amorous one between *Alexander the Great*, and the famous queen *Thalestris* shall be spoken of in its proper place. It is under this last that the *Amazonian* race and kingdom is said to have received its final period.

We must not omit some other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of these female worthies, which happened in the reign of some of the foregoing queens; it is not easy to guess which; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his history of the *Scythians*.

The *Grecians*, who had obtained a signal victory over the *Amazons*, near the river *Thermodon*, were carrying off the residue that had escaped the slaughter, in three ships, into their own country. While they were at sea, the *Amazons* conspired against them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but, being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the use of the rudder, sails, and oars, they were driven by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the *Palus Maeotis*, in the territories of the *free Scythians*. Here they got ashore, and marching up into the country, they seized upon the first set of horses they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The *Scythians*, unacquainted with their language, sex, and dress, could not tell what to make of these invaders: they took them at first to be youths, but after a skirmish or two, in which some of them were taken prisoners, had convinced them of the contrary; they resolved not to kill them, but to send a party of youths to watch their motions, with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they should flee from them; and as soon as they ceased their pursuit, encamp at the nearest distance they could, resolved if possible to have some children by these brave women. These observing, that the *Scythian* youths did not come with any hostile design, suffered them to continue in their neighbouring station, whilst they, having nothing but their horses and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their custom to withdraw themselves from the rest about noon, either single or by couples, to comply with the necessities of nature, which when the *Scythian* youths observed, they did so likewise: by this means one of these walking alone met with a single *Amazon*, and though they could not speak to each other, yet she found a way to let him understand, that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another *Scythian*, she would likewise bring a companion with her. The upshot was, that both the camps were presently joined into one, and every *Scythian* took to wife the *Amazon*, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no sooner got a smattering of the *Scythian* language, than they were given to understand by their new husbands, that they had their parents and possessions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a desire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But these replied, that as they had ever been used to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horse, and all such warlike exercises, to which they supposed the *Scythian* women altogether unaccustomed; they could

(14) *Vid. S. W. Rawl. hist. lib.* iv. *c.* 2. *sect.* xv. (15) *Justin. ex Trog. l.* ii. *c.* 4. (16) *Vid. Just ubi supra & Pausan. in Attic. c.* ii. † *Vid. supra. Vol. II. p.* 87. (17) *Herodot. l.* iv.

Massagetes. The *Massagetes* did likewise imitate the *free Scythians* in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; but they used, besides bows and arrows, for which those were so famed, javelins and scymeters. Brass served them instead of steel for making their offensive weapons, and as to their defensive ones, they added some ornaments made of gold, especially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horses were likewise fenced with a breast-plate of brass, whilst their bridles, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for silver and iron were not used by them, because their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: so that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his chariot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This custom, *Herodotus* tells us, was unjustly attributed to all the *Scythians* by the *Greeks*, whereas it was peculiar to the *Massagetes* only [q]. A more inhuman custom than this the same author tells us they had, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not so much limited by law as inferred from concurring symptoms; all his relations met and sacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of several kinds, and having boiled the flesh all together, they sat down to it as to a feast. This kind of death was accounted by them the most happy, as that of dying by sickness was reckoned unfortunate, because these last were to be buried, instead of coming to the honour of being sacrificed to their gods, and feasted upon by their nearest relations and intimate friends. The sun was the only deity they worshipped, and to him they sacrificed horses, which being reckoned the noblest and swiftest of all creatures, they thought most proper to be offered to the noblest and swiftest of all the gods. They neither sowed nor planted, but contented themselves with the milk and flesh of their cattle, and with fish, of which the *Iaxartes* did yield them a very great plenty [r]. In a word, the two forementioned customs excepted, they were esteemed the noblest of all the *Scythians* [s], being equal to the royal tribe in valour and prowess, and exceeding them in opulence.

Some barbarous customs.

Their worth.

SECT. VII.

The history of the Scythian *kings.*

Scythian *chronology not to be attained.* WHAT has been observed in some of the foregoing sections, concerning the barrenness of *Scythian* records, and of other historians concerning that nation, will easily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular history of their kings, whose names and exploits lie occasionally scattered in *Herodotus*, and other more recent historians, without any order of time, or any indice, whereby one may give the least guess into it, at least till their invasion of *Asia*, and engaging in wars with some of the *Asiatic* monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conquests to *Europe*, and made their incursions only against their neighbours, which though perhaps originally descended from the same stock, yet, like a great many other nations, such as the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, *Edomites* and *Israelites*, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardless of, their former affinity. And this seems

[q] Herodot. lib. i. ad finem. [r] Mela, Cluver. & al. [s] Vid. Strab. l. xi. pass. Diod. Sicul. Mela, Cluver. & al.

could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained still the same conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their several portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their return, their wives acquainted them farther, that, since they had deprived them of their parents, and committed several depredations in that country, they thought it much safer to go and fix their habitation on the other side of the *Tanais*. This was likewise agreed to, and having crossed that river, after three days march eastward of that river, and three more northward from the lake *Meotis*, they arrived and settled in the country of *Sarmatia*, where they continued still in our author's time. Hence it is, that the *Sarmatian* women are by far the greatest warriors of the *Scythians*; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the *Amazons* not having been able to learn, and consequently to teach, their children the true *Scythic*, the *Sarmatian* became a mixture of that and of the *Amazonic*. Thus came the fame of those female warriors to spread itself into *Europe* and *Asia*; as for those of *America*, they shall be spoken of in their proper place.

I

a ſeems to have been moſt probably their caſe, becauſe they cultivated no arts, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themſelves about recording their acts and genealogies. The *Celtes* indeed had their *Curetes*; and other *European* nations their *Bards* and *Druids*, who celebrated their exploits in verſe, as we have ſhewn in a former ſection; but we do not find any footſteps of the *Scythians* having had any ſuch perſons among them; ſo that tradition, ſuch as it could be got, ſeems to have been the only fountain from which our ancient hiſtorians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confuſed and irregular a manner as they had received it.

THE following is a liſt of *Scythian* kings, as we find them mentioned by *Hero-*
b *dotus*, *Juſtin*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Mela*; but without any note of time, either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they ſucceeded one another in the order we have ſet them down, or even whether they all reigned over the ſame nations, or ſome of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we ſhall to the liſt of their names ſubjoin ſuch particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we ſhall be forced to cloſe this hiſtory.

Kings of *Scythia*:

1 *Scythes.*
2 *Napis.*
3 *Phithra.*
4 *Sagillus* or *Protothyas.*
5 *Madyes.*
6 *Thomyris.*
7 *Jancyrus*,
8 *Indatyrſus.*
9 *Targitaus.*
10 *Calaxais.*
11 *Scholypethes*
or perhaps
rather
Scythopetes.
12 *Panaxagoras.*
13 *Tanais.*
14 *Saulius.*
15 *Spargapiſes.*
16 *Aripethes.*
17 *Scyles.*
18 *Octamaſades.*
19 *Ariantes.*
20 *Atheas.*
21 *Lambinus.*

Scythes is that fabulous ſon of *Hercules*, begotten on a monſter, of whom we have Scythes.
ſpoken in a former note, and from whom the *Scythian* nation was affirmed by the
d fabulous *Greeks* to have taken their name, if not to be deſcended [a]. This hiſtory ſeems to have been invented by the *Greeks*, for no other end than to ſully the origin of the noble and warlike *Scythians*, to whom they were no doubt vaſtly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accompliſhments, as the reader will eaſily ſee by comparing the hiſtory of theſe, with what we ſhall relate, in a ſubſequent chapter, of the more obſcure and barbarous beginnings of the *Grecian* nation.

Sagillus is ſaid to have ſent his ſon *Panaſagoras*, who is perhaps the ſame with Sagillus.
Protothyas, the father of *Madyes*, with an army of horſe, to the aſſiſtance of *Orithya*, queen of the *Amazons*, againſt *Theſeus* king of *Athens*. To perſuade him
e to it, ſhe let him know, that the *Amazons* were of *Scythian* race, that it was mere neceſſity that had obliged them to diſpatch their ſurviving huſbands, and to erect themſelves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, ſhe uſed all the arguments that could induce the *Scythian* king to her aſſiſtance: his ſon came accordingly with a large army of horſe, but preſently after his arrival, upon ſome diſguſt which that prince took at thoſe brave heroines, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, who ſoon after gained the victory over them [b].

Madyes, of whom we have ſpoken in a former chapter *, and ſuppoſed to be the Madyes.
ſame with the *Indathyrſus* of *Strabo*, though different from that of *Herodotus*, was the ſon of *Protothyas*, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the *Scy-*
f *thians*, having drove the *Cymmerians* or northern *Celtes* out of *Europe*, and purſued them into *Aſia*, invaded the country of the *Medes*, and held the greater part of upper *Aſia* in ſubjection twenty-eight years. The occaſion of their quarrel with the *Cymmerians*, and of this *Aſiatic* irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may, however, be eaſily gueſſed at. *Scythia*, we obſerved, was more fruitful of men than of food and ſuſtenance; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable froſts and ſnows: where ſhould they then diſcharge their over-ſwelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the ſouth, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accuſtomed to an eaſy and delicate life, as thoſe were to a hardy and warlike one, were moſt likely to yield to them if not their country, yet at leaſt a free paſſage through

[a] HERODOT. l. iv. [b] JUSTIN. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4. * Vol. II. p. 16.

through it, and aſſiſt them with all neceſſaries of life, that they might be the ſooner rid of them? Hence it is, that they ſo ſwiftly paſſed into *Aſia*, and led their victorious army even into *Egypt*. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by their king *Pſammiticus*, either by preſents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They made likewiſe ſome incurſions into the land of the *Philiſtines*; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of *Bethſheam* from the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on this ſide of *Jordan*, and called it by their name *the city of the Scythians* or *Scythopolis*, as we have hinted in the hiſtory of the *Medes* *. In their return through *Syria* ſome of their ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, and for their ſacrilege were puniſhed with hemorrhoides, or, as others ſay, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other ſex; which did alſo cleave to their poſterity as a brand of infamy. a b

THEY might probably have held their dominion in *Aſia* much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes* on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that hiſtory. What became of the reſt that ſurvived the ſlaughter we can only gueſs at; many of them might ſubmit themſelves to the *Medes*, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is ſuppoſed, and ſerved *Nebuchadnezzar*, part of whoſe army is ſaid to have conſiſted of all the families of the north; but the greateſt part, according to *Herodotus*, marched towards *Scythia* [c], where they met with an unexpected reception from their ſervants and ſlaves. This ſtory is ſomewhat differently reported, as well as that of their *Aſiatic* expedition, and the time they ſpent in it: *Juſtin*, who calls this their third expedition, ſays, it laſted but eight years [d], during which their wives, having given them over for loſt, on account of the great diſtance between them, had married their ſervants and ſlaves; to whom, as we have obſerved, their maſters uſed upon all ſuch excurſions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As ſoon therefore as the *Scythians* were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upſtart race of ſlaves ſent to forbid their maſters to approach nearer at their peril. c

BUT *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks of this expediton as their firſt into *Aſia*, and affirms it to have laſted twenty-eight years, adds [e], that their wives, unuſed to be ſo long idle, had taken their ſervants and ſlaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was ſprung, which obſtructed their maſters return into *Scythia*, after they had ſuffered themſelves to be driven out of their *Aſiatic* conqueſts by the *Medes*. This laſt is the more probable of the two in many reſpects, and agrees better with thoſe other authors, who affirm, as was obſerved before, that the *Scythians* held the dominion of *Aſia* twenty-eight years. However that be, this ſlaviſh offspring, having timely notice of their maſters returning home, had ſo well fortified and intrenched themſelves againſt them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not ſome of the wiſer *Scythians* bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem, which quite diſcomfited that rebellious rout. d

THEY had already had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with equal ſucceſs on both ſides, when one of the *Scythian* lords told the reſt, that it was a ſhameful thing for them to fight with their ſlaves, as with their equals, and that if they deſigned to force them into ſubmiſſion, they muſt fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and ſcourges, ſuch as they were formerly wont to chaſtiſe them with. This advice was followed with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and the ſlaviſh rebels were taken with ſuch a panic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the moſt cruel deaths, whilſt their miſtreſſes, conſcious of their guilt, fought to avoid their husbands reſentment, by hanging, or ſome other ſpeedy death (K). e

After

* Ib. p. 17. [c] HERODOT. lib. i. [d] lib. ii. c. 5. [e] lib. ii iv.

(K) It is plain by theſe *Scythians* leaving their wives, ſervants, and baggage behind, that they deſigned to return again from *Aſia*; for it is ſcarce probable, that their deſign was to conquer ſome ſpacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we obſerved above, that they only went to aſſiſt thoſe new colonies, which they were obliged to diſcharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good ſettlement there, after which they deſigned to return to their own homes, as uſual.

However that be, this adventure ſeems plainly to contradict a ſtory which *Herodotus* tells of the *Scythians*, that they uſed to put out the eyes of their ſlaves: for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that this ſlaviſh army that oppoſed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unleſs we can believe that their wives took their blind ſlaves into their beds almoſt as ſoon as their husbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itſelf between the maſters and ſlaves, it is ſo far from being a fiction, or ſo much as doubted of in thoſe parts, even at this day, that we

are

a After this signal victory over their rebellious slaves, the *Scythians*, according to *Justin*, enjoyed a long and unmolested peace till the days of *Jancyrus*, of whom we shall speak by-and-by. We must, however, except the invasion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

Thomyris, *Tomyris*, or *Tamyris*, was that heroine whom, we are told, * *Cyrus* the great did, or at least pretended to, court in marriage, and was sending an embassy to treat about it. But she, supposing that her kingdom, rather than her person, was the object of his wishes, sent express orders to the embassadors not to proceed further. *Cyrus*, provoked either at her refusal, or at her suspecting his artifice, advanced with his army against the *Massagetes*, who were then under her dominion. Tomyris.

b What the issue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the story of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exasperated princess took of him, we have already seen in another chapter †, and shall not repeat it.

Jancyrus, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble answer which he sent to *Darius* king of *Persia*, when he sent to demand of him the usual presents of earth and water in Token of subjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that assuming monarch's army; and as such seems to be the same with *Herodotus*'s *Indathyrsus*, ‡ or to have been his immediate successor. The occasion of this war with the *Persians* is variously related by *Justin* §, and the last quoted author: the former tells us, that the *Scythian* monarch had exasperated *Darius* by refusing to Jancyrus.

c give him his daugther in marriage; and the latter introduces some *Scythian* princes, accusing him with being the first aggressor and having invaded the *Persian* territories, whilst *Darius* himself pretended only to revenge the ravages which the *Scythians* had committed in *Asia* 120 years before, when they held it in subjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling these accounts and the two different names of the *Scythian* monarch; but by supposing the *Jancyrus* of *Justin* to have been the father of *Indathyrsus*, and that, finding that the refusal of his daughter had provoked the *Persian* king to a war, he resolved to be before-hand with him, and to send his son *Indathyrsus* to invade his territories; and that dying soon after he intailed that war upon his son, from which he afterwards reaped so

d much glory. *Herodotus* might not think fit to transmit a circumstance so much to the honour of the barbarous *Scythians*, as that of the great *Darius*'s seeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the same reason, that he makes the *Persian* army to have been rather harrassed and starved out of *Scythia*, than repulsed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for *Darius*, if he really received such an affront from the king of *Scythia* as the refusal of his daughter, it was too dishonourable a pretence to ground this invasion upon; and a more glorious motive must be sought out, though at so great a distance of time, to cover the true and real one.

e However that be, *Indathyrsus*, having received the proud challenge from the *Persian* king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elsewh re shewn to signify not a supply of provisions for his army, but an acknowledgment of subjection ‡, sent him this haughty reply; that, as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor *Jupiter* and *Vesta* queen of the *Scythians*, he would shortly send him a more suitable present, and such a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This present accordingly was dispatched to him soon after: it was a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther explication; these arrows might perhaps allude to the number of *Scythian* tribes which were joined with his own, of which we shall speak by-and-by. These and the living creatures *Darius* immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been sent in token of submission.

* Herodot. lib. i. ad fin.. † Vol. II. p. 87. ‡ l. iv. § l. ii. c. 5. ‡ See before, Vol. II. p. 105. F.

are told, that the *Novogradians*, whose city stands in the *Sarmatian Scythia*, did cause a coin, which they call a *Dingoe Novogradskoi*, to be stampt in memory of it, which had a man on horseback, shaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever since throughout all *Russia* †

It is probable likewise, that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the *Scythian* wives, that the custom has been since established among the *Muscovite* women of presenting their future spouse, even in the time of their courtship with, a *Pudkey*, or *scbip*, wrought with their own hands, in token both of a greater subjection and fidelity than their *Scythian* ancestries, or most probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

Vid. Fletch. Russ. Commonwealth, c. iv. *ap. Rawl. l.* ii. *c.* 28. *sect.* iv.

miſſion. But *Gobrias*, who knew the *Scythians* perhaps better than his maſter, and a
compared the meſſage and the preſent together, gave quite another ſenſe to the
latter, namely, that the *Perſians* muſt not hope to avoid the effects of the *Scythian*
valour, unleſs they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themſelves
in the earth like mice: Whether or no this was the real meaning of the preſent,
the preparations which he made againſt him ſufficiently ſhew, that it was deſigned
to ſignify an open defiance to the *Perſian* army (L).

Accordingly, the king of *Scythia* ſummoned all the princes of the other
tribes to come to his aſſiſtance, againſt the common enemy and invader of their
country. Theſe were the kings of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*, and *Sarmatians*; the *Aga-*
thyrſians, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlænians*, and *Taurians*. Theſe, being aſſem- b
bled in council and having debated the occaſion of the war, were divided in their
opinions; and the three firſt were the only ones who eſteemed it a common cauſe,
and reſolved to join *Indathyrſus* in defence of it. As for the other five, they
ſent him word, that as he had been the firſt and only aggreſſor, by invading the *Per-*
ſian territories without their participation, ſo they did not think themſelves at all
concerned in the retaliation which *Darius* was preparing againſt him. That they would
therefore ſit quiet at home, till ſome hoſtilities had convinced them, that the *Perſians*
deſigns were equally levelled at them, in which caſe they would ſoon convince them,
that it was not their deſign to ſtand idle and ſuffer their own territories to be invaded.

Indathyrſus was ſo exaſparated at this unexpected meſſage, that he reſolved at the c
ſame time that he made the beſt defence he could with his *royal* and *free Scythians*
and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations,
by drawing, if poſſible, the enemy into their country. To this end he reſolved to
fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the fron-
tiers, and to fill up all the wells and ſprings, and to deſtroy all the graſs and provi-
ſion as they went. He divided his army into two columns, the one, under the
command of *Taxacis*, was to act in conjunction with the *Gelonians* and *Budians*; the
other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himſelf; whilſt
the *Sarmatians* were ordered to advance to the territories of king *Scopaſis*, that, in
caſe the *Perſians* ſhould come by that way, they might retire by the lake *Meotis* to d
the river *Tanais*; and upon their retiring harraſs them as much as they could.
Taxacis was ordered to keep ſtill a day's march before the *Perſians*, and to tire them
with frequent ſkirmiſhes, in order to draw them into the territories of ſome of theſe
five nations that had refuſed to join with them: and if that did not ſucceed, they
were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other
means their diſcretion ſhould ſuggeſt to them.

These orders being thus fixed, they ſent away their wives and children towards
the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could ſpare; after
which *Indathyrſus* commanded the beſt of his horſe to march towards the enemy,
whilſt the reſt followed them by private ways. This detachment, finding the *Per-* e
ſian army advanced about three days march from the *Iſter*, deſtroyed all the product
of the ground and fled away. This cauſed the *Perſians* to purſue after them, as faſt
as the others retired ſtill further back, till they had drawn them through *Sarmatia*
into the territories of the *Budians*, where they burnt and laid waſte all that came in
their way. They continued their purſuit till they came to a great deſart of about
ſeven days march; and here *Darius*, not thinking it proper to proceed further, ſet
himſelf about building of ſome ſpacious cities at equal diſtances from each other.
Theſe, however, he left unfiniſhed to go in purſuit of the flying *Scythians*, who by
degrees drew him through the territories of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and
Neurians, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the *Perſians*, and who failed not f
to lay all waſte as they went through, that the *Perſian* army might find nothing
there to ſubſiſt on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a
former

(L) We have given this ſtory ſomewhat in a different order than we find it in *Herodotus*, who tells us, that theſe reciprocal meſſages were not ſent till the *Scythians* had drawn the *Perſian* army into the furtheſt parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the *Melanchlænians*, *Androphages*, and *Neurians*. Had this been the caſe, there had been no great bravery in their ſending ſuch a haughty anſwer to an enemy ſo harraſſed and entangled as *Darius* then was; neither will thoſe circumſtances he then found himſelf in permit us to ſuppoſe that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the *Scythians*. We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more conſonant to the known cuſtoms of other kingdoms, that theſe meſſages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the *Scythian* territories.

former ſection *: the reſult of which was, that the *Perſian* monarch was forced to retire
a with the loſs of the greateſt part of his numerous army (M), glad to eſcape with his own life, and at the expence of his glory. How much dearer ſtill this invaſion would have coſt the *Perſians*, had the *Ionians*, whom *Darius* had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the *Iſter*, kept their promiſe to the *Scythians*, and left them to deſtroy it, may be eaſily gueſſed; but they only deceived them with a promiſe that they would demoliſh it, and made a ſhew as if they were going about it in good earneſt, by taking off ſo much of it on the *Scythian* ſide as an arrow might reach, to prevent the *Scythians* paſſing and demoliſhing it, which, however, they ſoon rejoined again, when the flying *Perſians* appeared; by which means *Darius* once
b more eſcaped the fury of the purſuing *Scythians*, who failed not ever after to load the *Ionians* with the worſt of epithets for their treachery and cowardiſe. As ſoon as they found, that *Darius* was gone beyond their reach, they reſolved to be revenged of him ſome other way, and to make themſelves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. *Thrace*, ſo lately conquered by the *Perſian* king, became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waſte as far as the *Helleſpont*, and repaſſing the *Iſter* returned into *Scythia*, loaden with the immenſe ſpoils of that province.

Saulius, This was he of whom we took notice before, for killing *Anacharſis*, a Saulius.
prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the
c mother of the gods into *Scythia*, which he had ſeen uſed among the *Grecians*. For though *Anacharſis* had choſen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worſhip in, yet he was diſcovered in the midſt of it by a *Scythian*, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. *Saulius* haſted to the place, and found him playing on a tymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. Our author gives us here the names of three of *Saulius*'s predeceſſors, in a lineal deſcent, viz. *Spargapythes*, *Cyrus*, and *Gnarus*, and of one of his ſucceſſors, viz. *Indathyrſus* [i].

Aripithes had a numerous iſſue, but particularly one ſon named *Scythes*, not by Aripithes.
a *Scythian*, but by an *Iſtrian*, woman, who therefore brought him up in all the
d *Grecian* cuſtoms and learning. *Aripithes* being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the *Agathyrſians*, this ſon found means to poſſeſs himſelf of his father's kingdom.

Scythes, though now king of *Scythia*, and married to one of his father's wives Scythes.
who was alſo a *Scythian*, yet preferred the *Grecian* cuſtoms, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to thoſe of his own country. To indulge himſelf in them, and avoid giving offence to his ſubjects, he bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem; he led his *Scythians* to the metropolis of the *Boryſthenians*, which is reported to be a colony of the *Mileſians*, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, cauſing the gates to be ſhut, and centinels to be placed at
e each of them, put off his *Scythian* dreſs, cloathed himſelf after the *Grecian* manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the *Grecian* worſhip, cuſtoms, and dreſs, after which he reſumed his *Scythian* habit, and departed. Not content with often repeating the ſame practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of *Bacchus*, and had prepared all things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his ſumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble ſtatues repreſenting *Sphynxes* and griffins, was demoliſhed by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accompliſhing his initiation; but whilſt he was in the midſt of it, a *Boryſthenian* went and acquainted the *Scythians* with it in words

* Vol. II. p. 105. & ſeq. [i] Id. ibid. [k] Id. ibid.

(M) If *Herodotus*'s account of this tranſaction may be credited, *Darius* was not ſo much repulſed by the arms of the *Scythians*, as affronted at an unaccountable inſtance of contempt which they occaſionally ſhewed to him, juſt as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us, they were both drawn in order of battle. When a hare accidentally ſtarting in the interval between them, the *Scythians* immediately quitted their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmoſt confuſion purſued after it. One would expect, that the *Perſians* would have took the opportunity of falling upon them whilſt they were in this hurly-burly; but, it ſeems, *Darius* judged quite otherwiſe of an enemy that ſhewed ſo little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; ſo that he thought it high time to take *Gobrias*'s advice and to ſecure his retreat as ſoon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our *Bacchanals*, because when a possessed with the god we lose, you say, the use of our reason; come now and behold your king celebrating those rites with a divine fury, and be yourselves eye-witnesses how that God has taken possession of him. Some of the principal *Scythians* were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince from one of the towers performing the *Bacchanalian* rites with a numerous choir.

Octamasades

At their return they acquainted the army with what they had seen, which did so enrage the *Scythians*, that as soon as he was got home they revolted from him, and chose his brother *Octamasades* in his room. *Scythes* being informed of the occasion of this revolt fled into *Thrace*, and as soon as his brother had notice of it, he pursued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the *Ister*, where he found *Sitalces*, king of *Thrace* advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, *Octomasades* received a message from the *Thracian* king to this effect; why should we try the fortune of war, thou art my sister's son and hast my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will send *Scythes* to thee, so shall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. *Octomasades* agreed to the proposal, and surrendered his uncle to *Sitalces*, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of *Scythia* having received his brother from him, caused his head to be immediately taken off[l].

Ariantes.

Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately spoken upon another occasion; and who being desirous to know the number of his fighting-men, ordered them all to appear at a set time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to such a bulk, that he caused it to be cast into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to *Exampæus*[m].

The last king we shall mention in this history (M), and under whom the *Scythians* are said to have received a considerable overthrow[n], was *Atheas*, or, as he is called by others, *Matheas* and *Machæas*. This prince, being engaged in a war with the *Istrians*, a people of *Mysia* on the south banks of the mouth of the river *Ister*, sent to *Philip* king of *Macedon* to desire his assistance, and upon his complying promised to make him his heir to the crown of *Scythia*. But the *Istrians* having, at the news of this powerful succour, delivered him of his fears by their sudden departure, he sent another message to *Philip*, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither sent for

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Justin, l. ix. c. 2.

(N) We have omitted several of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or something too fabulous and ridiculous to deserve a place in this work, or at best so vague and uncertain, especially in point of time, that it is impossible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that story we are going to give out of *Herodotus*, not so much for its incredible singularity, as because, fabulous as it is, it must have been founded upon some facts, which give no small countenance to some conjectures we have ventured to advance in this history, it being not of *Greek*, but *Scythian*, extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of *Scythia*, whose inhabitants he nevertheless doth indiscriminately call *Scythians*, who, though they owned themselves to be of much recenter date than the rest, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before *Darius*'s expedition. The account they give of themselves is, that their country was at first peopled by *Targitaus*, the son of *Jupiter*, by a daughter of the river *Borysthenes*; that this prince had three sons, *viz. Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Colaxais*, in whose reign, a plow, with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning-hot; but the youngest, coming presently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their share of the kingdom to him. They add, that the *Auchatian Scythians* were descended from the eldest, the *Catiarians* from *Apoxais*, and the race of their kings, whom they called *Paralates*, from the youngest brother. All these gave themselves the general name of *Scholotes*, which, our author tells us, was also the surname of their kings, but were called *Scythians* by all the *Greeks*. The miraculous golden utensils, we are told, were preserved with utmost care, and that their kings did assist at the annual sacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colaxais, who had likewise three sons, perceiving the vast extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing, however, the biggest share to that portion into which the miraculous golden vessels were fallen. According to this tradition there must have started at least three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vast quantities of feathers or snow, with which the adjoyning regions towards the north are covered; we may reasonably suppose, these three tribes to have sprung from a colony of the ancient *Scythians*, and to have been forced to seek for a new habitation in those more inclement regions, especially considering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtless than any other *Scythians*, though older by 1000 years than the time of *Darius*. As for the pretended divine extraction of their founder and the miraculous fall of the golden utensils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in those early days, than these pretences of something supernatural accompanying the foundations of most kingdoms, and the divine original of their first founders. Hence we would further observe, that it is most likely, that the kings of *Scythia*, which we have given in the above list, did not all belong to the *royal Scythians*, but

a for his aſſiſtance, nor promiſed him his crown; that the *Scythians* neither wanted the help of the *Macedonians*, nor their king an heir, whilſt he had a ſon alive. *Philip*, who was then beſieging *Byzantium*, ſent to deſire him at leaſt to remit him ſome money to defray part of the expences of the ſiege, eſpecially conſidering, that he had paid nothing either towards the ſubſiſtance of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had ſent to him.

Atheas had no way to elude ſo reaſonable a demand, but by excuſing himſelf upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenneſs of their ſoil, which he ſaid was ſo far from contributing to their inrichment, that it ſcarcely afforded them ſufficient ſuſtenance. *Philip*, vexed at heart to ſee himſelf thus baffled, reſolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilſt he was raiſing the ſiege in order to enter into a war
b with them, he ſent the *Scythians* word, that he had vowed to erect a ſtatue to *Hercules* at the mouth of the *Iſter*, which he deſired liberty to come and ſet up there, as he was a known friend to the *Scythians*. *Atheas*, who ſmelt his deſign, ſent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but ſend the ſtatue, and he would take upon himſelf the care both of the erecting of it, and of its remaining ſafe there; but that he would by no means ſuffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he perſiſted in ſpight of him, to come and ſet up ſuch a ſtatue, they would ſoon melt and caſt it into arrows againſt him. *Philip* not minding his threatening refuſal, and both monarchs being highly exaſperated againſt each other,
c a bloody battle enſued, in which, our author tells us, the *Scythians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength and courage, were overcome by the craftineſs of the *Macedonian* king; twenty-thouſand women and children were carried off priſoners, beſides a vaſt quantity of cattle, and twenty-thouſand of their fineſt mares, which they ſent into *Macedonia* for breeding. As for gold and ſilver they found none among them, and this, our author obſerves, was the firſt proof which the *Scythians* gave of their poverty in that reſpect.

HOWEVER, this overthrow is not ſo univerſally agreed among ancient authors as the war is, neither doth it conſiſt well with what our author has in another place; where he introduces *Mithridates* haranguing his army, part of which conſiſted of *Scy-*
d *thians*, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, *Darius* and *Philip*, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a ſhameful flight [o]. But be that as it will, 'tis plain their overthrow was not ſo conſiderable as to hinder them from ſignalizing themſelves upon many occaſions, both againſt the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, and againſt ſeveral other nations; and during a conſiderable time, as the ſequel of this work will ſufficiently ſhew.

Lambinus is ſuppoſed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the laſt king of *Scythia* [p].

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[o] l. xxxvii. *c.* 7. [p] Vid. HYL. lib. iii. p. 172.

but that ſome of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and neceſſity had divided for them, eſpecially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the moſt pleaſant parts of the country.

With reſpect to this pretended daughter of the *Boryſthenes*, it will not be amiſs here to obſerve once for all, that it was a common cuſtom in thoſe early and ignorant times for the firſt planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but alſo to the conſiderable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their poſterity, who every where affected to boaſt of ſomething miraculous in their origin, choſe rather to derive it from the river itſelf than from their real parent who gave name to it. We ſhall meet in the hiſtory of the fabulous and heroic times with inſtances more than enough of theſe ſons and daughters of rivers to juſtify the truth and ſhow the neceſſity of this previous obſervation.

CHAP. XIII.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

SECT. I.

A brief account of Asia Proper.

AS the ſeveral ſmall kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were anciently comprehended under the name of *Aſia Minor*, we ſhall premiſe a general deſcription of that country, for the better underſtanding of the particular accounts which we ſhall have occaſion to join, as we come to treat of the ſeveral regions contained therein.

Aſia Proper. THE different and various acceptations of the word *Aſia*, even in its ſtricteſt ſenſe, has created a great deal of confuſion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into conſiderable miſtakes. To obviate theſe inconveniencies, the incomparable biſhop *Uſher* [a] adviſes thoſe who are to give any account of *Aſia* to begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impoſſible to underſtand the ancient hiſtorians or geographers. He looks upon this as one [b] of the moſt difficult points in hiſtory, there being a ſeeming contradiction between the ſacred and profane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of *Aſia*, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful diſtinction of times and places. In reading the ancient hiſtorians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. *The Greater* and *Leſſer Aſia*, *Aſia Proper* or *Aſia properly ſo called*, *the Lydian Aſia*, the *Proconſular Aſia*, the *Aſiatic Dioceſs*. That vaſt continent, which was known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* under the name of *Aſia*, was divided by the ancient geographers firſt into the *Greater* and *Leſſer Aſia*. The leſſer, commonly termed *Aſia Minor*, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Caria*, and *Lydia*, was named *Aſia Proper* or [c] *Aſia properly ſo called*, as is plain from *Tully* [b]. Where it is to be obſerved, that *Tully*, in enumerating the regions contained in *Aſia Proper*, makes no mention of *Æolis* or *Ionia*, though undoubtedly parts of *Aſia Proper*, becauſe they were comprehended partly in *Lydia* and partly in *Myſia*. *Lydia*, beſide the inland country commonly known by that name, contained alſo the adjoining countries both of *Ionia*, lying on the ſea-ſide between the rivers *Hermus* and *Mæander*, and of *Æolis*, extending from *Hermus* to the river *Caicus* according to *Ptolomy* [c], or according to *Strabo* [d] to the promontory *Lectum*, the ancient boundary between *Troas* and the ſea-coaſt of the *Greater Myſia* (A). The remaining parts of *Æolis* and *Ionia* are by *Pliny* [e], *Strabo* [f], *Hellanicus* [g], and *Scylax* [h], placed in *Myſia*; nay *Myſia* itſelf, after [d] the *Æolians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it, was commonly called *Æolis* [i]; which *Stephanus* not being aware of makes *Aſſos* of *Æolis* a different city from *Aſſos* of *Myſia* near *Antandrus*. From what we have ſaid it is plain, that *Aſia Proper* comprehended *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*. This tract was bounded, according

[a] In his geographical and hiſtorical diſquiſition touching *Aſia properly ſo called*. [b] Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. [c] lib. v. cap. 2. [d] lib. xii. [e] lib. v. cap. 30. [f] lib. xv. [g] Id. lib. xiii. [h] Scylax. in Periplo. [i] Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 18. Plin. lib. v. c. 30.

(A) That *Myſia* reached to the mouth of the river *Caicus* is acknowledged, not only by *Ptolomy* (1), but alſo by *Strabo* (2); and yet, becauſe it was poſſeſſed in his time by the *Æolians*, he tells us, that *Æolis*, properly ſo called, extended from *Hermus* to *Lectum* (3). In like manner *Pliny* (4) makes the promontary *Lectum* the boundary betwixt *Æolis* and *Troas*; though elſewhere, following other authors, he places *Aſſos* in *Troas* (5). But *Hellanicus* (16), *Strabo*, and *Stephanus* (7) make it a city of *Æolis* near the *Helleſpont*.

(1) *lib.* v. *c.* 2. (2) *lib.* xii. (3) *lib.* xiii. *c.* 17. (6) *Strab. l.* xiii. (7) *Id. l.* xv. (4) *lib.* v. *c.* 30. (5) *Id. lib.* ii. *c.* 96. & *l.* xxxvi.

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EUROPAE PARS

ASIA MINOR

PONTUS EUXINUS

AEGAEUM MARE

MARE MEDITERRANEI

MARIS AMYNTERIANI

MARE PAMPHYLIUM

MARE SYRUM

PARS

PONTUS GALLATICUS

PONTUS POLEMONI-ACUS

PONTUS CAPPADOCIUS

CAPPADOCIA

CILICIA

SYRIÆ

PAPHLAGONIA

BITHYNIA

MYSIA MINOR

PROPONTIS

CHERSONESUS

HELLESPONTUS

LYDIA

CARIA

PHRYGIA

PROPRIA PHRYGIA MAGNA

PISIDIA

PAMPHYLIA

LYCAONIA

ISAURIA

TRACHIA SIVE PERACILIA

CYPRUS

Sarambis op. e prom.

Cromnas

Cimolis

Armene

Cytorum op. e M.

Abonutichos

Sinope

Amastris

Zagira

Plegra

Heneti

Helua

Gangra

Heraclea

Thymias

Tios s. Tium

Flaviopolis

Prothenius Flu.

Olgasis Mons

Halys Flu.

Iris Flu.

Themiscyra

Polemonium

Amisus

Eupatoria

Cotyorum

Pharnacia

Ischi Portus

Cerasus

Hermonassa

Trapezus

Asiba

Mariandyni

Claudiopolis olim Bithynium

Neoclaudianopolis

Tolistobogi

Pompeiopolis

Olympus M.

Blucium

Magaba Mons

Ancyra Galatiæ

Germa

Vinda

Tectosages

Tavium

Thocmi

Halys Flu.

Eupatoria Magnopolis

Amasia

Comona pontica

Neocæsarea

Lycus Flu.

Thermodon Flu

Phanaræa

Cotaïa

Satala

Nicopolis

Zela

Selastopolis

Iris Flu.

Ariaratheia

Sebastia

Cabira, Diopolis

Sebaste

Sangarius Flu.

Cotyæum

Dadastana

Gordiucombe et Iuliopolis

Pessinus

Dindymus M.

Docimeum

Aspona

Parnassus

Archelais

Herpa

Sargarausena Præfectura

Dorylæum

Midæum

Synaus

Nacolia

Gordium

Synnada

Garsauria

Diocæsarea

Nissa

Argæus Mons

Antitaurus Mons

Ancyra

Phrygiæ

Cotyæum

Eucarpia

Eumenia

Acmonia

Nora castellum

Nazianzum

Dacora

Sasima

olim Mazaca

Cæsarea

Euphrates Flu.

Tiberiopolis

Celæna

Laodicea comb usta

Philomelium

Lustra

Cadyna

Tyana

Artaxata

Comana

Cataonia

Arabissus

Melas Flu.

Melitene

Cucusos

Tripolis

Hierapolis

Marsias Flu.

Philadelphia

Metropolis

Colossæ

Apamea Cibotos

Neapolis

Laodicea

Iconium

Lastabala

Derbe

Pappa

Isaura

Pylæ

Cybistra

Mopsucrene

Taurus Mons

Amanus Mons

Caystrus Flu.

Tralles

Antiochia ad Mæandrum

Trapezopolis

Lycus Flu.

Amblada

Selucia

Sagalassus

Antiochia

Apamea

Oroanda

Petneliſsus

Flaviopolis

Lamus Flu.

Pinarus Flu.

Neronias

Irenopolis

Flavias

Adana

Cæsarea

Anazarbus

Pindenissus

Eleuthero Cilices

Alexandria ad Issum

Pylæ Syriæ

Epiphania

Erana

Nicopolis

Alexandria

Magnesia ad Sipylum

Thyatira

Hieracocæsarea

Mostene

Hermus Flu.

Apollonidea

Pactolus Flu.

Timolus M. et op.

Philadelphia

Sardis

Smyrna

Clazomenæ

Lebedos

Colophon

Notium

Ephesus

Myonnesus

Priene

Samos

Icaria

Patmos

Leros

Cos

Rhodus

Carpathus

Astypalæa

Casus

Chalcia

Lindus

Dolichiste

Megiste

Chelidoniæ Insulæ

Acamas Promont.

Paphos novus

Paphos vetus

Curium

Amathus

Malum

Curias prom.

Citium

Salamis

Soli

Lapethus

Aphrodisium

Arsinoe

Carpasia

Elæus

Sestos

Abydus

Lampsacus

Parium

Priapus

Proconnesus

Cyzicus

Apollonia

Apamea Myrlea

Adrami

Cius s. Brusa

Prusa

Nicæa

Libyssa

Chalcedon

Thracia

Samothrace

Thasus

Lemnus

Imbros

Tenedos

Troja

Dardanum

Rhœteum

Ida M.

Scamander Flu.

Simois F.

Alexandria Troas

Antandrus

Scepsis

Assus

Pergamus

Caïcus Flu.

Hadrianum

Atarneus

Pitane

Grynium

Myrina

Cumæ

Phocæa

Malea prom.

Argennusæ

Mimas

Chius

Erythræ

Corycus

Chersonesus

Hellespontus

Propontis

Bosporus Thracius

Bosporus Cimmerius

Cimmerius Flu.

Azani

Olympeni

Ida M.

Scamander Flu.

Simois F.

Xanthus Flu.

Pyrrha

Myus

Heraclea

Amizon

Bargylia

Caryanda

Mylasa

Hydissia

Halicarnassus

Telmissus

Thera

Pinara

Pedasa

Alinda

Stratonice

Miletus

Didymi

Iasus

Latmus

Myndus

Cragus M.

Calbis Flu.

Physcus

Caunus

Golinda

Xanthus

Limyra

Myra

Andriace

Phellus

Arycandus

Olympus

Phœnicus

Hamaxia

Phaselis

Melas Flu.

Attalia

Side

Aspendus

Coracesium

Sycæa

Arsinoe

Celenderis

Sebaste

Elæusa

Anemurium

Cragus

Taurus

Calycadnus Flu.

Sarpedon prom.

Clidus

Isaura

Calycadnus

Tarsus

Sandalium

Nysa

Tmolus

Cadmus

Cibyra

Œnoanda

Balbura

Bubon

Orthosia

Bargasa

Alabanda

Trapezopolis

Aphrodisias

Appollonia

Tmolus

Hermus

Magnesia

Thyatira

Mostene

Apollonidea

Pactolus Flu.

Timolus M. et op.

Philadelphia

Sardis

Smyrna

Clazomenæ

Lebedos

Colophon

Notium

Ephesus

Myonnesus

Priene

Samos

Icaria

Patmos

Leros

Cos

Rhodus

Carpathus

Astypalæa

Casus

Chalcia

Lindus

Dolichiste

Megiste

Chelidoniæ Insulæ

Acamas Promont.

Paphos novus

Paphos vetus

Curium

Amathus

Malum

Curias prom.

Citium

Salamis

Soli

Lapethus

Aphrodisium

Arsinoe

Carpasia

Elæusa

Sestos

Abydus

Lampsacus

Parium

Priapus

Proconnesus

Cyzicus

Apollonia

Apamea Myrlea

Adrami

Cius s. Brusa

Prusa

Nicæa

Libyssa

Chalcedon

Thracia

Samothrace

Thasus

Lemnus

Imbros

Tenedos

Troja

Dardanum

Rhœteum

Ida M.

Scamander Flu.

Simois F.

Alexandria Troas

Antandrus

Scepsis

Assus

Pergamus

Caïcus Flu.

Hadrianum

Atarneus

Pitane

Grynium

Myrina

Cumæ

Phocæa

Malea prom.

Argennusæ

Mimas

Chius

Erythræ

Corycus

Chersonesus

Hellespontus

Propontis

Bosporus Thracius

Bosporus Cimmerius

Cimmerius Flu.

Azani

Olympeni

Ida M.

Scamander Flu.

Simois F.

Xanthus Flu.

Pyrrha

Myus

Heraclea

Amizon

Bargylia

Caryanda

Mylasa

Hydissia

Halicarnassus

Telmissus

Thera

Pinara

Pedasa

Alinda

Stratonice

Miletus

Didymi

Iasus

Latmus

Myndus

Cragus M.

Calbis Flu.

Physcus

Caunus

Golinda

Xanthus

Limyra

Myra

Andriace

Phellus

Arycandus

Olympus

Phœnicus

Hamaxia

Phaselis

Melas Flu.

Attalia

Side

Aspendus

Coracesium

Sycæa

Arsinoe

Celenderis

Sebaste

Elæusa

Anemurium

Cragus

Taurus

Calycadnus Flu.

Sarpedon prom.

Clidus

Isaura

Calycadnus

Tarsus

Sandalium

Nysa

Tmolus

Cadmus

Cibyra

Œnoanda

Balbura

Bubon

Orthosia

Bargasa

Alabanda

Trapezopolis

Aphrodisias

Appollonia

S. W. Sculpt

a ing to *Ptolomy*, on the north by *Bithynia* and *Pontus*, extending from *Galatia* to *Propontis*, on the east by *Galatia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Lycia*, on the south by part of *Lycia* and the *Rhodian* sea, on the west by the *Hellespont*, by the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Myrtoan* seas. It lies between the thirty-fifth and forty-first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty-five to sixty-two degrees.

As *Asia Proper* is but a part of *Asia Minor*, so the *Lydian Asia* is only a part of *Asia Proper* (B). *Asia* in this acceptation comprehends *Lydia*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that *Asia* whereof mention is made in the *Acts* and St. *John*'s revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. *Paul*'s journey[k]. *When they had gone throughout* Phrygia b *and the region of* Galatia, *and were forbidden of the holy Ghost to preach the word in* Asia; *after they were come to* Mysia *they assayed to go into* Bithynia; *but the spirit suffered them not. And they passing by* Mysia *came down to* Troas. Where it is to be observed, that the *Greater Phrygia* through which they passed into *Galatia*, *Mysia Olympena* bordering upon *Bithynia*, and *Hellespont* where *Troas* was situate, through provinces of *Asia* properly so called, are yet in express terms distinguished from the *Proper Asia* of the *Romans*; as is likewise *Caria*, by what we read elsewhere in the same book[l]. As these cities and countries did not belong to the *Lydian Asia*, so what remains of *Asia Proper*, together with the *seven Churches* mentioned in the *Revelations*, were properly *Lydia*, or the *Lydian Asia*. In the first place *Pergamus* is c placed by *Xenophon*[m] in *Lydia*, and also by *Aristotle*[n]. The same *Aristotle*[o] tell, us, that *Smyrna* was at first possessed by the *Lydians*, and *Scylax Coryandensis* reckons it among the cities of *Lydia*, as also *Ephesus*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus*[p]. *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Thyatira*, are reckoned by *Ptolomy* among the cities of *Lydia*, as is *Laodicea* by *Stephanus*[q] (C).

The Lydian Asia.

The *Proconsular Asia* (so called because it was governed by a proconsul) according to the distribution of the provinces of the empire made by *Augustus*, comprehended the following countries, viz. *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Caria*, *Mysia*, *Phrygia*, and the proconsular *Hellespont*. And this is *Ptolemy*'s *Asia Proper*[r]. By the same emperor *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were made a *Prætorian* province, and *Asia* a consular, containd ing all that part of *Asia* which lay on this side of the river *Halys* and mount *Taurus*. In the time of *Constantine the Great* the *Proconsular Asia* was much abridged, and a distinction brought in between the *Proconsular Asia*, and the *Asiatic dioceſs*; the one being governed by the proconsul of *Asia*, and the other by the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant* of *Asia* (D). The *Proconsular Asia*, according to the description which *Eunapius* gives us of it[t], seems to have been much the same with the *Lydian Asia* abovementioned. In the reign of *Theodosius the Elder*, who succeeded *Valens*, the consular *Hellespont* was taken from the *Vicarius* of *Asia*, and added to the *Proconsular*

The Proconsular Asia.

[k] Acts xvi. [l] Acts xx. 16, 17. [m] Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. lib. 7. [n] lib. de Poetica, p. 97. [o] Aristot. lib. de Poetica apud. Plutarch. in lib. de vita & poesi Homeri. [p] Herodot. lib. 1. [q] Steph. de urbib. [r] Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. [s] Strab. l. xvii. [t] Eunap. in vita Maximi.

(B) That in ancient times *Lydia* was called *Meonia* and the *Lydians Meonians*, is manifest from *Herodotus* (8), *Diodorus Siculus* (9), *Dionysius Afer* (10), *Strabo* (11)' *Pliny* (12), *Stephanus*, and others; and that *Meonia* was called *Asia* is no less plain from *Callinus*, who flourished before *Archilochus* (13), from *Demetrius Scepsius*, cotemporary with *Crates* and *Aristarchus* the *Grammarian* (14), from *Euripides* (15), *Suidas* (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that *Lydia* was formerly called *Asia*, is expressly affirmed by the ancient scholiast of *Apollonius Rhodius* (17). From whence *Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia* is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of *Lydia*, seated on mount *Tmolus*, others from one *Asias* king of *Lydia*, who according to the *Lydians* communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Lydia* has a better claim to the name of *Asia*, than any other part of that continent.

(C) *Laodicea* is placed by *Ptolomy* in *Caria*, by others in *Phrygia*, and by some in *Lydia*, the confines of those countries having been so often altered, that it was not possible, as *Strabo* witnesses (19), to ascertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the same city is oftentimes placed by one of the ancient geographers in *Phrygia*, by another in *Lydia*, and by a third in *Caria*.

(D) We find in the Imperial Constitutions two rescripts of the emperor *Valens*, the one dated the 27th of *January* 365. (that is, towards the latter end of the first year of his reign), and directed to *Clearchus*, *Vicarius Asiæ*; the other dated the 6th of the *October* following, and directed to *Auxonius*, *Vicarius Diœceseos Asianæ* (20). This distinction was brought in by *Constantine*, and continued under the christian emperors that succeeded him.

(8) *Herodot. l.* vii. (9) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv. (10) *Dionys. in Periegesi.* (11) *Strab. l.* xiii. (12) *Plin. l.* v. c. 29. (13) *Strab. l.* xiv. (14) *Id. l.* xii. (15) *In Bacch.* (16) *In Asia.* (17) *Scholiast. Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. (18) *Herod. l.* iv. (19) *Strab. l.* xiii. (20) *Cod. Theodos. lib.* v. *tit.* 11. *Ne colon. inscio dom.*

sular Asia; but under *Arcadius* the *Proconsular Asia* was abridged of all the inland a
part of *Lydia*. And this is the reason, why *Palladius* [v] makes a distinction between
the bishops of *Lydia* and those of *Asia*. However, the southern part of *Lydia*,
lying between the *Mæander* and *Cayster*, and the maritime provinces from *Ephesus* to
Assos and the promontory *Lectum* were left to the *Proconsular Asia* [w].

The Asiatic *dioceſs.*

The *Asiatic dioceſs* (E) is sometimes taken in a more strict sense, as distinct from
the *Proconsular Asia* and the provinces under the jurisdiction of the proconsul, and
sometimes in a more extensive sense, as comprehending also the *Proconsular Asia*.
According to this accepation all *Asia* in the reign of *Theodosius the Younger* consisted
of eleven provinces, three whereof were under the jurisdiction of the proconsul of b
Asia, viz. the *Proconsular Proper*, which he governed by himself, the consular *Hel-*
lespont, and that of *Rhodes*, with the other islands called *Cyclades*, which were first
made a province by *Vespasian*, and placed under a president [x]; eight were under the vi-
carius or lieutenant of *Asia*, viz. *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia Salutaris*, *Phrygia Pacatia-*
na, *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pisidia*,; these eight made up what was pro-
perly called the *Asiatic dioceſs* [y] (F). These are the terms we most commonly meet
with in reading the ancient historians and geographers, for the explanation of which
we are chiefly indebted to the learned bishop *Usher*, who thought it well worth his
while to examine the various acceptations of *Asia Proper* in a particular treatise [z].

The name of Asia.

As to the common name of *Asia* there is a great variety of opinions among the c
learned, some deriving it from *Asia* the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Thetis*, wife of
Iapetus, and by him mother to *Prometheus*; others from *Asius* son of *Atys* king
of *Lydia*, from whom that kingdom first, and in length of time the whole continent,
was named *Asia*. *Bochart* [a] is of opinion, that it took its name from the *Phœnician*
word *Asi*, signifying *the middle*, because *Asia Minor*, which, says he, communi-
cated its name to *Asia the Greater*, lies, as it were, in the middle between *Europe*
and *Afric*. This opinion he endeavours to support with the authority of *Pliny*
and *Pomponius Mela* [b]. But as all that can be said on this head is grounded on bare
conjectures, it is scarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

Climate and fertility.

This country is justly counted among the finest and most fruitful of the earth, d
and mightily extolled by ancient writers, chiefly by the *Romans* who were well
acquainted with it, for the fertility of the soil, temper of the climate, nature of
the seasons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which
respects it was preferred by *Tully* [c] to all the countries of the then known world.
The common epithet, whereby, the *Latin* poets distinguish this from other regions,
is that of rich, alluding not only to the richness of the soil, but also to the wealth
and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may easily judge of from the immense
sums that some of the *Roman* governors are said to have extorted from them, namely
Marc Antony, who, as we are told by *Plutarch* [d], squeezed from the inhabitants
of *Asia Minor* in the space of one year the sum of twenty thousand talents.

Its present division.

This country is at present divided into four parts, viz. *Natolia*, properly so e
called, the western part; *Caramania* the southern part; *Aladulia* the eastern, and
Amasia the northmost part. By the *Turks* the whole country, called by them
Nadalu, is divided into five parts under the government of five *Beglerbegs*, who
reside at *Cotyæum*, *Tocat*, *Trabezond*, *Marosch*, and *Iconium*. These are subdivided
into lesser governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor
resides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular histories of the various king-
doms, anciently comprehended under the common name of *Asia Minor*.

The

[v] Pallad. in vita Chrysost. [w] Hieroclis, notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. sacra. p. 27. Photius de ordine Metropolitar, p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subscript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Constantinop. vi. Act. xviii. &c. [x] Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. [y] Alciat. Parerg. l. v. c. 13. [z] Usher in his geographical and historical disquisition of *Asia*, properly so called, &c. [a] Phaleg. l. iv. c. 36. [b] Plin. in Prefat. lib. iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Asia, l. i. c. 2. [c] Cic. pro Q. Ligario. [d] Plutarch. in Lucull. & Antonio.

(E) The word *dioceſs*, in the dialect of the times we are here speaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending several provinces under the jurisdiction of one chief ruler.

(F) In the *Notitia Imperii*, which was compiled in the reign of *Theodosius* the younger, the *Asiatic dioceſs* is said to consist of ten provinces only, the first and chief province of all, viz. *Asia* itself, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, *Isidorus Mercator* reckons twelve provinces belonging to this dioceſs, and among them *Galatia*, which was without all doubt a province of the dioceſs of *Pontus* (22).

(21) *Notit. utriusque Imperii.* (22) *Vid. Salmasii Exercitat. de Eccles. sub urbicar. p.* 347.

The HISTORY *of the* PHRYGIANS.

SECT. II.

The Deſcription of PHRYGIA.

a AS we can ſcarce offer any thing touching *Phrygia*, but what we have either at ſecond hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we ſhall not dwell long on ſo dark and perplexed a ſubject, nor pretend to ſupply the defect of better authorities with ſuch precarious conjectures as every writer may, and the moſt ordinary uſually do, vent on ſuch occaſions (G).

WHENCE the ſmall country before us borrowed the name of *Phrygia* is not determined. Some derive it from the river *Phryx* (now *Sarabat*), which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria* and empties itſelf into the *Hermus* [c], others from *Phrygia* the daughter of *Aſopus* and *Europa*. The *Greek* writers tell us [f], that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and theſe from the town of *Brygium* in *Macedonia*, from whence b they firſt paſſed into *Aſia* and gave the name of *Phrygia* or *Brigia* to the country which they ſettled in; but we ſhall have occaſion to examine this opinion hereafter. *Bochart* is of opinion [g], that this tract was called *Phrygia* from a *Greek* verb, ſignifying *to burn* or *dry*, which according to him is a tranſlation of its *Hebrew* name, derived from a verb of the ſame ſignification (H).

No leſs various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave riſe to the proverb related by *Strabo* [g], viz. that the *Phrygians* and *Myſians* had diſtinct boundaries, but that it was ſcarce poſſible to aſcertain them. The ſame writer adds [h], that the *Trojans*, *Myſians*, and *Lydians*, are by the poets all blended under the common name of *Phrygians*, which *Claudian* [i] extends c to the *Piſidians*, *Bithynians*, and *Ionians*. Again, *Pliny* places *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, which together with *Dardania* is reckoned by *Strabo* [l] among the provinces of *Myſia*. *Phrygia Proper*, according to *Ptolemy* whom we chuſe to follow, was bounded on the north by *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, on the weſt by *Myſia*, *Troas*, the *Ægean* ſea, *Lydia*, *Meonia*, and *Caria*; on the ſouth by *Lycia*; on the eaſt by *Pamphylia* and *Galatia*. It lies between the 37th and 41ſt degree of north-latitude, extending

Its diviſions.

[c] PLIN. lib. v. c. 29. [f] MESSAL. CORVIN. de progen. Aug. [g] Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. [g] STRAB. l. xii. & l. xiv. [h] STRA. ubi ſupra. [i] CLAUD. l. ii. in Eutrop. [k] PLIN. lib. v. [l] STRAB. ubi ſupra.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the *Phrygian* hiſtory are *Democritus*, *Hermeſianactes*, *Timolaus*, *Aretazes*, and *Cornelius Alexander* (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to ſome of the moſt material points of that hiſtory.

(H) The *Greek* word Φρυγία ſeems to be derived from the verb Φρύγειν, *to burn* or *parch*; and hence that place on mount *OEta* where *Hercules* was burnt took the name of Φρυγία, ἀπὸ τῦ ἐκεῖ πεφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Now as that part of *Phrygia* which was waſhed by the rivers *Cayſter* and *Mæander* was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Καλακεκαυμένη, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* witneſs (24), it is not improbable, but that the name of *Phrygia*, which was at firſt peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Καλακεκαυμένη, *burnt*, is variouſly reported. *Diodorus* (25) ſpeaks of a fiery monſter called *Ægis*, which appearing there conſumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by *Pallas*. Others recur to the fable of *Typhon* (26), who, ſay they, was in that place thunder-ſtruck by *Jupiter*. But without having recourſe to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but conſider, that this part of *Phrygia* we are ſpeaking of is deſcribed both by *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (27) as a dry ſoil, impregnated with ſulphur, bitumen, and other combuſtible ſubſtances, which in all likelihood gave riſe to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are ſpeaking of is by ſome of the ancients reckoned a province of *Myſia*, by others of *Mæonia*; but *Heſychius* (28), *Diodorus* (29), and moſt of the other hiſtorians and geographers place it in *Phrygia*. *Bochart* is of opinion (30), that by *Gomer* in ſcripture is meant *Phrygia*, and that the *Greek* word *Phrygia* is a tranſlation of the *Hebrew* גומר *Gomer*, which he derives from the verb גמר *Gamar*, importing, among other ſignifications, *to burn* or *conſume*, in which ſignification he ſhews it to have been frequently uſed both by the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians*.

(23) *Plutarch. de fluviis & Laert. in Democrito.* (24) *Strab. l.* xiii. *& Diod. Sicul. l.* iii. (25) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iii. *p.* 142. (26) *Strab. l.* xiii. (27) *ubi ſupra.* (28) *Heſych. l.* 12. (29) *Diodor. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Phaleg. l.* iii. *c.* 8.

extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by *Ptolemy* are the *Lycaones* and *Anthemiſenii* towards *Lycia*, the *Moceadelis* or *Moceadine*, the *Cyddeſes* or *Cydiſſes* towards *Bithynia*, and between theſe the *Peltini* or *Speltini*, the *Moxiani*, *Phylacenſes*, and *Hierapolitæ*. To theſe we may add the *Berecyntes* and *Cerbeſis* mentioned by *Strabo* [m].

Phrygia is commonly divided into the *Greater*, and *Leſſer Phrygia* called alſo *Troas*. But this diviſion did not take place till *Troas* was ſubdued by the *Phrygians*; and hence it is no more conſidered by ſome *Roman* writers as a part of *Phrygia*, than *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, or any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, the *Greater Phrygia* was divided into two diſtricts or governments, the one called *Phrygia Pacatiana*, from *Pacatianus* who under *Conſtantine* bore the great office of the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the eaſt; the other *Phrygia Salutaris*, from ſome miraculous cures ſuppoſed to have been performed there by the archangel *Michael*.

Its ſoil and climate.

This country, and indeed all *Aſia Minor*, as lying in the fifth and ſixth northern climates, was in ancient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all ſorts of grains, being for the moſt part a plain country, covered with a deep rich ſoil and plentifully watered by ſmall rivers. It was in ſome parts productive of bitumen and other combuſtible ſubſtances. It was well ſtocked with cattle, having large plains and paſture-grounds. The air was anciently deemed moſt pure and wholeſome, though it is now in ſome parts thought extremely groſs, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in ſuch regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. In ſhort, whatever deſirable things, nature has frugally beſtowed here and there on other countries, were found in this, while well manured, as in their original ſeminary.

The cities of note in *Phrygia Major* were, 1. *Apamea* or *Apamia*, a famous mart and the metropolis of all *Phrygia*, till the abovementioned diviſion of *Conſtantine* took place. It was ſeated at the confluence of the *Marſya* and *Mæander*. *Pliny* places it at the foot of the hill *Signia*, ſurrounded by the rivers *Marſya*, *Obrima*, and *Orga*, which empty themſelves into the *Mæander*; wherein he ſeems to confound the ſituation of the ancient *Celænæ* with that of the new city called *Apamea*. *Celænæ* indeed ſtood at the foot of the hill on which the *Marſya* has its ſpring; but *Antiochus Soter*, ſon to *Antiochus Seleucus*, who built *Apamea* of *Syria*, carried the inhabitants to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the *Marſya* and *Mæander* begin to flow in one channel; this city he named *Apamea* from his mother *Apame* wife to *Seleucus Nicanor* [o]. As there are many other cities bearing the ſame name, this for diſtinction ſake is commonly called *Apamea Cibotos*; but as to the original of this appellation there is a great diſcrepancy among authors (I).

Laodicea, now *Eſkihiſſar*, ſeated on the banks of the river *Lycus*, not far from *Apamea*. It was firſt called *Dioſpolis*, afterwards *Rheas*, and at laſt *Diocæſarea* and *Laodicea*. We are told by *Stephanus*, that *Jupiter* appearing to *Antiochus* the ſon of *Stratonice* in his ſleep commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it *Dioſpolis* from *Jupiter*, and *Laodicea* from his wife *Laodice*. It was afterwards greatly increaſed by *Hiero*, by *Zeno* the *Rhetorician*, and his ſon *Polemon* [p], who, being honoured by *Cæſar Auguſtus* with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaiſance to that prince add his name to that of *Jupiter*, calling the city *Diocæſarea*, *the city of Jupiter and Cæſar*. However, the name of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* derives from the river *Lycus* [q], prevailed. This city was famous for its wool, which was univerſally preferred on account of its ſoftneſs, as the ſame author witneſſes [r], even to

[m] Strab. l. xii. [n] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [o] Strab. l. xii. Liv. lib. xxxviii. Marcianus, lib. vi.
[p] Strab. lib. xii. [q] Id. ibid. [r] Ibid.

(I) As the word Κιβωτός ſignifies *Ark* or *Coffer*, ſome have ſuppoſed, that it was ſo called, becauſe the ark reſted on the hill from which the river *Marſya* ſprings. But theſe writers confound the ſituation of *Celænæ* with that of *Apamea*; the former, which never bore the name of *Cibotos*, was ſituate at the foot of the hill *Signia*, but *Apamea Cibotos* at ten miles diſtance. As thoſe who traded from *Italy* and *Greece* to *Aſia Minor* uſed to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general reſort (30), *Salmaſius* thinks, it was called *Cibotos* from its being, as it were, the common treaſury of thoſe countries (31). It is worth obſerving, that there are no fewer than ſeven cities bearing the ſame name, *viz.* *Apamea* of *Bithynia*, *Apamea* of *Media*, *Apamea* on the *Tigris*, *Apamea* on the *Euphrates*, one in *Perſia*, one in *Syria*, and one in *Phrygia*; and all ſituate between two rivers, which made *Bochart* (32) conclude, that they were ſo called from the *Hebrew* verb ſignifying *to ſurround*, whereof the import is plainly expreſſed in *Jonas* (33) אפפוני מים *aphafuni majim*.

(30) *lib.* xvii. (31) *Salmaſ. Plinianæ Exercitation. c.* xl. *p.* 380. (32) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (33) *c.* ii. *v.* 5.

a to that of *Miletus* ſo much cried up by the ancients, and beſides was of a very extraordinary blackneſs. With this the inhabitants carried on a very conſiderable trade, and were accounted the moſt wealthy people of all *Aſia Minor*. *Ptolemy* makes *Laodicea* and *Diocæſarea* two different cities, wherein he is certainly miſtaken. At *Laodicea* was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the apocalypſe, but at preſent not ſo much as the ruins of it are any where to be ſeen, that prophetical threat being fully accompliſhed; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot—becauſe thou art luke-warm—I will ſpue thee out of my mouth* [s] (K).

Hierapolis famous for its mineral waters, which, according to *Strabo*'s account [t], when expoſed to the air petrified in the ſpace of a year, and yet were endued with
b ſuch a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a preſent remedy againſt innumerable diſtempers to ſuch as uſed them [u]. Near this city was to be ſeen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overſpread with a thick fog, and exhaling ſuch a peſtilent ſteam, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately ſtifled. *Strabo* and *Pliny* [w] except the *Galli* or eunuchs of *Cybele*; *Ammianus* and *Dio Nicæus* all eunuchs (L) [x].

Gordium, the ſeat of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*, and famous for the *Gordian* knot which we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. This town was ſituated on the borders of *Phrygia* towards *Cappadocia*, and not between the two *Phrygias*, where
c *Juſtin* places it [y]. Not long after the death of *Gordius* it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as *Strabo* calls it, and continued in this deſpicable condition till the triumvirate of *Auguſtus*, when it was again made a city and called *Juliopolis* by one *Cleo*, a famous robber native of that place (M).

Coloſſe, now *Chonos*, on the ſouth ſide of the *Mæander*, to the people whereof St. *Paul* wrote that epiſtle which is part of our canon.

Sipylus, the reſidence of *Tantalus*, and therefore called alſo *Tantalis*. Some place this city in *Mæonia*, ſuppoſing *Tantalus* to have reigned there. 'Tis obſervable, that four cities, viz. *Sipylus*, *Archæopolis*, *Colpe*, and *Lebade*, were ſucceſſively built on the ſame ſpot and deſtroyed by earthquakes.

d *Synnada*, *Synada*, or *Synnade*, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by *Conſtantine the Great* declared the metropolis of *Phrygia Salutaris*, after his diviſion of *Phrygia* into *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* took place (N). Beſides theſe and ſeveral other

[s] Revel. c. iv. ver. 15, 16. [t] lib. xiii. [u] STRAB. ubi ſupra. VITRUVIUS, l. viii. c. 3. ULPIANUS lege prima, ſect. xiii. [w] lib. iv. [x] AMMIAN. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. DIO. NICÆ. in vita Trajan. p. 252, ed. H. STEPH. 1592. [y] lib. xi. c. 7.

(K) *Terrari* in his dictionary tells us, that *Laodicea* is ſtill called *Laudichia*, and by the *Turks Nove-Leſche*, that it is one of the archbiſhopricks of *Aſia Minor*, &c. But he is either miſtaken, or the town was not quite demoliſhed in his time; at preſent it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beaſts. Several travellers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, have taken the village *Laotik* near *Angoura* for *Laodicea*. At *Eſkibiſſar*, as it is now called, there are ſtill to be ſeen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inſcription in honour of the emperor *Titus*, which the reader will find in *Spon*'s account of the *ſeven churches* (34).

(L) *Strabo*, an eye-witneſs (35), ſays, that in his time this *Plutonium* or opening was incloſed with baliſters taking up about half an acre of ground in compaſs, that the peſtilent ſteam kept within that incloſure, ſo that one might approach the baliſter without the leaſt danger; but whoever advanced one ſtep further was immediately ſtifled. What *Strabo* affirms is vouched by *Ammianus*, *Dio Nicæus*, both eye-witneſſes, *Apuleius*, and many others (36). The city of *Hierapolis* is now called *Bamboakkale*, and ſome foot-ſteps of what it once was are to be ſeen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it ſtood; inſomuch, that Dr. *Smith* after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This *Cleo* having with a band of robbers poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſtrong hold on mount *Olympus* called *Colly dium*, by frequent excurſions from thence prevented the officers of *Labienus* prefect of *Aſia* from gathering the annual tributes, on which conſideration he was by *Marc Antony* rewarded with large territories. But in the *Actiac* war revolting from *Antony* he ſided with *Auguſtus*, who added great part of *Morena* to what *Antony* had beſtowed on him, created him prieſt of *Jupiter Abrettenus* worſhipped by the *Myſians*, and high-prieſt of *Bellona* adored in *Commana* of *Pontus*, a dignity no ways inferior to that of king (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at *Conſtantinople*, *Severus* ſubſcribes as biſhop of *Synnada the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris* (38); and yet *Socrates* in his *eccleſiaſtical hiſtory* (39), and *Nicephorus*, blindly following him, place this city in *Phrygia Pacatiana* (40). And here we may obſerve by the way, that in the fourth general council held at *Chalcedon*, *Abercius* ſubſcribes as biſhop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Salutaris* (41), which ſome have looked upon as a miſtake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that beſides the more known city of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia Pacatiana*, there was another of leſs note in *Phrygia Salutaris*. They are both mentioned by *Pliny* (42), and the one ſaid to be under the juriſdiction of *Laodicea*, the other under that of *Pergamus*.

(34) *Spon. lib.* iii. (35) *lib.* xiii. (36) *ubi ſupra & Apuleius de Mundo.* (37) *Strab. lib.* xii. (38) *Concil.* v. *Collat.* viii. (39) *lib.* vii. *cap*, 3. (40) *Nicephor. Calliſt. hiſtor. lib.* xiv. *c*, 11. (41) *Concil. Chalced. Act.* xvi. (42) *lib.* v. *c.* 29, & 30.

other cities of leſs note mentioned by the ancients, there were in latter times ſome a of no ſmall account, ſuch as *Saqua*, the habitation of *Etrogul* father of *Ottoman* the firſt king of the *Turks*, *Chara-chiſar*, by the *Greeks* called *Melampyrgus*, or the *Black-tower*, *Cillexuga*, *Einegiol*, &c. taken by the ſaid *Ottoman* from the chriſtian princes at the firſt riſe of the *Ottoman* empire.

THE rivers of this country which we ſhall take notice of, are the *Mæander*, now *Madre* and *Mindre*, a river ſo celebrated by the ancients for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called *Mæanders*. It riſes on the hill *Cælene*, the ſame as *Aulocrene* mentioned by *Pliny*[z], at the foot of which ſtood anciently a famous city of the ſame name. *Pliny*[a] and *Strabo*[b] derive it from a lake on the top of the ſaid hill. It paſſes through *Phrygia*, divides *Caria* from *Lydia*, and b after 600 windings[c], by which it ſeems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itſelf into the *Archipelago* between *Priene* and *Miletus* (O).

THE river *Marſyas*, ſo named from *Marſyas*, a celebrated muſician, who, challenging *Apollo*, was by him overcome, and flead for his preſumption. Moſt of the ancients tell us, that this river hath its ſpring near that of the *Mæander*; but *Maximus Tyrius*[d], who was upon the ſpot, derives them both from the ſame ſource, and ſo does *Strabo*[e]. It ruſhes down from a conſiderable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noiſe, on which account it was called by *Herodotus*[f] *Cataracta*. It has not only the ſame ſpring with the *Mæander*, but flows in the ſame channel through the town of *Celænе*, ſtanding at the foot of the river on which it riſes. In c leaving the town the main ſtream divides itſelf into two branches, and forms theſe two rivers, the one the moſt winding river in the world, the other without ſo much as one turning during its whole courſe, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near *Apamea*, that is after a courſe of ten miles only, the *Marſyas* is again received within the banks of the *Mæander* which it left at *Celænе*; ſo that in reality theſe two rivers are but two branches of the ſame original ſtream. *Q. Curtius* gives us a noble deſcription of it[g], and adds, that while it flows within the walls of *Celænе* it is named *Marſyas*, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of *Lycus*; but, with this authors leave, *Marſyas* and *Lycus* are quite different rivers; the *Lycus* ſprings from mount *Olympus* and diſcharges itſelf into the *Mæan-* d *der* not far from *Laodicea*, which was therefore called *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*; this is a quite different courſe from that of the *Marſyas*, which we have already deſcribed[h] (P).

Sangarius, *Sangaris*, or *Sangurus*, is numbered by *Pliny* among the rivers of note[i]; it ſprings from the hill *Dindymus*, waſhes *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and empties itſelf into the *Black-ſea*. *Phryx*, which divides *Phrygia* from *Caria*, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Hermus*, now *Sarabat*. *Hermus*, much celebrated by the poets for its gold ſands, takes its riſe near *Dorylaum*, and falls into the *Archipelago* near *Smyrna*. *Myſias*, *Orgos*, *Obrima*, &c.

SECT.

[z] l. xxxviii. [a] ubi ſupra. [b] STRAB. l. xii. [c] DIO PRUSÆUS, lib. i. [d] Serm. xxxviii. [e] lib. xii. [f] lib. vii. [g] lib. iii. [h] Vid. SALMAS. Plinian Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582. [i] PLIN. l.

(O) The *Cayſter*, now *Minderſcare*, bears ſuch a reſemblance to the *Mæander*, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable *Pietro della valle*, *du Loir*, and *Monconis*, have miſtaken the one for the other (42). The *Turks* call the *Cayſter Coutchouk mindre* and *Minderſcare*, that is, the *little Mæander*, or the *black Mæander*; and the *Mæander* itſelf *Boujouc-Mindre*, the *great Mæander*. Some have obſerved, that it forms in its courſe the following *Greek* characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, ε, ſome pretend that *Dædalus* formed his labyrinth on this plan. *Seneca* (43) calls it *poetarum omnium exercitatio & ludus*; but *Ovid*'s deſcription of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(P) The poets feign, that *Marſyas* having challenged *Apollo*, who flead him for his pride and arrogance, his death was ſo bemoaned by the nymphs and ſatyrs, that from their tears ſprung a river called after him *Marſyas*. This *Marſyas* is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Olympus*, and one of the moſt ingenious men of his age. He was the inventor of the pipe called *Syrinx*, and the firſt that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the ſpring of the river that bears his name. *Pliny* (45) gravely writes, that in his time was ſtill to be ſeen the plane-tree on which this unhappy muſician ended his days. Others ſay, with the ſame appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. *Maximus Tyrius* (46) informs us, that the rivers *Mæander* and *Marſyas* were both worſhipped by the inhabitants of *Celænе*; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common ſtream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the channel of that river for which the pious votaries had deſigned them. The river *Lycus*, which *Q. Curtius*, and with him Mr. *Spon*, miſtakes for the *Marſyas* (47), runs a few miles under-ground, but appears again before it loſes itſelf in the *Mæander*, which *Ovid* ſeems to have been ignorant of when he ſaid (48),

Sic, ubi terreno Lycus eſt epotus hiatu,
Exiſtit procul hinc, alioque renaſcitur orbe.

(42) *Spon. Voyag. d' Italie, &c. tom.* i. *p.* 244. (43) *Epiſt.* 105. (44) *Metamorph. l.* viii. (45) *lib.* L. (46) *Sermon.* 38. (47) *Voyage d' Italie, &c. tom.* i. *lib.* iii. (48) *Metamorph. lib.* xv.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, customs, arts, learning, &c. of the ancient Phrygians.

Their antiquity.

a THE *Phrygians* deemed themselves the most ancient people of the world, which opinion seems to have prevailed even among the *Egyptians*, at least in the time of *Psammiticus*, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told [k], that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elsewhere [l], those great boasters of antiquity acknowledged the *Phrygians* to be more ancient, challenging only the second rank to themselves. And hence it is, that *Apuleius* [m] distinguishes them with the epithet of *first-born*.

Origin.

As to their origin, some suppose them descended from *Togarmah*, one of the sons of *Gomer*; and of this opinion are *Josephus* and S. *Hierome* [n], who adds, that they were known to the *Hebrews* under the name of *Tigrammanes*. *Herodotus* [o], *Strabo* [p], b *Pliny* [q], and *Eustathius* [r], led by the similitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the *Brigians* a people of *Macedonia*, who, passing into *Asia Minor*, were, with a small alteration, called *Phrygians*, and the country which they settled in named *Phrygia*. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the *Phrygians* and *Brigians* bore anciently the same name, so they were originally one and the same people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the *Brigians* passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* rather than the *Phrygians* out of *Asia* into *Europe*, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this similitude, or, if you please, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the same origin; but in order to prove, that the *Phrygians* were a colony of the *Brigians*, rather than the *Brigians* c a colony from *Phrygia*, recourse must be had to some other argument. All we can say is, that if the *Phrygians* had been descended from the *Macedonians*, it is not likely, they would have piqued themselves so much on their antiquity; at least other nations, namely the *Egyptians*, would not so readily have yielded to them the priority. *Bochart* [s] is of opinion, that the *Phrygians* were the offspring of *Gomer*, the eldest son of *Japhet*, the word *Phrygia* being, as we have observed elsewhere, the *Greek* translation of his name. *Josephus* makes *Gomer* the father of the *Galatians*, but he by the *Galatians* must necessarily mean the *Phrygians*, inhabiting that part of *Phrygia* which the *Galatians* had made themselves masters of; the descendants of *Gomer* being placed by *Ezekiel* [t] northward of *Judea* near *Togarmah*, (which *Bochart* d takes to be *Cappadocia*) long before the *Gauls* passed over into *Asia*. Most of the modern writers will have the *Cimmerii* to be the offspring of *Gomer*, understanding their country by the country of *Gomer* mentioned in the scripture. But as the *Cimmerians* lay beyond the *Euxine* sea, at a vast distance from *Judea*, we can hardly think, that the *Jews* had any knowledge of a nation so remote from them. The *Chaldee* paraphrasts place *Gomer* in *Africk*, wherein they must certainly be mistaken, since it is plain from *Ezekiel* [u], that his country lay northward of *Judea*. We are therefore willing to let *Gomer* enjoy the fine country which *Bochart* is pleased to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the *Phrygians*, since we have no-body else to bestow it on.

Their character.

e THE ancient *Phrygians* are described as a superstitious, voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or forecast, and of such a servile temper, that nothing but stripes and ill-usage could make them comply with their duty, which gave rise to several trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are said to have been the first

[k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. p. 9. [l] PHALEG. lib. iii. [m] de Asino aur. l. xi. [n] JOSEPH. Ant. l. i. c. 7. HIERON. in quæst. Hebraicis. [o] lib. vii. [p] lib. vii. x. xii. [q] lib. v. c. 37. [r] EUSTATH. in HOMER. & DIONYS. [s] PHALEG. lib. iii. cap. 8. [t] Ezek. xlviii. 6. [u] ubi supra.

(Q) *Phryges sero sapiunt, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam spyntharus*, &c. which proverbs intimate their servile temper, and shew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper measures. Their music too was suited to their effeminate temper. The *Doric* mood was a kind of grave and solid music; the *Lydian* a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the *Phrygian* chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

first inventors of divination by the ſinging, flying, and feeding of birds. Their muſic, commonly called the *Phrygian mood*, is alledged by ſome as an argument of their effeminacy.

Their government.

Concerning their government thus much may be ſaid, that it was monarchical, and that all *Phrygia* was, during the reigns of ſome kings, ſubject to one prince. *Ninnacus*, *Midas*, *Manis*, *Gordius*, and his deſcendants, were certainly lords of all *Phrygia*. But ſome time before the *Trojan* war we find this country divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the ſame time. *Apollodorus* [w] mentions a king of *Phrygia* contemporary with *Ilus* king of *Troy*. *Cedrenus* [x] and others ſpeak of one *Teuthrans* king of a ſmall country in *Phrygia*, whoſe territories were ravaged by *Ajax*, himſelf ſlain in a ſingle combat, his royal ſeat laid in aſhes, and his daughter, by name *Tecmeſſa*, carried away captive by the conqueror. *Homer* [y] makes mention of *Phorcys* and *Aſcanius*, both princes and leaders of the *Phrygian* auxiliaries that came to the relief of *Troy*. *Tantalus* was king of *Sipylus* only and its diſtrict, a prince no leſs famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetouſneſs and other deteſtable vices. Whether *Phrygia* was ever ſubdued by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, or by the *Amazons*, as we read in *Suidas* [z], is much queſtioned by the learned. Moſt authors, that ſpeak of *Gordius*, tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having ſent to conſult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the inteſtine broils which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for anſwer, that the moſt effectual means to deliver themſelves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing *Gordius* on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that, ſome time before his acceſſion to the crown, an ariſtocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced.

Their trade, laws, learning.

As to their trade, all we can ſay is, that *Apamea* was the chief emporium of all *Aſia Minor*. Thither reſorted merchants and traders from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and the neighbouring iſlands. Beſides, we know from *Syncellus*, that the *Phrygians* were for ſome time maſters of the ſea (he ſays 25 years); and none but trading nations ever prevailed on that element. The country was ſtocked with many choice and uſeful commodities, and well able to afford conſiderable exports. They had a ſafe coaſt, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a conſiderable trade. But as moſt of the *Phrygian* records are loſt, we will not dwell on conjectures ſo hard to be aſcertained.

We have no ſet form of their laws; and as to their learning, ſince we are told that for ſome time they enjoyed the ſovereignty of the ſea, we may, at leaſt, allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy, and add to theſe, from what we have ſaid above, a more than ordinary knowledge of muſic.

Their language.

Some have been of opinion, that the *Phrygian* language bore a great reſemblance to the *Greek*; but the contrary is manifeſt from the few *Phrygian* words which have been tranſmitted to us, and carefully collected by *Bochart* [a] and *Rudbechius* [b]. To theſe we may add the authority of *Strabo* [c], who, after attempting to derive the name of a *Phrygian* city from the *Greek*, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to diſcover any ſimilitude between the barbarous words of the *Phrygian* language and the *Greek*. The *Phrygian* tongue after the experiment made by *Pſammiticus* king of *Egypt*, as we have mentioned elſewhere [d], was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as the moſt ancient language of the world. But other nations, namely the *Scythians*, refuſed to ſubmit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, ſay they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word *Bec* or *Bekkos*, the firſt they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had ſuckled them, and happened to be a *Phrygian* word ſignifying bread (R). A late writer [e], after obſerving that *Homer* in ſeveral paſſages diſtinguiſhes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours to ſhew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the *Greek*, and by that of men the *Phrygian* (S).

As

[w] lib. iii. [x] Cedrenus, p. 104. Sophocl. in Ajace. Calaber. lib. iii. [y] Homer. Iliad. B [z] Suid. vit. Ορφευς. [a] Bochart. Quæſt. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia. [b] Rudbec. in Atlant tom. i. cap. 36. [c] Strab. lib. xii. [d] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 198. [e] Lakemacherus. obſer. Philol.

(R) *Goropius Becanus* makes uſe of the ſame argument to prove, that the *High-Dutch* is the original or mother-tongue of the world, becauſe the word *Becker* in that language ſignifies *a baker*.

(S) *Gothofredus Lakemacherus* in order to prove this chuſes the two following verſes (49);

Αυτα δ' αρ' Ηφαιστοιο μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης,
Ον Ξανθον καλευσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον,

where

(49) *Iliad.* 20. *ver.* 73.

Their religion.

a As to the religion of the ancient *Phrygians*, we have already obſerved, that they were greatly addicted to ſuperſtition. They had many idols, but the goddeſs *Cybele* ſeems to have been their principal deity. She was called *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Dindymene*, from *Cybelus*, *Berecynthus*, *Dindymenus*, all hills of *Phrygia*, and *Idæa* from mount *Ida* in *Troas*, becauſe on theſe hills ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner (T). She was alſo named *Cubebe*, becauſe her prieſts, when ſeized with their frantic fits, uſed to throw themſelves on their heads, that name being derived from a *Phœnician* verb of that import. *Arnobius* [g] gives us the following account of *Cybele* from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vaſt rock on the borders of *Phrygia*, called in the language of that country *Agdus*, from whence *Deucalion* and b *Pyrrha*, by the direction of *Themis*, took the ſtones, which they made uſe of to repair mankind after the deluge. From one of theſe ſprung *Cybele the great mother of the gods*. The ſame rock conceived by *Jupiter* and brought forth *Acdeſtis*, who is ſaid to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible ſtrength, of a moſt cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a moſt outragious enemy of the gods, who were in no ſmall fear of him, till *Bacchus* by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him ſomewhat more tractable. From the blood he ſhed on this occaſion ſprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which *Nana* daughter to king *Sangarius* being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a moſt beautiful appearance, c put it in her boſom. This coſt her dear, for ſoon after proving with child, notwithſtanding all her proteſtations of innocence, ſhe was by her father ſhut up and condemned to ſtarve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by *Cybele*, ſhe was in due time delivered of a ſon, who being expoſed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one *Phorbus*, and nurſed with goats milk; whence he was called *Attis*, the word *Attagos* in the *Phrygian* dialect ſignifying *a goat*. As he grew up he proved a moſt beautiful youth, and was on that ſcore greatly favoured both by *Cybele* and *Acdeſtis*; nay *Midas* king of *Phrygia*, then reſiding at *Peſſinus*, was ſo taken with him, that he deſigned to beſtow on him his only daughter, by name *Ia*. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, *Midas*, to prevent any d diſturbance that other ſuitors might create, cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out *the great mother of the gods*, who, being ſtung with jealouſy, preſented herſelf at the gate of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence ſhe was ever afterwaards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the ſame time came *Acdeſtis*, who, inſpiring with an enthuſiaſtic frenſy all who aſſiſted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a ſcene of horror and confuſion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emaſculating himſelf under a pine-tree, ſoon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herſelf accompanied her ſpouſe to the ſhades. *Acdeſtis* and *Cybele* drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel

[g] Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. viii.

where *Homer* tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named *Xanthus* and by men *Scamander*. He ſhews, that as *Xanthos* is a *Greek* word ſignifying *yellow*, the above mentioned river had very probably its name from the *Greeks*, who gave the ſame name, as *Strabo* (50) witneſſes, to another river in *Lycia* on account of its yellow ſands. From hence he infers, that *Homer*, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the *Greek*. As to the word *Scamander*, he thinks, that this name was communicated to the river from one *Scamandrius* ſon of *Hector* and king of the *Phrygians*, whoſe territories were watered by this river, it being a common cuſtom among the ancients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whoſe countries they had their courſe. Now as *Scamandrius*, ſays he, was a *Phrygian*, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river *Scamander* is originally *Phrygian*, and that *Homer* by the language of the gods means the *Phrygian*. This author concludes the ſame of all other paſſages in *Homer*, where ſuch a diſtinction is made; the more, becauſe two other words attributed by *Homer* to men, viz. *Bateia* and *Kumindis* are without doubt *Phrygian*; the one being the name of a hill in *Phrygia*, and the other of a bird moſtly frequenting mount *Ida* in *Troas*.

(T) *Philoſtephanus* is of opinion, that the hill *Dindymene* was ſo called, becauſe it had διδυμες μασες *two tops*; but *Strabo* ſays in expreſs terms that it has but one. *Bochart* (51) thinks, that a cymbal was in the *Phrygian* language called *Dindum*, as it is in the *Syrian Zinzum*; and from thence he derives the name of the hill *Dindymus*; the more becauſe the invention of cymbals is generally aſcribed to the *Phrygians*, and in particular to this goddeſs (52), whoſe feſtival was on that account ſolemnized on mount *Dindyme* with great noiſe of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other inſtruments.

(50) *Lib.* xiv. *p.* 665. (51) *Bochart. de Quæſt. Utrum Æneas fuerit unquam in Italia?* (52) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iii.

cruel death of their beloved *Attis*, and *Jupiter* having, at their joint entreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in *Pessinus*, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus far *Arnobius*.

Eusebius [h] gives us a very different account of *Cybele* and *Attis* or *Atys*, copied, as he informs us, from the ancient *Phrygian* mythologists. According to these, the first king of *Phrygia*, by name *Meon*, was father to *Cybele*, who being smitten with the charms of *Attis*, proved with child by him; whereupon *Meon* caused *Attis* to be put to death, at which *Cybele* being unspeakably grieved wandered long up and down *Phrygia*, seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat assuaged, she admitted *Apollo* into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the *Hyperboreans*. By his order the body of *Attis* was interred, and *Cybele* after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of *Cybele*, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the *Phrygians* had different genealogies for, and traditions of, this their chief deity (U).

This goddess was pictured sitting in a chariot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment seeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologists by *Cybele* mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key she holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the spring, and the seeds to shoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a symbol of the earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all sorts of animals, which she both produces and nourishes; finally *Saturn*, that is Time, is feigned to be her husband, to signify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. *Eusebius* and others [i] are of opinion, that *Cybele* was a woman famous for remedies against such distempers as young children are subject to, and that on this skill or knowledge are grounded all the stories that are related of her.

Cybele had her peculiar priests, ceremonies, and sacrifices. Her priests were called in the *Phrygian* language *Cubeboi*, for the reason we have alledged above. The *Greeks* and *Latins* named them *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, which is the *Greek* translation of the word *Cubeboi*, and *Galli*, from the river *Gallus* flowing through *Pessinus*, where this goddess had a magnificent temple. They were also stiled *Idæi Dactyli*; but it is no easy matter to account for this appellation. *Sophocles* quoted by *Strabo* [k] informs us, that they were called *Idæi* because they inhabited mount *Ida*, and *Dactyli* from the *Greek* word *Dactylus*, signifying *a finger*, they being at first ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. *Strabo* indeed numbers five brothers [l], viz. *Hercules*, *Pæon*, *Epimides*, *Jasius*, and *Idas*, adding, that they had as many sisters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from those *Strabo* speaks of, viz. *Kelmis*, *Damnameneus*, and *Acmon*. *Apollonius* [m] acknowledges but two, *Fitia* and *Cyllenus*. Some derive the name of *Corybantes* from the word *Chorub*, signifying in the *Phœnician* language *valiant*, and add, that they were the guards of the first kings of *Phrygia* [n] (W).

The

[h] Euseb. Præpar. Evangelic. l. ii iv. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. [k] Strab. lib. x. p. 473. [l] ubi supra. [m] Apollon. Argonaut. [n] Fr. Not. in Scholiast. Luciani. tom. ii. Pitiscus. Lexicon Antiquitat. Natalis Comes. l. ix. Myth. c. vii.

(U) The *Roman* writers differ widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. *Cybele* according to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of *Saturn*, and the same with *Ops*, *Rhea*, *Vesta*, and the *Bona dea*. She was exposed immediately after her birth on mount *Cybelus*, nursed there first by wild beasts, and after by the wife of a shepherd who found her by chance, &c. The *Romans* having learnt from the books of the Sybils that they would never be able to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy*, till the *Idean mother* was brought to *Rome*, sent therefore embassadors to king *Attalus*, who delivered them a stone, which the inhabitants of *Pessinus* called the *great mother of the gods*. This happened in the year of *Rome* 550 (53). 'Tis to be observed, that the *Romans* made *Cybele* to be the same with *Vesta*, but acknowledged two goddesses bearing the same appellation, which their poets frequently confound; *Cybele* was that *Vesta* they called the earth and wife to *Saturn*. She was called *Vesta* because *Stat vi terra sua*, as *Ovid* says, *vi stando Vesta vocatur*. The other was daughter to *Saturn*, and the goddess of fire, or rather fire itself, according to that verse of the same poet, *Nec tu aliud Vestâ quam vivam intellige flammam*.

(W) *Diodorus* tells us (54), that *Cybele* was daughter to *Meon* king of *Phrygia*, that she married *Jasius* a *Samothracian* the brother of *Dardanus*, and had by him a son called *Corybas*; that after the death of her husband she went with *Dardanus* and *Cory-*

bas

(53) *Liv. Decad.* iii. *l.* 9. (54) *Diodor. p.* 223.

a THE ceremonies performed by theſe prieſts in honour of this goddeſs were, 1ſt, At ſtated times they uſed to carry her ſtatue about the ſtreets dancing and ſkipping round it, and after having with violent geſticulations worked themſelves up to the height of frenſy, they began to cut and ſlaſh their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing ſeized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration of the grief wherewith *Cybele* was tranſported at the death of her beloved *Attis*: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great ſolemnity carried by the prieſts into the temple of the goddeſs, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the ſame manner the dead body of *Attis* and carrying it to her cave; on theſe occaſions the prieſts were crowned with violets, which were
b ſuppoſed to have ſprung from the blood of *Attis*, when he had laid violent hands on himſelf. The victims immolated in honour of the *Phrygian* goddeſs were a bull or a ſhe-goat, whence the ſacrifice was called *Taurobolium* or *Criobolium*. At *Rome* a ſow was yearly ſacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a prieſt and prieſteſs ſent for out of *Phrygia* on that occaſion. Her prieſts, (thoſe at leaſt who were known under the name of *Galli*) were all eunuchs; this the great goddeſs required of them in memory of *Attis*; the waters of the river *Gallus*, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inſpire them with ſuch a frantic enthuſiaſm, as to perform the operation on themſelves without the leaſt reluctancy. They were not allowed to drink wine, becauſe *Attis*, overcome with that liquor, diſcloſed his amours
c with *Acdeſtis*, which he had ever before concealed with the utmoſt care. They abſtained from bread, in commemoration of the long faſt which *Cybele* kept after the death of the ſame *Attis*. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occaſions, which tenet, ſome tell us, was common to all the *Phrygians*. The prieſts were placed after their death on a ſtone ten cubits high[o]. Though the *Romans* profeſſed a great veneration for *Cybele*, yet we find, that they looked upon her prieſts as the very refuſe of mankind; of which we have a ſignal inſtance in *Valerius Maximus*[p], who tells us, that one *Genutius*, a *Gallus* or eunuch of *Cybele*, having by a decree of the *Prætor* been admitted to the poſſeſſion of an eſtate that had been bequeathed him, *Mamer-*

cus

[o] ARNOB. lib. v. HIERONY. Epiſt. ad Lætam. l. ix. Myth. PITISCUS. Lexicon. Anntiquit. &c.

[p] NAN. MAX. l. vii. c. 7. NATALIS COMES.

bas into *Phrygia*, and introduced into that country the myſteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddeſs after her own name *Cybele*, and her prieſts *Corybantes* from her ſon *Corybas*. Thus *Diodorus*; but *Dionyſius* (55) informs us, that *Dardanus* inſtituted the *Samothracian* myſteries, that his wife *Chryſes* learnt them in *Arcadia*, and that *Idæus* the ſon of *Dardanus* inſtituted afterwards the myſteries of the mother of the gods in *Phrygia*. *Herodotus* brings the *Curetes* out of *Phœnicia* with *Cadmus*; and Sir *Iſaac Newton* (56) thinks, that having followed *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, ſome of them ſettled in *Phrygia* where they were called *Corybantes*, ſome in *Crete* where they were named *Idæi Dactyli*, others in *Rhodes* where they were ſtiled *Telchines*; others in *Samothrace* where they were known under the name of *Cabiri*; ſome in *Eubœa* where, as they were well ſkilled in arts and ſciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called *Chalcis*; ſome in *Lemnos* where they aſſiſted *Vulcan*; ſome in *Imbrus*; and a very conſiderable number of them in *Ætolia*, which was thence called the country of the *Curetes*, till *Ætolus* the ſon of *Endymion*, poſſeſſing himſelf of it, called it *Ætolia*. Theſe *Curetes* making themſelves armour uſed to dance in it at the ſacrifices, with great noiſe of pipes, and drums, and ſwords, which they ſtruck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming ſome kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of muſic in *Greece* both by *Solinus* and *Iſidorus* (57). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (58) aſcribes to the *Curetes* the invention of muſical rhymes, and of the letters called *Epheſian*. And Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion (59), that when the *Phœnician* letters were by *Cadmus* brought into *Greece*, they were at the ſame time introduced into *Phrygia* and *Crete* by the *Curetes*, who called them *Epheſian* from the city of *Epheſus* where they were firſt taught. Theſe *Curetes* were no leſs eſteemed for their ſkill and knowledge in religious matters and myſtical practices, than for their arts and ſciences (60). In *Phrygia* they attended the myſteries of *Cybele*; in *Crete* and the *Terra Curetum* thoſe of *Jupiter*, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount *Ida*, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noiſe to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father *Saturn* who ſought his deſtruction. *Bochart* (61) brings them from *Paleſtine*, and thinks, they had the name of *Curetes* from a people among the *Philiſtines* called *Crethim* or *Cerethites*. We muſt not forget, that *Cybele* or the *Great Mother* was ſometimes repreſented with a key, and ſometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made ſome think that ſhe was the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs *Aſtarte*, whoſe chariot was alſo drawn by lions. *Lucian* tells us (62), that ſhe was the *Cretan Rhea*, that is, according to ſome, *Europa* the ſiſter of *Cadmus*; and thus the *Phœnicians* firſt introduced, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, among the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no inſtance of any ſuch practice before the departure of *Cadmus* and *Europa* from *Sidon*.

(55) *Dionyſ.* l. i. p. 38, 42. (56) *The chronology of ancient kingdoms, &c.* c. ii. p. 146. (57) *Solin. Polyhiſt.* c. xi. *Iſidor. orig.* l. xi. c. 6. (58) *Clem. Strom.* l. i. (59) *ubi ſupra.* (60) *Strab.* l. x. p. 472, 473. *Diodor.* l. v. c. 4. (61) *Boch. in Canaan*, l. i. c. 15. (62) *Lucian. de Saltatione.*

cus Æmilius Lepidus, at that time conſul, being appealed to, reverſed the decree of the prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment *Valerius Maximus* extolls as a decree worthy of *Mamercus*, worthy of one that was at the head of the ſenate, ſince it put a ſtop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed preſence, under pretence of ſuing for juſtice.

BESIDES *Cybele*, who was the peculiar deity of *Phrygia*, the *Phrygians* had divers other idols; namely *Bacchus* whom they ſtiled *Sabazios*, and his prieſts and temples *Saboi*, whence *Bochart* derives the *Hebrew* word *Sabbath*, as that of *Levite* from *Lyſius* and *Evius* [q]. *Apollodorus* acquaints us, [r] that while *Bacchus* was travelling through *Phrygia*, he was purified by *Cybele*, inſtructed in her myſteries, and preſented by her with a ſtole, which was the firſt he ever uſed (X). *Adagyus*, whom *Bochart* [s] takes to be *Hermaphroditus*, the ſon of *Venus* and *Mercury*, there being, at leaſt to his ear, a great ſimilitude of ſound between *Adagyus* and *Androgynus*. Some rank alſo the *Cabiri* or *Cabires* among the *Phrygian* deities, and add, that they were ſo called from *Cabirus* a hill in *Phrygia*, or, as *Steſimbrotus* terms it, in *Berecynthia* [t]. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, ſignifying *great* or *powerful* [u]. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manaſeas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, whom he diſguiſes under the uncouth appellations of *Axioros*, *Axiokerſa*, *Axiokerſos*, and *Kaſmilos*; to theſe *Dionyſiodorus* adds a fifth whom he ſtiles *Caſmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the ſame with *Mercury*; but he is univerſally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the *Cabiri*, termed *the moſt high*, *the moſt powerful* [w]. But theſe we ſhall have occaſion to mention when we come to ſpeak of the *Samothracian* deities.

WE likewiſe read of ſome dances and ſongs uſed by the *Phrygians* in ſolemnizing the feſtivals of their gods, and ſometimes on other occaſions, which they called *Lityerſes*, from *Lityerſes* ſon of *Midas* king of *Phrygia*. *Heſychius* mentions certain *Phrygian* dances called by him *Briciſmata*, without doubt from the word *Briges* the ancient name of the *Phrygians* [x]. Some ſpeak of a dance called *Sicinnis*, invented, ſay they, by a *Phrygian* nymph, and uſed by the *Phrygians* in honour of *Sabatius*, whom they add to the number of the other *Phrygian* gods [y]. But it is now time to proceed to the hiſtory of the *Phrygian* kings.

[q] Vide BOCH. ubi ſupra. [r] APOLLODOR. lib. iii. [s] BOCH. ubi ſupra. [t] BOCHAR. ubi ſupra. [u] BOCHAR. ubi ſupra. [w] BOCHAR. ubi ſupra. [x] BOCHAR. ubi ſupra. [y] BOCHAR. ubi ſupra.

(X) *Stephanus* (63) writes, that when *Bacchus* was born, *Jupiter* committed the care of him to one of *Cybele*'s female attendants, by name *Ma*, who being aſked by *Juno*, whoſe child ſhe nurſed, anſwered, that it was the child of *Mars*, whence *Bacchus* in the *Carian* dialect was called *Maſaris* or *Maſares*, that is, the *Mars* of *Ma*.

(63) Voce Μᾶ.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of PHRYGIA.

THE ſucceſſions and reigns of the kings of *Phrygia* are overcaſt with ſuch an impenetrable miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and appears moſt worthy of credit.

THE firſt king of *Phrygia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Nannacus*, *Annacus*, or *Cannacas*, for he bore all theſe appellations. *Suidas* [z] ſays, that he reigned before the flood of *Deucalion*, and that from thence things exceeding ancient were proverbially ſaid, *to be from the time of Nannacus*. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he ſent to enquire of all ſuch oracles as were in any repute how long he ſhould live. The oracles unanimouſly anſwered, that at his death all things were to periſh; whereupon repairing

[z] Verbo Ἀνναχος.

a repairing with his ſubjects to the temples of the gods, he ſtrove there with many ſighs and tears to appeaſe their wrath, and avert the impending calamities; and thence *to weep like Nannacus*, became a trite expreſſion to ſignify any extraordinary grief or ſorrow [x]. Not long after *Nannacus* died, and the flood of *Deucalion* enſued, which was attended with the deſtruction of mankind.

Midas appears next, of whom all we can ſay is, that he reſided at *Peſſinus*, and deſigned to diſpoſe of his daughter, by name *Ia*, in marriage to *Attis* or *Atys*, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the *Midas* who built, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us [y], a magnificent temple at *Peſſinus*, and appointed yearly ſacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. *Hyginus* ſeems to
b make him the ſon of *Cybele* [z].

The next king we read of is *Manis*, a prince, as *Plutarch* [a] informs us, of ſuch proweſs and virtue, that the word *Manic*, derived from his name, became ſynonimous with *Great*, whence *Manic atchievements* were among the *Phrygians* the ſame as *great*, *glorious*, *heroic atchievements* [b].

After theſe reigned *Gordius*, who was raiſed from the plough to the throne. His riſe is related thus [c]: While he was one day ploughing an eagle ſettled on the yoke, and continued there all day. *Gordius*, terrified at this prodigy, went to conſult the ſoothſayers of *Telmiſſus*, a city in *Lydia*, about this ſo extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the *Telmiſſians*.
c At his entering the city he met with a moſt beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the ſoothſayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as ſhe was herſelf ſkilled in the art, that nothing leſs than a kingdom was preſaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herſelf ready to ſhare with him in wedlock, the hopes with which ſhe had inſpired him. This offer ſeemed to him the greateſt happineſs that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her requeſt, gratifying at the ſame time his own inclination. Not long after a ſedition breaking out among the *Phrygians*, the oracles, which they conſulted on that occaſion, were all unanimous in adviſing them to commit the government to a king, if they deſired to put a ſtop to the growing evils. Upon
d this the *Phrygians* having ſent again to conſult about the perſon whom they ſhould raiſe to that dignity, their embaſſadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the firſt man, who after their return ſhould viſit in a cart the temple of *Jupiter*, was by the gods deſigned for their king. The embaſſadors had ſcarce delivered the anſwer of the oracle, when *Gordius* appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud ſhouts of joy proclaimed king of *Phrygia*. *Gordius*, acknowledging the crown from *Jupiter*, in memory of ſo ſignal a favour, conſecrated in his temple the cart to *regal majeſty*, which not by the *Phrygians* only, but other nations, was adored as a goddeſs. To the beam of the cart he faſtened a knot, woven with ſuch art, and ſo perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promiſed by the oracles to him who ſhould untie it, which *Alexander the Great* having attempted in vain, cut it at laſt with his ſword, *and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle*. We know nothing more of *Gordius*, but that he built the city of *Gordium*, which was his reſidence, and that of all the princes of the *Gordian* family. *Plutarch* writes [d], that his ſon *Midas* was born of the goddeſs worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Bona Dea*; but whether ſhe was wife to *Gordius* is much queſtioned by the mythologiſts (Y).

Gordius

[x] Suid. ubi ſupra. Erasm. Chiliad. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 5. [z] Hygin. fab. 191. & 274. [a] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſirid. [b] Erasm. Adag. Chiliad. i. Cent. iii. lxxvii. [c] Strab. l. xii. Justin. l. xi. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Ælian. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. [d] Plutarch. in vita Cæſaris.

(Y) *Midas* the ſon of *Gordius*, according to *Ælian* and *Arrian* (64), was the firſt king of the *Gordian* family that reigned in *Phrygia*. They tell us, that the *Phrygians*, having enquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their inteſtine broils, received for anſwer, that a cart would bring them a king who ſhould reſtore their country to its former tranquillity; and that while they were muſing on this anſwer, *Midas* came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But moſt writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the *Gordian* family with *Gordius* himſelf. *Juſtin* (65) makes *Midas* king of the *Brigians* in *Macedonia*; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired to *Aſia Minor*, where the *Brigians* with a ſmall alteration were termed *Phrygians*. According to this writer then the *Phrygians*, under the conduct of *Midas*, migrated out of *Europe* into *Aſia*, and of courſe there were no *Phrygians* in *Aſia* before *Midas*; how then could his father *Gordius* reign in *Phrygia* and be raiſed to the throne from ſo mean a condition, as *Juſtin* himſelf relates? As to the *Gordian* knot, ſome authors ſay, that it was of a bark of a cornel-tree, and that it faſtened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

(64) *Ælian. vit. H. l.* i. *c.* 1. *Arrian. l.* iii.

(65) *Juſtin. l.* xi. *c.* 7.

Gordius was ſucceeded by his ſon *Midas*, of whom it is recorded, that when he was a child, a ſwarm of ants was obſerved very buſy one day, while he was aſleep, in conveying their ſtores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being conſulted, returned anſwer, that immenſe riches were preſaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the ancients as one of the richeſt princes that ever reigned [c]. *Strabo* [d] ſays, that he drew vaſt treaſures from mines of metal, diſcovered perhaps in his reign, on mount *Bermius*. He is greatly commended by ſome writers for the comelineſs of his perſon, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is ſaid to have been inſtructed by *Orpheus* in the myſteries of religion, and to have filled *Phrygia* with new deities, temples, prieſts, ceremonies, and ſacrifices [e]. He introduced the cuſtom of mourning over the dead with doleful ſongs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceaſed mother brought the *Phrygians* by degrees to worſhip her as a goddeſs [h]. He built the town of *Ancyra* [i], where an anchor of his contrivance was to be ſeen in the temple of *Jupiter*, when *Pauſanias* travelled through *Greece* [k]. He is ſaid to have reigned not over *Phrygia* only, but alſo *Dardania* [l]. *Cleobulus Lyndius*, one of the ſeven ſages of *Greece*, honoured his monument with an epitaph [m], which is falſely aſcribed by ſome to *Homer* [n]. His wife, by name *Hermodica*, is celebrated by *Heraclides* [o] in regard of her beauty and wiſdom, and ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the inhabitants of *Cyme* to coin money. By her *Midas* had three ſons, *Gordius*, *Ancharus*, and *Otreus*; his fourth ſon *Lityerſes* was a baſtard (Z).

After *Midas* reigned his eldeſt ſon *Gordius*, but all we can ſay of him is, that he ſurrounded the town of *Gordium* with a wall [p]. His brother *Ancharus* is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even ſacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus [q]; during the reign of his father *Midas* the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and ſwallowed up great part of the city *Celænæ*; whereupon *Midas*, having recourſe to his oracles, underſtood, that the opening would not cloſe till the moſt valuable thing in human life were thown into it. This anſwer was no ſooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, ſilver, jewels, and whatever elſe of any value came to their hands, was gladly ſacrificed to the common ſafety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with preſent deſtruction, when *Ancharus*, conſidering with himſelf that nothing in the world was of ſuch value as a human ſoul, embraced his

[c] Cic. l. i. de Divin. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Ælian, vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. [d] Strab. l. xiv. p. 680. [e] Arrian. l. ii. Justin. l. xi. [h] Suidas ἔλεγος. [i] Nonnus, in orat. 30 Greg. Naz. Pausan. in Atticis. Suidas Μίδας. [k] Pausan. ubi ſupra. L Servius in Æneid. II. [m] Plato in Phædro. Laer. in Cleob. [n] Plutarch. in vita, & anthologium Planudis. [o] Heraclides in Politiis. [p] Stephanus, p. 99. [q] Plutarch. in Parall. Stobæus, Serm. 7.

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of *Midas* more famous than the *Greek* proverb Μίδας ἔνδον ὦτα, that is *Midas has aſſes ears*; but what gave riſe to that ſaying is variouſly reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of ſkill between *Pan* and *Apollo*, both famous muſicians and rivals in that art, *Midas* gave ſentence in favour of the former, whereupon *Apollo* clapt a pair of aſſes ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at laſt it was unfortunately diſcovered by his barber and made public. Others ſay, that *Midas* having offered an affront to *Bacchus*, was by the incenſed deity metamorphoſed into an aſs. *Conon* in his firſt narration (66) tells us, that *Midas*, having found a treaſure, became very rich; that being inſtructed by *Orpheus* on mount *Pierius*, he got himſelf by various artifices proclaimed king of the *Brigians*; that in his reign *Silenus* appeared on mount *Brime*, that whatever *Midas* touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making uſe of this prodigy, he perſuaded his ſubjects to remove out of *Europe* into that country which lies on the *Helleſpont*; that he ſettled in *Myſia*, and there changed the name of his ſubjects, calling them no more *Brigians*, but *Phrygians*. He adds, that *Midas* had a great many ſpies diſperſed up and down the country, by whoſe informations he knew what-ever his ſubjects did or ſaid, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his ſubjects daring to enter into any plot or conſpiracy againſt him. His knowing by this means whatever his ſubjects ſpoke of him occaſioned the ſaying, that *Midas had long ears*; and as aſſes are ſaid to be endowed with the ſenſe of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was alſo ſaid to have *aſſes ears*; but in proceſs of time, what was taken in a metaphorical ſenſe began to run current in the world for truth. *Tully* (67) relates, that *Silenus*, being taken priſoner by *Midas*, inſtead of paying gold for his ranſom, taught the king, that the greateſt happineſs was not to be born, and next to that to die ſoon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining *Bacchus* he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by ſome, as if he had been extremely covetous, ſtudying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(66) *Conon apud Phot. Biblioth.* (67) *Tuſcul. Quæſt. l.* i. (68) *Maximus Tyrius Serm.* 3. *Joan Tzetzes hiſt.* 2. *Iſaicus Tzetzes in Caſſandram Lycophrontis. p.* 377. *Fulgentius, l.* ii. *Natalis Comes Mythol. l.* ix. *c.* 15. *Greg. Sabinus in lib.* xi. *Metamorph.*

a his father, took leave of his wife *Timothea*, and mounting on horſeback rid full ſpeed into the opening which immediately cloſed. His example was long after followed in a parallel caſe by *Curtius* the *Roman*.

Otreus is ſtiled by *Homer* [q] king of all *Phrygia*, and ſaid to have been contemporary with *Anchiſes*, whence we may conclude, that he ſucceeded his brother *Gordius*.

Lityerſes reigned at *Celænæ*, and is deſcribed as a ruſtic, unſociable, and inhuman tyrant. *Soſitheus* the tragedian paints him as one of an inſatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baſkets of bread, and drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleaſure in agriculture, and
b uſed often to labour in the fields like a common huſband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he uſed to oblige ſuch as happened to paſs by while he was reaping to join with him in the work; and then cutting off their heads for their pains bind up their bodies in the ſheaves. For theſe and ſuch like cruelties he was put to death by *Hercules*, and his body thrown into the *Mæander* [r]. However, his memory was cheriſhed by the reapers of *Phrygia* (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn, from him called *Lityerſis*, ſung in harveſt-time in honour of their fellow-labourer [s].

Midas II. was king of all *Phrygia*, but whoſe ſon he was, or whom he ſucceeded, Midas II.
is what we find no-where recorded. He was an uſurper, and ſeized on the crown
c in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of *Gordium*, attended with a numerous band of *Phrygians*, playing on all ſorts of muſical inſtruments; but at the ſame time, as they were privy to their maſter's deſign, with ſwords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curioſity and not ſuſpecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conſpirators, all on a ſudden throwing away their muſical inſtruments, fell upon the multitude ſword in hand, ſeized the city, and, in that terror and confuſion no-body daring to oppoſe them, proclaimed *Midas* king of *Phrygia* [t].

Midas II. was ſucceeded by *Gordius* III. perhaps his ſon. He is mentioned by Gordius III.
d *Herodotus* [u] as father to *Midas*, and that is all we can ſay of him. *Herodotus* does not ſtile him king, but as his ſon reigned, it is not unlikely, that he held the crown before him.

Midas III, ſon of *Gordius*, was the firſt among foreign princes that ſent dona- Midas III.
tions to the oracle at *Delphi*; he preſented that deity with the royal ſeat or tribunal, from whence he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. *Herodotus*, in whoſe time it was ſtill to be ſeen, commends it as a piece of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip [w]: at that time it ſtood by the golden cups, with which *Gyges* king of *Lydia* had preſented the ſame oracle; for after *Midas* *Gyges* was the firſt of the *Barbarians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, who ſent preſents to *Delphi* [x]. Perhaps this *Midas* was ſucceeded by another
e *Gordius*, for we find that the kings of *Phrygia* took alternatively the names of *Gordius* and *Midas*.

Midas IV. lived in moſt calamitous times, when the *Cimmerians*, being driven Midas IV.
out of *Europe* by the *Scythians*, invaded *Aſia Minor*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Sardis*, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the *Lydians*, *Paphlagonians*, and *Phrygians*. *Gordius*, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, and foreſeeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought beſt to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood [y]. And this is the firſt time that we find this ſort of death mentioned in hiſtory; his example was followed long after by
f *Pſammenitus* king of *Egypt*, and *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*. *Plutarch* [z] ſays, that *Midas* thus ended his life, being driven to deſpair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but theſe in all likelihood were occaſioned from the terror and conſternation he was in, at the approach of ſo dreadful and mercileſs an enemy. *Midas* had two ſons, Year of the Flood, 2447. Before Chriſt 556.
Adraſtus, and another whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory. *Adraſtus*, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon baniſhed *Phrygia*, repaired to the court of *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, who not only purified him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, from the blood he had innocently ſhed,

but

[q] Homer. in hymnis. [r] Athenæus, l. x. c. 1. Suidas Λιτυέρσης; Pollux. l. iv. [s] Theocritus Eidill. x. Erasm. Adag. Chiliad. iii. Cent. iv. Ad, lxxv. [t] Polyænus, lib. vii. [u] Herodot. lib. i. [w] Herodot. l. i. [x] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [y] Strab. l. i. Eustathius in odyſſ. λ. [z] Plutarch. in Q. Flaminio.

but earneſtly preſſed him to remain at his court, aſſuring him, he ſhould want for a
nothing that *Cræſus* could give him. *Adraſtus* complied with his requeſt, and being entruſted with the education of the king's favourite ſon by name *Atys*, he unfortunately killed him too at a chace; which ſo grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, though *Cræſus* had generouſly forgiven him [a]. In him ended the royal family of *Phrygia*, which became a province of the *Lydian* monarchy, and continued in that ſtate till *Cræſus* was conquered and all *Lydia* reduced by *Cyrus*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Lydia*.

[a] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of PHRYGIA MINOR.

THE tract we commonly call *Phrygia Minor* was anciently ſtyled *Troas*, *Teucria*, b
and *Dardania*, from kings that reigned in that country. It was alſo named *Idæa* from mount *Ida*, and *Phrygia* from the *Phrygians*, who were maſters of great part of it, ſome ſay before, others after, the deſtruction of *Troy*; the epithet of *Minor* was added to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Phrygia* where *Midas* reigned, as *Euſtathius* expreſſes himſelf [a]. In the reign of king *Priam* the name of *Troas* generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime called *Helleſpontiaca* and the mediterranean termed *Epictetus*. The former borrowed its name from the *Helleſpont*, and extended along the coaſt from the town of *Percote* to the promontory *Lectum* or *Lecton*, oppoſite to the north ſide of the iſland of *Leſbos*. This part c
was properly called *Troas* or *Troja*, though the *Trojan* kingdom extended from the river *Æſopus* to the banks of the *Caycus* [b], including not only *Troas* but alſo the *Greater* and *Leſſer Myſia*. *Epictetus*, or the inland part of *Phrygia Minor*, extended to the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus* in the *Greater Myſia*. This part at firſt belonged to *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who yielded it, by agreement, to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, whence it was called *Epictetus*, that is, *acquired*. However, theſe appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all *Phrygia Minor* (A).

Phrygia Minor, as preciſely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty-ſecond degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very ſmall extent in longitude, d
which we ſhall not pretend to determine, there being a great diſagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may ſay, that *Phrygia Minor*, as comprehending both the *Helleſpontiaca* and *Epictetus*, was bounded by the *Propontis* on the north, by the *Ægean* ſea on the ſouth, by *Myſia Minor* on the eaſt, and the *Helleſpont* on the weſt.

Cities of Phrygia Minor.

ON the coaſt were the cities of *Percote*, *Abydus*, *Ariſba*, *Dardanum*, *Rhetum*, *Sigeum*, *Troy*, or *Ilium*, *Lariſſa*, *Colonæ*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, &c. *Percote* is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Arrian*, and *Homer*, who mentions one *Merops* and his two ſons as being of this city [c]. *Abydos* was built by the *Mileſians* on the *Helleſpont*, and became famous for the poetical ſtory of *Hero* and *Leander*. Here it was that *Xerxes* began his bridge ſo much talked of, over which in ſeven days and ſeven e
nights he marched, according to *Herodotus*, ſeventeen-hundred-thouſand foot and fourſcore-thouſand horſe, excluſive of the camels and carriages. Here all *Alexander*'s cavalry and moſt of his infantry landed, under the command of *Parmenio*, on their paſſing out of *Europe* into *Aſia*. The geographers are generally of opinion that the caſtles of the *Dardanelles* were built on the ruins of *Seſtos* and *Abydos*; but

[a] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. ver. 810. [b] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 582. [c] HOMER. Iliad. A. ver. 229.

(A) *Strabo* ſometimes diſtinguiſhes *Troas Helleſpontiaca* from *Epictetus*, and ſometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes *Epictetus* part of *Phrygia Major* (69), wherein he agrees with *Ptolomy*. *Euſtathius* diſtinguiſhes three *Phrygia*'s, viz. the *Greater*, where *Midas* reigned, extending as far as *Piſidia*; the *Leſſer* lying on the *Helleſpont*, and from thence reaching to mount *Olympus*; the third he calls *Epictetus*, and places it near *Doryl æum*.

(69) *Strab. l.* xii. *p.* 374. 388. 393.

a but they are manifeſtly miſtaken, for the caſtles are directly oppoſite to each other, whereas *Seſtos* was a great way nearer the *Propontis* than *Abydos*; and *Strabo*[d] reckons 3750 paces from the port of *Abydos* to that of *Seſtos*. Beſides, there are no remains of antiquity to be ſeen near the caſtles, but very remarkable ones three miles further, where the channel is conſiderably narrower[e] (B). *Arisba*, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of *Alexander*'s army, after he had paſſed the *Helleſpont*. *Dardanum*, built by king *Dardanus*, near a promontory, bearing the ſame name. This city was the reſidence of *Dardanus* and his ſucceſſor *Erichtonius*. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all *Troas*. Some think, that the *Dardanelles* borrowed their name from this city. Here *Mithridates* and
b *Sylla* concluded a peace. Some ſay, with what foundation we know not, that *Dardanum* was the patrimony of *Æneas*. *Rhœteum*, memorable for the tomb of *Ajax*, who was ſaid to have been interred there[f]. *Sigeum*, ſeated on a promontory of the ſame name, whence that ſea is called the *Sigean* ſea[g]. On this promontory was the tomb of *Achilles*, which *Alexander* honoured with a viſit, and in ancient times a ſtatue of the ſame *Achilles*[h] with ear-rings like the ſtatue of a woman, which *Tertullian*[i] interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dreſs (C).

Troy or *Ilium*, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, was built by *Tros* king of that country, who called it *Troy* from his own name, and *Ilium* from that of his ſon *Ilus*. It was ſeated on a riſing
c ground near mount *Ida*, and about five miles from the ſhore. There were ſcarce any remains of it to be ſeen in *Strabo*'s time, and moſt of the ancient, as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new *Ilium*. All[k] *Strabo* ſays of its ſituation is, that

[d] STRAB. l. xiii. [e] TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant. SPON. voyage d'Italie Dalmatie, &c.
[f] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 409. [g] VIRG. ÆNEID. ii. ver. 312. [h] SALMASIUS Plinianæ exercitat. p. 610.
[i] TERTUL. de pallio. [k] STRAB. l. xiii.

(B) The *Helleſpont*, every one knows, ſignifies *the ſea of Helle*; for the ancients tell us, that a daughter of *Athamas* king of *Thebes*, whoſe name was *Helle*, was drowned in that channel as ſhe was carrying the golden fleece to *Colchis* with her brother *Phryxus* (70). The name of *Dardanelles* is probably derived from *Dardanum*, an ancient city not far from the caſtles bearing that name. This ſtrait was anciently called the *Helleſpont* and the ſtrait of *Abydos*; but now it goes under the following names, *the ſtrait of* Gallipoli, *the channel of the* Dardanelles, *the arm of* St. George, from a famous church of *St. George* in a village called *Periſtaſis* not far from *Gallipoli*: it is known to the *Turks* by the name of *Boghas*, or *ſtrait of the white ſea*. The mouth of the channel is defended by two new caſtles, which *Mahomet* IV. built in 1659, to ſecure his fleet againſt the inſults of the *Venetians*, who uſed to attack it in ſight of the old caſtles. The waters, that paſs through this ſtrait from out of the *Propontis*, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ſhip can enter, but when 'tis ſouth, the current is ſcarce perceptible. *Tournefort* (71) tells us, that the mouth of the *Helleſpont* is four miles and a half over, but *Le Brun* (72) ſays, that it is only a mile and a quarter. *Spon* (73) informs us, that where the old caſtles ſtand the *Helleſpont* is near two miles broad, and that the very name of *Abydo* or *Avido* is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But *Le Brun* aſſures us (74), that the ſtrait at the old caſtles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is ſtill called *Seſtos*, and the other *Abydo* or *Avido*; he adds, that this ſea, where broadeſt, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narroweſt: Among the ancients, *Strabo* (75) allows it about a mile in the narroweſt place; *Pliny* (76) and *Herodotus* (77), ſeven furlongs or ſtadia, and *Polybius* only two (78). Of *Abydos* was *Leander*, who uſed to ſwim from thence to *Seſtos* to viſit his miſtreſs. One night that the ſea was very rough, and he near being drowned, *Martial* makes him addreſs the waves thus; *Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo.* He is repreſented on the medals of *Caracalla* and *Alexander Severus*, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous reſiſtance againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves than ſubmit to the conqueror. *Abydos* was taken by the *Turks* through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that what *Herodotus* (79) relates of *Xerxes*, viz. that he ordered three-hundred laſhes to be given to the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it for having broke down the firſt bridge he built here, is looked upon by ſome as quite fabulous. *Gilles* (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was firſt laid to his charge by the *Greek* poets, and that *Herodotus* took the thing too ſeriouſly; the 330 laſhes, ſays this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the ſea to fix the ſhips that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that faſtened them together at both ends and on each ſide.

(C) *Pliny* (81) places not far from hence the tomb of *Proteſilaus* with trees ſet round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to ſuch a height as to be diſcovered from *Troy*, they begin to wither, and ſoon after die; then they ſhoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this viciſſitude of ſhooting up and dying away has continued, ſays our author, ever ſince they were firſt planted; that is, ſince the death of *Proteſilaus*, who in the *Trojan* expedition was the firſt among the *Greeks* that ſet foot in *Aſia*, and the firſt that was ſlain.

(70) *Eſtath. in Dionyſ. p.* 810. (71) *Tournefort, ubi ſupra.* (72) *Le Brun voyage au Levant.* (73) *Spon. ubi ſupra.* (74) *Le Brun, ubi ſupra.* (75) *Strab. l.* xiii. (76) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 32. (77) *Herodt. l.* vii. *c.* 34. (78) *Polybius, l. c.* (79) *Herodot. l.* vii. (80) *De Bosph. Thrac. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (81) *Plin. l.* xvi. *c.* 44.

that the new *Ilium* or *Troy* was 30 furlongs nearer the ſhore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of *Alexander the Great*, remarkable for nothing but a temple of *Minerva*, which that prince viſited after defeating *Darius* on the banks of the *Granicus*, and enriched with offerings, beſtowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewiſe ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embelliſhed, which was performed by *Lyſimachus*, one of his generals, who ſurrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almoſt reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the *Romans* firſt entered *Aſia*. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the ancient *Trojans*, no coſt nor pains was ſpared to reſtore it to its ancient luſtre, eſpecially in the time of the *Cæſars*. *Cæſar Auguſtus* ſent thither a colony, embelliſhed the city with many ſtately buildings, and enriched it with moſt ample privileges and exemptions. And of this *Ilium* are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be ſeen at preſent. *Bellonius* [l] tells us, that in his time the walls were yet ſtanding with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he ſpent four hours in compaſſing them, partly on horſeback, and partly on foot. He obſerved round the walls a great many marble tombs of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, with their covers entire. Two of theſe were ſtill remaining when Mr. *Spon* [m] viſited thoſe places, who informs us, that they were in the ſtile of the ancient *Romans*, and not unlike thoſe that are to be ſeen at *Arles*; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that *Troy* which was rebuilt by the *Romans*. *Bellonius* likewiſe obſerved the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the ſhore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large ciſterns to receive the rain-water. As to the ſo much celebrated rivers *Xanthus* and *Simois*, he calls them ſmall brooks, and adds, that in ſummer-time they are quite dry. But *Sandys* [n] thinks, they are not ſo contemptible as *Bellonius* makes them, who perhaps miſtook others for them. *Spon* [o] obſerved on the ſouth of the haven three columns lying among the briars, of which two were entire, and each of one ſingle piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. *Le Brun* [p] ſpeaks of great remains of a moſt noble ſtructure which he viſited at the diſtance of about five miles from the coaſt. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them ſtood a wall of an extraordinary thickneſs with fourteen gates of a competent ſize; the veſtiges of this magnificent ſtructure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth. Our author thinks, that theſe ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever ſaw. The harbour of *Troy*, ſo much ſpoke of by the ancients, is now quite choaked up with ſand; however, there are ſtill to be ſeen fragments of columns, to which they faſtened their ſhips and gallies, and as theſe were placed round it, *Spon* thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to ancient *Ilium*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it more at length in the reign of king *Priam*, when it was taken and laid in aſhes by the *Greeks* after a ten years ſiege.

Troas Alexandria was ſituated between the promontories of *Lectum* and *Sigeum*, and is named by *Stephanus* in the ſecond place among the eighteen cities, which were ſo called from *Alexander*. It is ſometimes named *Alexandria* without the appellation of *Troas*, and ſometimes *Troas* without that of *Alexandria* or *Alexandrea*, which has made ſome think, that *Alexandria* and *Troas* were two different cities. Its firſt name was *Antigonia* from its founder *Antigonus*, which was afterwards changed by *Lyſimachus* into that of *Alexandria* in honour of *Alexander* [q]. This is ſuppoſed to be the place meant by the apoſtle *Acts* xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the *Turks* *Eſki-Stamboul*. Theſe are the chief cities on the coaſt, the others are but of ſmall account, and therefore we ſhall dwell no longer on this ſubject.

Of the rivers that watered *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*, we ſhall only mention the *Scamander* and *Simois*, rivers, as *Mela* writes [r], greater by fame than by nature. The *Scamander* riſes from mount *Ida*, and, having received within its banks, not far from *Troy*, the *Simois*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea, over-againſt the iſland of *Tenedos*.

It

[l] Bellonius, l. ii. c. 6. [m] Spon, ubi ſupra. [n] Sandys, l. i. [o] Spon, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c. [p] Le Brun, voyag. du Levant. [q] Plinius, l. v. c. 30. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 408. [r] Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 18.

a It is ſaid by *Herodotus* to have been drunk up by the army of *Xerxes*. *Pliny* [s] calls it a navigable river, and diſtinguiſhes it from the *Xanthus*, though it is certain that theſe are but too different appellations of one and the ſame river. Its original name was *Scamander*; but it was afterwards called alſo *Xanthus*, becauſe it was believed to communicate a yellowiſh tincture to the ſheep that drank its waters [t]. *Homer* tells us [u], that it was named *Scamander* by the gods and *Xanthus* by men, where according to his cuſtom he aſcribes the moſt ancient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river was honoured by *Heſiod* with the title of *divine Scamander*. It was a cuſtom among the *Phrygian* brides to bathe themſelves before marriage in this river, uſing on that occaſion the following words, *Receive, O Scamander, my*
b *virginity*. Which opportunity one *Cimon* an *Athenian* taking hold of, under the diſguiſe of a river-god deflowered *Callirhoe*, a noble virgin, at that time betrothed, and thereby occaſioned the abrogating of that ſuperſtitious ceremony.

THE *Simois* ſprings likewiſe out of mount *Ida*, falls into the *Scamander* near *Ilium*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea, as we ſaid already. Whatever theſe rivers were in ancient times, they are at preſent but ſmall brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended upon.

IDA is the only mountain of this country that deſerves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a ſingle one; for it extends from the city of *Zeleia*, near the borders of *Myſia Minor*, to the promontory *Lectum*. We are told by the poets, that *Paris*,
c on this hill being choſen judge by the three contending goddeſſes, decided the controverſy in favour of *Venus*, which ſay they, occaſioned the deſtruction of *Troy*.

THE ſoil of this country was anciently reckoned among the moſt fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requiſite for the pleaſures of life, and yielded to no ſpot that lay under the ſame happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers deſcribe the *Aſiatic* coaſt of the *Helleſpont* as a moſt beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all ſorts of grain [w]. *Soil and climate.*

d OVER-AGAINST *Troy* lay *Tenedos* about two leagues from the ſhore, and formed the *Trojan* harbour. As all the ſplendor and magnificence of this iſland ſtood and fell with *Troy*, it will not be improper to inſert here a ſuccinct account of it. All ancient writers agree, that this Iſland was firſt called *Leucophrys*, and afterwards *Tenedos* from one *Tenes* or *Tennes*, who brought a colony thither from the continent. *Tennes* was ſon to *Cycnus* king of *Colone* in *Troas*, and is deſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus* [x] as a man of great probity and juſtice, having been greatly beloved by his ſubjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The ancient inhabitants of *Tenedos* gave the following account of him, which *Diodorus Siculus* looks upon as fabulous, but *Suidas* and *Pauſanias* ſeem to credit. *Tennes*, ſay they, was
e ſon of *Cycnus* and *Proclea*, ſiſter to *Caletor*, who was killed by *Ajax* in attempting to burn the ſhips of *Proteſilaus*. *Cycnus*, after the death of his wife *Proclea*, married *Philonome*, who falling in love with her ſtep-ſon *Tennes*, and finding that ſhe could by no means make him comply with her inceſtuous deſires, complained of him to her huſband, as if he had offered violence to her. *Stephanus* adds, that the evidence ſhe produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. *Cycnus* giving more credit to his wife than his ſon, cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cheſt and thrown into the ſea, which carried the cheſt ſafe to the iſland we are ſpeaking of, where *Tennes* was received as ſent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his ſiſter by name *Hemithea*, not caring to outlive
f her brother, was at her own requeſt with him locked up in the cheſt. Some time after *Cycnus*, being convinced of his ſon's innocence, ſailed to *Tenedos* to crave his pardon, and expreſs the concern he was in for ſo haſty and inhuman a reſolution. But *Tennes* inſtead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which faſtened his father's ſhip to the ſhore. This hatchet was carried by *Periclytus*, a citizen of *Tenedos*, to *Delphos*, and there lodged in the temple of *Apollo*. The *Tenedians* cauſed two others to be made reſembling this in ſhape and ſize, *Tenedos.*

[s] PLINIUS, l. v. c. 30. MAXIMUS TYRIUS Serm. 12. SICUL. l. v.

[t] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubius ſequeſter de fluminibus.

[u] Iliad verſ. 74.

[w] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra.

[x] DIODOR.

ſize, which they conſecrated in the temple of their city. Theſe adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the ancients (D).

(D) The one is Τενεδιος αυλητης, that is, the *Tenedian player on the flute*, a ſaying uſed by the ancients to reproach a falſe evidence. The other Τενεδιος πελεκυς, that is, the *Tenedian Ax*, an expreſſion uſed to ſignify a quick and an unalterable reſolution (82). *Ariſtotle*, cited by *Stephanus*, explains this in a different manner. He ſays, that a king of *Tenedos* having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the firſt that tranſgreſſed this law was his own ſon, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. *Stephanus* adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were repreſented on the medals of the iſland, and on the reverſe the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain ſeveral medals of this kind have been found in that iſland. Some take theſe two heads to be thoſe of *Tennes* and his ſiſter *Hemithea*, others of *Jupiter* and ſome *Amazon*, who might have founded a city in *Tenedos*. The *ax* on the reverſe was the inſtrument uſed by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. *Suidas* tells us, that *Tennes* after he was ſettled on the throne of *Tenedos* ordered an officer to ſtand behind the judge in all public trials with an *ax* in his hand, ready to ſtrike off the head of ſuch as ſhould give falſe evidence; and hence Τενεδιος ανθρωπος, Τενεδιος συνηγορος, that is, *A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos*, were expreſſions uſed to ſignify *a man* or *a judge of great ſeverity* (83). Nothing has rendered this iſland more famous than the ſiege of *Troy*. It was within ſight of that powerful city, as *Virgil* obſerves (84): he ſuppoſes, that the *Greeks* concealed themſelves behind this iſland when they feigned to raiſe the ſiege. After the fall of *Troy*, the inhabitants were brought ſo low, that they gave themſelves up to their neighbours, as *Pauſanias* obſerves. *Tenedos* was one of the firſt conqueſts of the *Perſians* after the overthrow of the *Ionians* at the iſle of *Lada* (85). It was reduced by the *Athenians*, or at leaſt ſided with them againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, ſince *Nicolochus* admiral of *Lacedæmon* ravaged this iſland, and raiſed contributions in it in ſpite of the vigilance of the *Athenian* generals. The *Romans* enjoyed *Tenedos* in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundered by *Verres*, who, as *Tully* informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the ſtatue of *Tennes* founder of the city (86). This iſland is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Apollo Smynthius*, of which idol we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak preſently. There are no ruins to be ſeen at *Tenedos* except thoſe of the granaries, which *Juſtinian* cauſed to be built as a repoſitory for the corn that was brought from *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople*, leſt it ſhould mould on ſhip-board, the veſſels being frequently wind-bound for a conſiderable time at the entrance of the *Dardanelles*. Theſe magazines, as *Procopius* informs us, were two-hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muſcate wine of this iſland is the moſt delicious of all the *Levant*, and though it is not celebrated by the ancients as that of *Scio* and *Lesbos*, yet it may be proved from ſeveral medals, that *Tenedos* has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, ſince on the reverſe of ſome medals of that iſland is to be ſeen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in ancient times famed for this production.

(82) *Eraſmi Adag. Chiliad.* iv. *Cent.* i. (83) *Suidas, Eraſmus ubi ſupra. Cic. lib.* ii. *Epiſt. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournefort. voyag. au Lev.* (84) *Virg. Æneid. l.* ii. (85) *Herodot. l.* vi. (86) *Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna. pro Arch. poæta.* (87) *Procop. de Ædific. Juſtin. l.* v. *c.* i.

SECT. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the Trojans.

Antiquity.

THE inhabitants of *Leſſer Phrygia* or *Trojans*, ſo called from *Troy* the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very ancient people; but as to their original there is a great diſagreement among authors. Some make them *Samothracians* by deſcent, others *Greeks*, and tell us, that *Teucer*, according to them the firſt king of *Troy*, was by birth an *Athenian*, and lord of a village named *Axonus*. Some derive them from the iſland of *Crete*, from whence they ſuppoſe *Phrygia Minor* to have been peopled; but theſe are again divided among themſelves as to the leader of this colony, ſome beſtowing that honour on *Teucer*, others on *Dardanus*. Some will have them deſcended from the *Arcadians*, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from *Italy*, which opinion, though deſtitute of all probability, was embraced by *Virgil*, as moſt redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the *Romans* in his days. *Bochart* [y] thinks, that *Leſſer Phrygia* was planted by *Aſhkenaz Gomer*'s eldeſt ſon, there being the footſteps of his name in the *Aſcanian* lake, and a river called *Aſcanius* with a bay of the ſame name in *Bithynia*, and likewiſe in a city named *Aſcania* in *Leſſer Phrygia*, with iſles on the coaſt named the *Aſcanian* iſlands: he alſo obſerves, that, beſides *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the ſiege of *Troy*. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by *Aſhkenaz* out

[y] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.

a out of *Greater Phrygia*, where his Father had ſettled, into *Troas* or *Leſſer Phrygia*, and that by this colony and their deſcendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the *Ægean* ſea extends along the coaſt of *Helleſpont* and the *Propontis*, to the *Pontus Euxinus* or *Axenus*, as it was firſt called by the *Greeks*, which he ſuppoſes to be a corruption for the *ſea of Aſkenaz*. He obſerves, that the ſcripture, among the nations which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to deſtroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Aſkenaz*. And to prove, that the *Aſkenez* mentioned in ſcripture were the people of theſe parts, he ſhews out of *Xenophon*[z], that *Hyſtaſpes* having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Helleſpont*, brought from
b thence many of the horſe and other ſoldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the ſiege of *Babylon*. But whoever was the progenitor of the firſt inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in proceſs of time their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of *Myſians*, *Samothracians*, *Greeks*, and *Cretans*, who ſettled among them, and were reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the ancient proprietors.

Government. As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from *Dardanus* to *Priam* we find the father conſtantly ſucceeded by the ſon, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at firſt, like moſt others, parcelled out into ſeveral petty Kingdoms; for we read of *Cycnus*, *Pandarus*, *Eurypylus*, and other princes of ſmall teritories within the limits of *Leſſer Phrygia*[a]. But all theſe were
c in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the *Trojan* kings; inſomuch, that *Strabo*[b] enumerates no fewer than nine ſmall kingdoms or principalities ſubject to *Troy*, beſides the iſland of *Lesbos*. And this is what drew out the *Trojan* war to ſuch a length, for all theſe countries were to be ſubdued before *Troy* could be inveſted. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us[c], that the *Trojans* were ſubdued by *Ninus*; but *Philoſtratus* tells us in expreſs terms, that they were allies, and no ways vaſſals or tributaries to the *Aſſyrians*. The *Trojan* kings ſeem to have been abſolute and no ways controulable by the ſubject. But we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject when we come to their hiſtory.

We have no particular ſyſtem of their laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their re-
d ligion.

Religion. As to the religion of the *Trojans*, it was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, which we have already deſcribed. Their principal deities ſeem to have been *Cybele*, or, as they ſtiled her, *the great mother of the Gods*, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into *Troas* from *Crete* by *Teucer*, lord of that iſland and the progenitor of the *Trojans*[d]. She was chiefly worſhipped on the hills of *Ida*, *Dindymus*, *Berecynthus*, and *Cybele*, whence ſhe borrowed her name. *Apollo*, who had a temple in the citadel of *Troy* called *Pergamus*. In this temple, and by this god, *Homer* feigns, that *Æneas* was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with *Diomedes* were cured by *Latona* and
e *Diana*, *Apollo*'s mother and ſiſter. *Minerva* or *Pallas*, from whoſe temple *Virgil* pathetically deſcribes *Caſſandra* dragged by the victorious *Greeks*, while the city was in flames[e]. The famous *Palladium* was a wooden ſtatue of this goddeſs, holding in one hand a buckler, and a ſpear in the other, ſo contrived as to move them, and at the ſame time roll her eyes in a threatening manner. We are told, that, while the *Trojans* were erecting a temple to *Pallas* in their citadel, this ſtatue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being conſulted returned anſwer, that the city of *Troy* could not be taken ſo long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the *Greeks*, *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* got privately into the caſtle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the *Trojans*
f of their main Defence enabled the *Greeks* to take the city. All the *Roman* writers aſſure us, that this *Palladium* was brought into *Italy* by *Æneas*, and lodged firſt at *Lavinium*, afterwards at *Alba*, and at laſt removed to *Rome*, and depoſited there in the temple of *Veſta* under the care of the veſtals and the *Nautian* family. The *Romans* were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſt with the falſe notion, that the city, which was bleſt with this valuable treaſure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that *Metellus*, ſeeing the temple of *Veſta* all in flames, ventured his life without the leaſt heſitation to reſcue this ſacred depoſitum, and was on that ſcore thanked by the ſenate and people of *Rome*, as if he had ſaved the republic. The *Romans* univerſally believed themſelves maſters of the true *Palladium*, but could never ſhew how they came by it

[z] Cyropæd. l. vii. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. Strab. l. xiii. [b] lib. xiii. [c] ubi ſupra. [d] Virgil. l. iii. [e] Æneid ii.

it. For to say, that it was in *Troy* when the city was taken, is the same as to a deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the *Greeks* before they entered *Troy*, how could *Æneas* bring it into *Italy* (E)?

Venus also is counted among the *Trojan* deities, but as to *Vesta*, whom *Æneas* is said by the poets to have carried into *Italy*, with his household gods, we find not any footsteps of worship paid her at *Troy*. She was indeed worshipped all over *Greece*, where there was not one city, but could shew a temple dedicated to this goddess with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made some think, that the rites and ceremonies of *Vesta* were introduced into *Italy* by the *Greeks*, and not by the *Trojans* [f]. b

AMONG the other *Trojan* deities we find mention made of *Apollo Sminthius*, so stiled from the *Phrygian* word *Sminthos* signifying a *field-mouse*. We are told [g], that this sort of vermin made such a devastation in the fields of *Troas*, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unsuccessful, had recourse to the oracle of *Delphos*, which answered, that they should be delivered from that plague if they sacrificed to *Sminthian Apollo*, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in *Amaxito* a city of *Troas* to their pretended deliverer, addressing him under the title of *Sminthian Apollo*. [h] Others relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of *Troas* worshipped mice for having on a certain occasion gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and thereby secured c a complete victory to the *Phrygians*. The worship of *Apollo Sminthius* was introduced into *Mysia*, the isle of *Tenedos*, and other countries; for *Strabo* [i] tells us, that a mouse was engraved at the foot of *Apollo*'s statue in a temple of *Chrysa* a city of *Mysia*, to unfold the reason of his being surnamed *Sminthian*; he adds, that the statue was done by *Scopas* a celebrated statuary of *Paros*. The same author, in speaking of the isle of *Tenedos*, says, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to *Sminthian Apollo* (F.) As to the religious customs and ceremonies of the *Trojans* we are almost quite in the dark; but we may suppose them to have been much the same with those of the inhabitants of *Phrygia Major*.

Character. THE character we have of the *Trojans* is, that they were a brave and warlike d people; and in this we shall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king *Priam*, when they withstood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all *Greece*. They seem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great respect for their princes; for we do not find

[f] PRUDENTIUS contra Symmach. l. ii. sect. viii. [g] STRAB. l. xiii. ÆLIAN, vit. H. l. iv. [h] POLEMO apud Clem. Protrept. [i] ubi supra.

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the ancients as to the *Trojan Palladium*. Some tell us (88), that the king of *Phrygia Major* presented *Ilus* with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down; that *Ilus* followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name *Ilium*. They add, that *Ilus*, having desired *Jupiter* to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the *Palladium* next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that *Chrysas* daughter of *Pallas*, marrying *Dardanus*, brought him the *Palladium* as part of her fortune; that *Dardanus* first erected a temple in *Samothrace* to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into *Phrygia* on the *Hellespont*. *Lycophron* seems to insinuate, that the *Palladium* was a *Phœnician* goddess, for he calls *Ulysses* Δελφινόστομον πλάτα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). *Johannes Antiochenus*, *Eustathius*, and others say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91). *Julius Firmicus* (92), *Clemens* (93), and *Arnobius* (94), tell us, that the *Gentiles* believed it to have been made of the bones of *Pelops*. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but some tell us, that the true *Palladium* never fell into the hands of the *Greeks*, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape and size exposed to public adoration; this, say they, was carried off by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the true *Palladium* remained in *Troy* till *Æneas* removed it from thence to *Lavinium*. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true *Palladium*, and putting it, as it were, upon the same level with a false one, since it was not able to save the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, suppose, that the *Greeks* returned the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, or rather to *Æneas*, being warned so to do by the oracles. But we shall have occasion to examine in the course of this history the truth of *Æneas*'s voyage to *Italy*, and add something relating to this famous idol. In the mean time we may observe, that there was another *Palladium* of great fame worshipped at *Athens*, which *Nicias* had placed in the castle of that city.

(F) *Tournefort* (95) mentions two medals of *Tenedos*, the one with *Apollo*'s head, and under it a mouse, having on the reverse a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverse the same ax with two mice.

(88) *Apollod. l.* iii. (89) *Vide Rosinum Roman. Antiquitat. p.* 147. (90) *Seldenus de diis Syris Syntag.* 2. (91) *Selden. ubi supra. Syntag.* 1. (92) *De errore profanar. religion. c.* xvi. (93) *In protrept.* (94) *Adversus gentes, l.* iv. (95) *Tournefort voyage au Levant.*

a find in their hiſtory any kind of inteſtine broils, or plots, or conſpiracies againſt the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the *Trojans*, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the ancients as one of the moſt polite and civilized nations of thoſe days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they aroſe to a very conſiderable pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of arts and induſtry. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame with that ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Greater Phrygia*, and perhaps in all that tract which was afterwards known by the name of *Aſia Proper*, the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue with ſome variation of dialect. *Cuſtoms, language, &c.*

b THEIR trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was ſtocked with many uſeful commodities, and muſt have abounded in all things neceſſary for life, ſince it could ſupport for many years together two very conſiderable armies, as we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. Their ſettlements in *Thrace*, in *Peloponneſus*, in *Sicily*[k], in *Italy*[l], in *Egypt*[m], and in *Afric*[n], are a convincing proof, that they applied themſelves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood, were the ſources of the riches, ſplendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the ſtates round them. *Trade.*

[k] PAUSANIAS, l. ii. & 5. [l] STRAB. l. vi. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. 1. [n] HERODOT. l. iv.

SECT. VII.

The reigns of the TROJAN *kings.*

c TROAS or *Phrygia Minor* was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of *Teucer* and *Dardanus*; for *Servius* names out of *Nero*'s *Troica* one *Cynthius* king of *Troas* long before *Teucer*. But as the *Trojan* hiſtory of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were loſt labour to make a narrow ſearch into it. It is no leſs uncertain which of the two aboveſaid princes reigned firſt, ſome writers giving the precedency to *Teucer*, others to *Dardanus*; and truly this is ſo dark and obſcure a ſubject, that every one may ſay what he liſts. We ſhall follow the moſt common opinion, and begin with *Teucer*, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of ſo perplexed a cauſe.

Teucer, the ſon of *Scamander* and *Ida*, that is, born in *Phrygia* near the river d *Scamander* and mount *Ida*, ruled over all *Troas* or *Phrygia Minor*. He is ſaid to have been very fortunate and ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where ſpecified. Having no iſſue-male he married his only daughter, by ſome called *Batia*, by others *Aſia*, by others *Ariſba*, to *Dardanus*, ſettling therewithal the crown of *Phrygia* on him and his deſcendants. Thoſe who make *Teucer* a *Phrygian* by birth ſuppoſe him to have come to the crown by a lineal deſcent, and place *Cynthius*, whom we have mentioned above, among his anceſtors; ſo that, according to theſe writers, *Teucer* was not the founder of the *Trojan* kingdom, but the laſt of a long ſeries of kings prior to thoſe of the *Dardanian* family ſprung from *Dardanus* and *Batia*. From *Teucer* the country was called *Teucria* and the inhabitants e *Teucri* (G). *Teucer.*

Teucer

(G) This is the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, and, as we have hinted, the moſt common. However, *Virgil*, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it in ſuch things as no ways concerned *Auguſtus*, makes *Teucer* a *Cretan*, and delivers his opinion as follows:

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet inſula ponto;
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
Maximus inde pater, ſi rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhæteas primum eſt advectus in oras,
Optavitque locum regno; nondum Ilium, & arces
Pergameæ ſteterant, habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus; hinc fida ſilentia ſacris,
Et junƈti currum dominæ ſubiere leones (96).

Teucer then, according to thoſe who follow *Virgil*'s opinion, which is aſcribed to *Beroſus*, was the ſon of one *Scamander* a native of *Crete*, from which iſland *Teucer*, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to ſea with the third part of the inhabitants in queſt

(96) *Æneid*, *l.* iii. *ver*, 104.

Dardanus. Year of the Flood, 1524. Before Christ 1479.

Teucer was succeeded by *Dardanus* the son of *Corytus* or *Corythus*, by *Electra* the daughter of *Atlas*. *Corytus* was king of *Samothrace*, and had by *Electra* two sons, *Jasius* and *Dardanus*, and one daughter by name *Harmonia*. *Dardanus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Samothrace*, where he erected a stately temple, and instituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of *Pallas* and the other gods, whose statues his first wife *Chryse* had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is said to have enacted on his accession to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wise, just, and religious prince. Insomuch, that *Teucer*, who was stricken in years and had no issue-male, invited him over into *Phrygia*, gave him in marriage his only daughter *Batia*, and appointed him his heir and successor to the kingdom of *Phrygia*, which, after the death of *Teucer*, he ruled with the same moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of *Samothrace*. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the *Paphlagonians*, and, as he was always attended with success, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by considerable acquisitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, stiling it *Dardana* or *Dardania*, and this he chose for his royal seat; the other he called *Thymbra* from *Thymbræus* one of his intimates. Having settled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many useful laws for the due administration of justice, which he looked upon as the basis of regal authority, he applied himself entirely to religious matters. The *Palladium*, or, as others will have it, the *Palladiums* (H), were by his orders brought over into *Phrygia*; as for the other gods, which he had with his first wife, they were left in *Samothrace* till the death of his brother *Jasius*, who governed that island in the absence of *Dardanus* (I). *Dardanus* had

quest of new seats, and arrived at that part of *Phrygia* which lies on the *Hellespont*. Here he landed not far from the *Rhætean* promontory, and being the first night greatly annoyed by vast numbers of mice, he resolved to settle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to sea, to fix where he should be attacked in the night-time by an enemy sprung from the earth. His first care was to raise a temple to *Apollo Sminthius*, who was pictured treading under foot a mouse, called in the *Cretan* or *Phrygian* language *Sminthos*. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one *Ida* from a hill of the same name in his native country, and the other *Scamander*, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called *Xanthus*; whence *Homer* says, that it was called *Xanthus* by the gods and *Scamander* by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more ancient. He likewise introduced the worship of *Cybele* according to the rites that were practised in *Crete*, where that goddess was supposed to have brought forth and nursed *Jupiter*. Some think the authority of *Virgil*, with regard to *Teucer*, to be of very great weight, since it no ways concerned *Augustus* whether *Teucer* was of *Crete*, or not.

(H) Some writers tell us, that *Dardanus* had with *Chryse* two *Palladiums* or *statues of Pallas*, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promised, that the city in which either of them was kept should never be liable to any disasters. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* gives us the words which the oracle was said to have uttered, and are the following;

Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere sacra,
Cælicolasque illic festis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ servabis arce reposta
Palladis; hæc quoniam cepit tua regia conjux,
Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.

One of these, say they, was stolen out of the citadel of *Troy* by *Diomedes* and *Ulysses*; but the other was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy* (97). But *Varro* (98) tells us, that the *Palladium* was brought to *Rome* by one *Nautes*, and adds, that the priesthood of *Minerva* was hereditary in his family. Others say, that *Diomedes*, after the destruction of *Troy*, being driven by a storm on the coasts of *Italy*, and there ordered by an oracle to return the *Palladium* to the *Trojans*, sent it to *Æneas* by *Nautes*, one of *Æneas*'s friends and companions.

(I) In what has been said of *Dardanus* we have followed *Homer*, *Manetho*, *Diodorus*, *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, *Cedrenus*, *Johannes Tzetzes*, &c. but *Virgil* and the poets to flatter *Augustus* make *Dardanus* son of *Electra* not by *Coritus*, but by *Jupiter*. And as to *Coritus*, they will have him to have been king of *Hetruria*, and not of *Samothrace*. *Virgil* tells us, that *Dardanus* passed out of *Hetruria* into *Samothrace*, and from thence into *Phrygia*. He expresses himself thus (99):

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.

And elsewhere (100).

Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Aruncos ita ferre senes; his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum, Coriti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cæli
Accipit, &c.

Virgil does not tell us on what occasion *Dardanus* quitted *Tuscany*: But *Annius* informs us, that after the death of *Coritus*, the two brothers *Dardanus* and *Jasius* falling out about the succession to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to save himself by flight from the *Tuscans*, and from *Siculus* king of *Spain* and brother to *Electra*, who was come to compose their differences. The same *Annius* gives the name of *Comblobascus* to the father of *Dardanus* and *Jasius*, and adds, that the word *Corytus* was a title of dignity. *Apollodorus*, in his fabulous history of the *Greeks*, tells us, that

(97) *Procop. de Bell. Goth. l.* i. *Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandram Lycophron. p.* 146. (98) *Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium.* (99) *Æneid.* iii. *vers.* 163. (100) *Æneid. l.* iv. *vers.* 205.

a had two wives, the firſt named *Chryſe* an *Arcadian*, by whom he had two ſons, *Idæus* and *Dimas*, the other *Batia*, who likewiſe bore him two ſons, *Zacynthus* and *Erichthonius*. *Idæus* and *Dimas*, according to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus* °, inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in *Arcadia*, whence they led colonies into *Aſia*, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. *Zacynthus* planted a colony of *Phrygians* in an iſland of the *Ionian* ſea, which from himſelf he called *Zacynthus* P. *Erichthonius* ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, as we ſhall ſee anon. As to his ſiſter *Harmonia*, ſhe married *Cadmus* founder of the *Theban* kingdom, whom her brother *Jaſius* had initiated in the myſteries of religion. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her and her huſband *Cadmus*, when
b we come to treat of the *Theban* kingdom. *Dardanus* reigned in *Phrygia* 64 or 65 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Erichthonius. *Year of the flood*, 1589. *Before Chriſt*, 1414.

Erichthonius, who treading in the footſteps of his father was revered by his ſubjects, and greatly reſpected by all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good underſtanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe riches, which *Homer* takes notice of, without burdening the ſubject with taxes and impoſitions. By his wife *Aſtyoche* he had but one ſon named *Tros*. He reigned, according to ſome, forty-ſix, according to others ſeventy-five years, and dying left the kingdom of *Phrygia* in a moſt flouriſhing condition (K).

Tros. *Year of the flood*, 1635. *Before Chriſt*, 1368.

c On the death of *Erichthonius*, *Tros* aſcended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became ſoon the moſt famous of all *Aſia*. This grand work being at laſt finiſhed, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except *Tantalus* king of *Sipylus*, to aſſiſt at the ſolemn dedication of the new city. Why *Tantalus* was omitted we know not; but he highly reſented ſuch a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and ſoon after had a fair opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment. For *Ganymedes*, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father *Tros*, being ſent by him with a ſplendid retinue to carry preſents of great value to *Jupiter Europæus*, in paſſing through the territories of *Tantalus* was not only detained, but abuſed by that vitious and impious
d king (L). This indignity the generous youth took ſo to heart, that he died ſoon after

° Dionys. Halicar. l. i.

P Dionys. Halicar. ubi ſupra.

that *Jaſion*, as he ſtiles him, and *Dardanus* were ſons of *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas* and *Jupiter*, that the former, being paſſionately in love with *Ceres*, and attempting to raviſh her, was thunderſtruck, and that *Dardanus* was ſo concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning *Samothrace* his native country, he retired to the oppoſite continent, where he was kindly received by *Teucer* king of *Phrygia*. *Iſaacus Tzetzes* (9) thinks, that *Dardanus* was forced by an inundation to leave *Samothrace*. As to *Atlas* the father of *Electra*, ſome ſay, that he was king of *Mauritania*, others of *Samothrace*, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to *Corytus*, who had by her *Chryſe* firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Boccace* (10) is of opinion, that *Atlas* was neither an *African*, nor a *Samothracian*, but an *Italian*. The want of good authorities in this point of ancient hiſtory has given every one leave to ſay what he pleaſed.

(K) *Apollodorus* tells us, that *Erichthonius* had an elder brother, by name *Ilus*, who died before his father, and a ſiſter called *Idæa*, who married *Phinæus* II. king of the *Thracian Thyni*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the hiſtory of *Thrace*. As the name of *Erichthonius* is entirely *Greek*, ſome have concluded from thence, that the *Greek* tongue began very early to prevail in *Phrygia*; which argument would be of no ſmall weight, could they but prove, that *Erichthonius* was that prince's original or *Phrygian* name, and not a *Greek* tranſlation thereof; for the *Greeks*, as *Plato* obſerves (11), uſed to tranſlate foreign names into their own language, as the *Egyptians* did all *Greek* names into theirs. Some finding a king of *Athens* bearing the ſame name, infer from thence, that the *Trojans* were originally *Athenians*. An opinion built on ſo ſlight a foundation is ſcarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of *Ganymede*'s being taken up into heaven by *Jupiter* is variouſly interpreted; but *Natalis Comes* (12) is of opinion, that this ſtory was invented by the *Greeks* to give a kind of ſanction to the unnatural luſt that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly *Jupiter*, as *Arnobius* obſerves (13), ſeems to have been ſet up for no other purpoſe, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great meaſure their own guilt. Thus *Theocritus* the poet, in celebrating the inceſtuous marriage of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus* with his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, produces the example of *Jupiter* and *Juno*; and *Seneca* the tragedian had recourſe to the ſame topick to find ſomething commendable in the marriage of *Octavia* and *Nero*: *Sortita fratris more Junonis toros*, ſays he, ſpeaking of *Octavia* (14). Others tell us, that *Ganymedes* was killed in a battle between *Tantalus* and *Ilus*; for *Ilus* purſued the war with *Tantalus* which his father had begun. They add, that the body of *Ganymedes* not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occaſion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by *Jupiter*. *Suidas* charges *Minos* with the rape of *Ganymede*, and ſays, that *Minos* being kindly received and entertained by *Tros*, on that occaſion fell in love with *Ganymede*, and requited the favours he had received of

(9) *In Apollonium.* (10) *De gen. deor. l.* iv. *c.* 8. (11) *In Atlantic.* (12) *l.* ix. *c.* 13. (13) *lib.* v. *contra gentes.* (14) *Pag.* 334.

after of pure grief. Neither did his father *Tros* long outlive him; for the war, a which he made upon *Tantalus* to revenge the affront offered to his son, proving unsuccessful, the affliction, which arose from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loss of his favourite son, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Assaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*, or, as *Apollodorus* will have it, *Cleopatra*. *Hyginus*, by mistake, makes *Ganymedes* son to *Erichthonius*. From this king *Phrygia Minor* borrowed the name of *Troas*, as its metropolis did that of *Troy*.

As the chief commanders of the *Trojan* troops, whose names are of great renown in ancient history, and from whom most of our *European* nations have once b pretended to derive their pedigree, were descended from *Tros*, before we proceed in the history of the *Trojan* kings, we shall give a succinct account of his numerous progeny. *Tros*, as we have already observed, had by his wife *Acalide*, or, as others call her, *Callirrhoe*, three sons, *Ilus*, *Ganymedes*, and *Assaracus*, and one daughter by name *Cleomestra*. Of *Ilus*, who succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Phrygia*, and his posterity, we shall speak in the series of the kings. *Ganymedes* died without issue. *Assaracus* had by his wife *Hieromname*, or, according to others, *Clytodora*, one son named *Capys*, of whom we know nothing else but that the city of *Caphya* in *Arcadia*, according to *Stephanus*, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one *Themis*, by whom he had *Anchises*, who was famous for the comelineſs of his person, c which gave rise to the fable of his amours with *Venus*. He had the misfortune to see the city of *Troy* twice taken and plundered. During the first siege, which happened in the reign of *Laomedon*, he is said to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the second, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occasioned by the lewdness and dissoluteness of his youth, to which his blindness is also ascribed. He is supposed to have been saved out of the flames of the burning city on the shoulders of his son *Æneas*, and to have accompanied him to *Sicily*, where he died. He had two sons, *Æneas*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, and *Elymus*, and one daughter named *Hippodamia*. *Elymus*, according to *Suidas*, imparted his name to the *Elymæi* a people of *Sicily*. d *Apollodorus* calls him *Lycus*. *Hippodamia* married *Alcathous*, who fell in a battle by the hand of *Idomeneus* [q].

Cleomestra had but one son, by name *Lyersus*, father to *Antenor*. As to *Lyersus* ancient history is quite silent; but *Antenor* is greatly commended for his prudence and wisdom. He was sent by king *Priam* embassador into *Greece* to demand his sister *Hesione*, whom *Hercules* after taking *Troy* had carried captive into *Greece*, and bestowed on *Telamon*, as a reward for being the first that mounted the wall of that city. The *Greeks* treated him more like a spy than an embassador; whereupon, returning to *Asia*, he inflamed *Priam* and his sons against that nation. However, some time after he not only entertained in his house the *Greek* embassadors that were e sent to demand *Helena*, but protected them against the treacherous attempts of *Priam*'s sons, and found means to convey them safe out of *Troy*. This having gained him the good will of the *Greeks*, he was sent into *Greece* on a second embassy, on which occasion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the trust reposed in him, and some years after the city itself, seeing that *Priam* would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which *Antenor* shewed himself mightily inclined after his last embassy. It is agreed on all hands, that the *Greeks*, entering *Troy* sword in hand, shewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for *Antenor*, having even caused the skin of a panther to be hung up before his door, lest, through mistake, any violence should be offered to his house or person by the greedy and incensed soldiery. f Some add, that having known *Ulysses*, who had entered the city in disguise to observe the strength of the *Trojans*, he neither apprehended nor discovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable construction on the kindness

[q] HOMER. Iliad. v.

of the father by abusing, and forcibly conveying away the son, who was the only delight of his old age. *Cicero* (15) seems to make *Ganymede* the son of *Laomedon*, which is a mistake. *Orosius* (16) and *Eusebius* (17) inform us, that the war which *Tros* made upon *Tantalus* was described by one *Patrocles* a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(15) *Cicero* 1. *Tuscul.* (16) *lib.* i. *c.* 12. (17) *De Præpar. Evangel. l.* ii.

a kindneſs ſhewn him by the *Greeks*, ſaying, that they ſpared him merely in compliance with the laws of hoſpitality, which in thoſe days were deemed ſacred even by the moſt ſavage nations. Of this opinion is *Livy*[r]; and *Virgil* alſo ſeems to free him from all ſuſpicion of treachery, ſaying, that he eſcaped falling into the hands of the *Greeks*[s]. But be that as it will, the *Trojans*, that remained in the country after the deſtruction of *Troy*, were ſo prejudiced againſt him, that they obliged him to withdraw from *Troas*. At the ſame time the *Heneti*, being driven out of *Paphlagonia* and forced to ſeek for new ſettlements, choſe him for their leader in room of their king *Pylæmenes*, who had been killed in the ſiege of *Troy*. With theſe and a few *Trojans* he put to ſea, and, ſteering his courſe up the *Adriatic* gulph, landed in the country of the
b *Euganei* lying between the ſea and the *Alps*. Here he reſolved to ſettle, and having driven out the ancient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of *Heneti* and *Trojans* under the common name of *Veneti*, he gave riſe to a new nation. He built a ſmall town in the place where he landed and called it *Troy*. He is ſuppoſed to have built the city of *Padua*. *Antenor* had by his wife *Theano*, ſiſter to *Hecuba* and daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, *Iphidamus*, *Coon*, *Helicaon*, *Laodocus*, *Acamas*, *Archilochus*, *Polybus*, *Agenor*, *Laodamas*, *Demoleon*, *Glaucus*, and *Crino*. *Iphidamus* was brought up in *Thrace* under the care of his grand-father, and came to ſuccour *Priam* and his country with twelve ſhips, which he left at *Percope*, marching by land to *Troy*, where he was ſlain by *Agamemnon*, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have con-
c quered, had he not been leſs fortunate than brave [t]. *Coon*, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, ſingled out and dangerouſly wounded the ſame *Agamemnon*, but at laſt fell likewiſe by his hand. *Helicaon* married *Laodice* daughter to king *Priam*. *Archilochus* and *Acamas* commanded, in conjunction with *Æneas*, the troops of *Dardania*. *Agenor* was a warrior of great proweſs, attended *Hector* in his boldeſt undertakings, and was not afraid to encounter *Achilles* himſelf [u]. The others are named by *Homer*, *Pauſanias*, *Calaber*, &c. but performed nothing worth relating. *Pindar* [w] tells us, that the ſons of *Antenor*, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, joined *Menelaus* and *Helena*, and with them ſettled in *Libya*. But *Euſebius* ſays, that they reigned in *Phrygia* till the return of *Hector*'s ſons, by whom they were driven from
d the throne and the country. Perhaps ſome of them remained in *Phrygia*, and ſome accompanied *Menelaus* and *Helena*; among the latter were, according to *Symmachus* [x], *Glaucus*, *Acamas*, and *Hippolochus* or *Archilochus*. As to *Theano Antenor*'s wife, *Suidas* and *Cedrenus* inform us, that ſhe was the chief prieſteſs of *Pallas*, and that ſhe betrayed the *Palladium* to *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes*, who were ſent into *Troy* under the pretence of an embaſſy to king *Priam*. Let us now return to the ſucceſſion of the *Trojan* kings.

Tros was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ilus*, who, purſuing with great vigour the war which his father had begun, after many ſignal victories drove *Tantalus* out of *Aſia* and poſſeſſed himſelf of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of *Phrygia*. *Pelops* the ſon of *Tantalus*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, was at laſt entirely
e routed, and forced to quit *Aſia* and follow his father into *Greece*. *Byſnus* king of the *Bebryces*, who had eſpouſed the quarrel of *Tantalus* and his ſon *Pelops*, was likewiſe defeated, and, ſome ſay, killed in the engagement. *Ilus* having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himſelf entirely to civil affairs, and is ſaid to have made a great many uſeful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many ſtately buildings the city of *Ilium* or *Troy*. *Plutarch* informs us, that in his time the temple of *Pallas* being ſet on fire by lightening, he ſaved the *Palladium* out of the flames; but on that occaſion loſt his ſight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. *Herodianus* informs us [y], that he called
f the place, where he defeated *Tantalus*, *Peſſinus*, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that ſpot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife *Leucippe* two ſons, *Tithonus* and *Laomedon*. *Tithonus*, whom ſome believe to have been the ſon, and not the brother, of *Laomedon*, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exerciſe having acquired a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution, and inured himſelf to hardſhips, he betook himſelf to a military life, and went to ſerve among the *Aſſyrians*, who in thoſe days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage

Ilus. *Year of the flood*, 1684. *Before Chriſt*, 1319.

[r] Decad. i. l. i. [s] ÆNEID. l. i. verſe 246. [t] HOMER. Iliad. λ. PAUSANIAS in Phoc. [u] HOMER. Iliad. λ. [w] PINDAR. Pyth. Od. 5. [x] Apud ISAAC. TZETZUM, p. 276. [y] lib i.

courage and conduct ſoon raiſed him to the firſt poſts in the army, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was ranked among the *Titanes* or *chief lords* of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy, and made governor of *Perſia*. Hearing that *Phrygia* was invaded by the *Greeks*, he obtained leave of *Teutamus* king of *Aſſyria*, who had a great value for him, to ſend his ſon *Memnon* at the head of a conſiderable body of choſen troops to aſſiſt his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the ſon; for *Memnon* being ſlain by the *Theſſalians*, *Tithonus*, already worn out with old age, was ſo grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comelineſs of his perſon, his riſing early in the morning as he was a great ſportſman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at laſt with grief, may have given riſe to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for theſe and their explanation we muſt refer the reader to *Athenæus* [a], *Tzetzes* [b], *Natalis Comes* [c], and other mythologiſts.

Tithonus had by his wife *Ciſſia*, or, as *Diodorus* calls her, *Ida*, two ſons, *Memnon* and *Emation*, and one daughter named *Hemera*. *Memnon*, being brought up under the diſcipline of his father, proved a brave, wiſe, and experienced commander. He ſerved with great ſucceſs in *Egypt* againſt the *Ethiopians*, who were become very troubleſome neighbours to the *Egyptians*; for he routed and diſperſed their armies, laid waſte their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the *Egyptians*, who out of gratitude transferred it to *Memnon*, appointing him king over the country which he had ſubdued. In *Ethiopia* he built a city bearing his own name, and ſome make him likewiſe the founder of *Abydus*. Having thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* he returned to his father in *Aſſyria*, where he was ſet over part of *Perſia* in quality of ſatrapa or chief governor, and is ſaid to have built in his ſatrapy the city of *Suſa*, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20000 *Ethiopians* and the like number of *Perſians*, to the aſſiſtance of king *Priam*. On this occaſion he behaved with his uſual bravery, and often put the *Greeks* to flight; but at laſt falling into an ambuſcade was killed by *Achilles* at the head of the *Theſſalians*. His body was reſcued out of the enemies hands, his obſequies performed with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes ſent back to his father. *Joſephus* places his tomb near *Ptolomais* in *Phœnice*, but *Pliny* and *Ælian* ſay, that he was buried at *Suſa* (M). Every body has heard of the vocal ſtatue of *Memnon* near *Thebes* in *Egypt*. This, according to *Pauſanias* [d], *Euſtathius* [e], and *Lucian* [f], was broke in pieces by order of *Cambyſes*, but ever after that part, which remained on the pedeſtal, at the riſing of the ſun, yielded a ſound like that of the ſtring of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the inſtrument by being drawn too tight. *Euſebius* ſeems to have credited this ſtory; for he ſays, that this miraculous effect ceaſed at the birth of *Chriſt*. *Pauſanias* [g] informs us, that *Memnon*'s ſword was kept at *Nicomedia*, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms uſed by the ancients were of braſs. *Anticles*, quoted by *Pliny*, ſays, that *Memnon* invented letters fifteen years before the reign of *Phoroneus* firſt king of *Argos*. *Heliodorus* [h] makes him the progenitor of the kings of *Ethiopia*.

Emathion, the other ſon of *Tithonus*, remained at home with his uncle *Laomedon*, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and *Hercules*. *Probus* the grammarian is of opinion, that *Macedonia* was from him named *Emathia*, and *Juſtin* mentions an ancient king of *Macedonia* bearing his name [i]. *Romus*, deſcended from one of the ſons of *Tithonus*, was reckoned by ſome, as *Plutarch* informs us, among the founders of *Rome* [k]. As to *Hemera*, we know nothing of her but what is related by the ſpurious *Dictys* now extant, whoſe hiſtory deſerves no manner of credit.

On

[a] Athen. lib. xii. c. 26. [b] Isaac Tzetzes in Caſſandr. Lyc. [c] Natalis Comes, l. vi. c. 4. [d] In Atticis. [e] In Dionyſ. [f] In Toxeri. [g] In Atticis. [h] In Æthiop. l. x. c. 1. [i] Justin. l. vii. [k] Plutarch. in Romulo.

(M) *Pauſanias* (18) tells us, that a cenotapium or empty tomb was raiſed to him in the country of *Troas*, not far from the river *Æſopus*, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly viſited by ſtrange birds known to them under the name of *Memnonian* birds. Theſe on ſtated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it ſtood, of all rubbiſh, and afterwards dipping their wings in the *Æſopus* ſprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) *In Phocis.*

Laomedon. Year of the flood, 1724. Before Christ. 1279.

a On the death of *Ilus* *Laomedon* was placed on the throne, his elder brother *Tithonus* being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of *Troy*, being assisted therein by *Apollo* and *Neptune*, that is, he carried on the work with the treasures that were consecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are said to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. These were looked upon as punishments inflicted by the gods whose temples he had plundered. He treated *Jason* and the other *Argonauts*, who had landed on the coasts of *Troas*, in a very inhospitable manner, refusing to supply them with necessaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ships
b and quit the country. To revenge this affront, *Hercules*, who was one of the *Argonauts*, returned some time after with twelve gallies to *Troy*, which he besieged, took, and plundered. In this war *Laomedon* killed *Oileus*, a commander of great renown, but was himself not long after killed by *Hercules*, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). *Laomedon* had five sons, *Tithonus*, *Lampon*, *Clytus*, *Iceaton*, and *Priam*; his daughters were *Hesione*, *Cilla*, *Astyoche*, *Antigone*, *Proclia*, and *Euthria*. All his sons, except *Priam*, were killed in the war with *Hercules*. As to the daughters, *Hesione*, as we have said, being taken by *Hercules*, was bestowed in marriage on *Telamon*, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which *Priam*, who had succeeded his father, no sooner understood, but he sent *Ante-*
c *nor* into *Greece* to expostulate with *Telamon*, and to demand his sister *Hesione*. In the council of the princes of *Greece* this embassy was heard with contempt, and the embassadors used in a manner no ways suitable to their character, which gave occasion, according to several writers, to the *Trojan* war. *Cilla* and *Astyoche* are only named by *Apollodorus* [i]. *Antigone* is described as a woman of a proud, haughty, and insolent behaviour, which gave rise to the fable of her contending for beauty with *Juno*, and being transformed into a stork by that incensed goddess [k]. *Proclia* married *Cycnus*, by whom she had *Tenus* and *Hemithea* [l]. *Euthria*, being taken by the *Greeks* and preferring death itself to slavery, advised the *Trojan* women, who were captives with her on board the *Greek* fleet, to set the enemies ships on fire, and thereby
d revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent those that were reserved for themselves. Her advice was followed, and the *Greeks* being gone ashore near *Pallene* to take in fresh provisions, they burnt both the fleet and themselves, which obliged the *Greeks* to settle there [m], having no other ships to pursue their voyage. *Apollodorus* mentions one *Bucolion*, a natural son of *Laomedon*'s by *Calybe*, who was slain with his father and brothers by *Hercules*. *Laomedon* reigned, according to some, thirty-six, according to others, forty-four years.

Priam. Year of the flood, 1768. Before Christ, 1235.

Laomedon being slain by *Hercules*, as we have said above, *Podarces*, the only surviving son, who had been carried away captive with his sister *Hesione*, was with a
e great sum of money ransomed and placed on the throne of his ancestors, and hence came the surname of *Priam*, which is derived from a *Greek* verb signifying *to redeem* or *ransom*. His first care after his accession to the throne, was to encompass the city of *Troy* with a strong wall, to prevent such calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being discovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near *Abydus*, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is said to have embellished the city with stately edifices, towers, castles, aque-
ducts, &c. He maintained in constant pay a considerable army, reduced most of the neighbouring states, and was rather considered as sovereign of all *Asia Minor*, than king of *Troas*. He married to his first wife *Arisba*, or, as others call her, *Alyxo-*
f *thoe*, by whom he had but one son named *Æsacus*; but by his second wife *Hecuba*, daughter

[i] Apollod. l. iii. [k] Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Isaac Tzetzes in Cassandr. Lycoph. p. 118. [m] Polyænus l. vii.

(N) Others tell us, (19) that *Apollo* and *Neptune* were hired by *Laomedon* to build the walls of *Troy*; and that, upon his refusing to pay them their wages, *Apollo* sent a plague, and *Neptune* drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle advised him to expose his daughter *Hesione* to a sea-monster, and atone for his crime by sacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by *Hercules*, say they, but *Laomedon* refused him the reward which he had promised; whereupon *Hercules* besieged and took *Troy*, killed the king, and gave *Hesione* in marriage to *Telamon*.

(19) *Euseb. in Chron.*

daughter to *Ciſſeus* king of *Thrace*, he had *Hector*, *Alexander* or *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, a *Helenus*, *Polites*, *Antiphus*, *Hipponous*, *Polydorus*, and *Troilus*; and daughters, *Creuſa*, *Laodice*, *Polyxena*, and *Caſſandra*. Beſides theſe he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers ſay, that being abroad when *Troy* was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by *Hercules*, notwithſtanding ſome of his elder brothers were then alive.

The cauſe of the Trojan *war.*

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in hiſtory for the war that happened in his reign between the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great proweſs and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of that great city, and the endleſs colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well b as the conquerors. As to the cauſe of this fatal and deſtructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of *Helen* firſt kindled it; but what encouraged *Paris* to ſuch an attempt, and induced his father *Priam* to ſtand by him at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, is not determined by ancient writers. *Herodotus* [n] gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He ſays, that the *Phœnicians* having raviſhed *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus* king of *Argos*, and carried her with other *Greek* women into *Egypt*, the *Greeks* making uſe of repriſals, firſt carried off *Europa*, the king of *Tyre*'s daughter, and afterwards *Medea* daughter to the king of *Colchos*, refuſing to reſtore either till ſuch time as they received due reparation for the rape of *Io*. *Paris*, adds *Herodotus*, in the next ſucceeding age hearing of theſe adventures, was encou- c raged to raviſh *Helen*, perſuading himſelf, that he ſhould not be conſtrained to make any reparation, ſeeing others had eſcaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpoſe. For how could the *Greeks* ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of *Colchos*, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the *Phœnicians*, whom the king of *Colchos*, in all likelihood, had never ſo much as heard of? Beſides, it is plain from *Thucydides*, that the diſtinction of *Greeks* and *Barbarians* was not introduced even in *Homer*'s time, and conſequently highly improbable, that the *Greeks* ſo long before, when they had not even one common name to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other nations, ſhould never- theleſs look upon them all as their enemies by reaſon of an injury done by one. Others d ſay, that king *Priam*, hearing that his ſiſter *Heſione* was ill-uſed by *Telamon*, to whom *Hercules* had given her in marriage, ſent firſt *Antenor*, and afterwards *Paris* to complain thereof, and inſiſt on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has ſome appearance of truth; for *Telamon* in hiſtory bears the character of a ſurly, cruel, and ill-natured prince, inſomuch, that his own ſon *Teucer* choſe rather to roam on the ſeas in queſt of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his brother *Ajax* had laid violent hands on himſelf, which it was not in *Teucer*'s power to prevent. *Paris*, e add theſe authors, coming into *Greece* upon this embaſſy, was hoſpitably entertained by *Menelaus* king of *Sparta*, who being obliged by his private concerns to paſs over into *Crete*, his baſe and ungrateful gueſt laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means ſatisfactory; for were it true, that *Heſione* was ill-uſed by *Telamon*, yet no body can imagine, that *Priam* would on that ſcore ſend a ſolemn embaſſy into *Greece*, or think of taking his ſiſter from her husband with whom ſhe had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is moſt natural to think, that *Paris*, in raviſhing *Helen*, never thought of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Heſione*; but, falling in love with her, as ſhe was the moſt beautiful woman in *Greece*, was prompted by his own perverſe inclinations to do what in thoſe days was commonly practiſed both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Thus *Helen* herſelf had been ſtolen before by *Theſeus*, and ſuch practices of ſtealing women f were ſo common, as *Thucydides* [o] informs us, that none durſt venture to live near the ſea-coaſt. The ſame *Thucydides* [p] tells us, that as *Helen* was a woman of extraordinary beauty, her father *Tyndareus*, after recovering her from *Theſeus*, to prevent a ſecond rape, obliged all her ſuitors, who were moſt of the princes of *Greece*, to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to reſcue her, in caſe ſhe ſhould be taken from her huſband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a huſband, who preferred *Menelaus* to all the reſt. According to this account, the oath, which ſo many princes had taken to *Tyndareus*, was what drew them together, and armed them againſt

[n] lib. i. [o] THUCYD. l i. [p] Idem ibid. p. 6.

a againſt the raviſher and his abetters. To which we may add the great power of *Agamemnon*, brother to the injured *Menelaus*, who, as he was by far the moſt potent prince of all *Greece*, ſo he had, without all doubt, a great influence over the reſt of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war againſt *Troy* was determined in a general aſſembly of all the princes of *Greece*, and this was the firſt enterprize the *Greeks* ever undertook with common conſent. Before the aſſembly broke up, *Agamemnon* was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; *Ægium* a city in *Peloponneſus* was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as *Greece* was at that time divided into endleſs dynaſties, enjoined to ſend his quota of troops and ſhips.

b THE beſt and moſt rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from *Homer*, whoſe inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the reſult of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the moſt ancient hiſtory of *Greece*. The known rules of epic poetry ſuppoſe the truth of the hiſtory, though they admit of its being embelliſhed with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the *Trojan* war, and the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, yet we could not queſtion the truth of the fact. But moſt of the hiſtorical events related by *Homer* are atteſted and confirmed by the moſt creditable hiſtorians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely, by the *Arundelian* marbles. We muſt therefore carefully diſtinguiſh in
c *Homer*'s works what is hiſtorical from what is merely fictitious. He deſcribes the ſtate of *Greece* at that time, and informs us, that it was cantled out into a great many dynaſties; that *Agamemnon*, king of *Mycenæ*, *Sicyon*, and *Corinth*, was the moſt powerful prince of all *Greece*, that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the ſeveral nations and princes that ſided with the *Trojans*; he gives us an inſight into the art of war practiſed in that age; diſcloſes the laws and religion of the *Greeks*; gives us the character of their leaders; deſcribes the ſituation of their country and cities, *&c.* all which are purely hiſtorical; ſo that *Homer*'s poems may deſervedly be conſidered as the moſt ancient hiſtory of the *Greeks*, whoſe earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of ſuch a writer to tranſmit their actions to po-
d ſterity (O).

THE number of ſhips employed by the *Greeks* in this expedition, according to *Euripides*, *Lycophron*, and *Virgil*, amounted to 1000; *Homer* enumerates 1186; but *Thucydides* [q] raiſes the number to 1200. The *Bœotian* ſhips, that were the largeſt, carried 120 men each; thoſe of the *Philoctetæ* were the ſmalleſt, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a ſoldier; ſo that ſuppoſing the fleet to have been of 1200 ſail, as *Thucydides* affirms, and the ſhips to have carried one with another 85 men, we ſhall find the *Greek* army to have been 102,000 men ſtrong, no great force, conſidering, that all the powers of *Greece*, except the *Acarnanes* alone [r], were engaged in this war. The
e *Greeks*, as *Thucydides* obſerves, could have raiſed a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being diſtreſſed for proviſions in a foreign country [s]. Againſt this army the city of *Troy* held out ten years; but the *Trojans*, as *Homer* makes *Agamemnon* ſay, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the *Greeks* had to contend with; for all *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Myſia*, and the greateſt part of *Aſia Minor* ſided with the *Trojans*. *Rheſus* king of *Thrace* marched at the head of a conſiderable body to their aſſiſtance, and *Memnon*, as we have ſaid, joined them with 20,000 *Perſians* and the like number of *Æthiopians*. Wherefore the *Greeks*, foreſeeing the reſiſtance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would coſt them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hoſtilities, ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* embaſſadors to
i *Troy*, to demand *Helen* and the treaſures which *Paris* had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vaſt preparations which they had made might frighten the *Trojans* into a compliance with ſo equitable a demand. What anſwer was returned

to

[q] lib. i. p. 8. [r] JUSTIN. l. xviii. [s] ubi ſupra.

(O) *Dion Chryſoſtome* (19), in an oration addreſſed to the *Trojans*, attempts to prove the ſiege and reduction of *Troy* by the *Greeks* to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty eſſay, ſince the author elſewhere (20) diſproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the ſiege and taking of *Troy* are tranſactions ſo well atteſted, and have left ſuch a remarkable epocha in hiſtory, that no man of ſenſe can call them in queſtion.

(19) *Orat.* xi. (20) Περὶ ἀσκήσεως. *p.* 255. *d.*

to the embaſſadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without a *Helena*, and highly diſſatisfied with their reception at *Troy*.

Herodotus [t], upon a tradition that prevailed among the prieſts of *Egypt*, ſeems inclinable to believe, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before he could reach *Troy*. The tradition, as *Herodotus*, who learnt it of the prieſts themſelves, informs us, amounts to this: *Paris* on his return with *Helen* was by ſtreſs of weather driven on the coaſt of *Egypt*, and forced to put in at *Tarichia* on the *Canopean* mouth of the *Nile*. Here ſome ſlaves of *Paris*'s retinue, taking ſanctuary in a temple of *Hercules* which ſtood on the ſhore, informed againſt their maſter, aggravating before the governor of the province, by name *Thonis*, the injury which he had done to *Menelaus*. *Thonis* laid the whole matter before *Proteus*, at that time king of *Egypt*, who, finding, upon examination, the depoſition of the ſlaves to be true, detained *Helen* and the treaſures that had been taken with her, in order to reſtore them to *Menelaus*; but commanded *Paris*, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The *Egyptian* prieſts add, that when the *Greeks* ſent embaſſadors to demand *Helen* and her riches, the *Trojans* proteſted, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of *Proteus* king of *Egypt*, which the *Greeks* looking upon as a mere ſhift to put them off, began the war; but at laſt after taking the town, as *Helena* nowhere appeared, and the *Trojans* perſiſted in their former proteſtations, the *Greeks* began to believe them, and ſent *Menelaus* into *Egypt*, where he was kindly entertained by *Proteus*, and had his wife reſtored to him without any injury done to her perſon or goods. Theſe things the *Egyptian* prieſts aſſured *Herodotus* that they knew for certain, as they had happened in *Egypt*, and had been handed down to them from thoſe who had converſed with *Menelaus* himſelf. *Herodotus* produces one argument of no ſmall weight to prove the truth of this tradition, *viz.* that if it had been in king *Priam*'s power to reſtore *Helen*, he would certainly have done it, rather than ſuffer the unſpeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himſelf, during the courſe of the war. How great ſoever his tenderneſs to *Paris* might have been, yet it could not be proof againſt ſo many misfortunes. *Homer* ſeems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the *Egyptian* prieſts, for he mentions *Paris* and *Helen*'s arrival in *Egypt*, and ſays, that *Menelaus* went thither before he returned home to *Sparta*, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleaſure. Nevertheleſs *Homer*, and with him all the *Greek* poets (after whom the *Latins* have copied) except *Euripides*, ſuppreſs the circumſtance of *Helen*'s not being in *Troy*, as too favourable to the *Trojan* cauſe. But whether the *Trojans* would not, or could not, reſtore her, the embaſſadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints ſo incenſed their countrymen, that they reſolved without further delay to put to ſea, and carry fire and ſword into the enemies country (P). They ſteered to the coaſt of *Troas*, where on their landing they met with ſo warm a reception, that they began to be ſenſible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the firſt encounter they loſt *Proteſilaus*, who was ſlain by *Hector*, and many others of leſs note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what moſt of all retarded their progreſs was want of proviſions, which daily increaſed, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, which, as the building of ſhips with decks was not then introduced, could not carry ſuch ſtores of proviſions as were neceſſary to ſupply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, ſending part of them to cultivate the ground in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and part to rove about the ſeas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or hiſtorians, agree, that the *Greeks* employed the firſt eight or nine years in ſcowering the ſeas, pillaging the

[t] lib. ii.

(P) *Calchas*, a famous ſoothſayer, without whoſe advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the *Greeks* during the war, declared, that the goddeſs *Diana* oppoſed their paſſage with contrary winds, and that ſhe was to be appeaſed with a victim of no ſmaller note than *Iphigenia* daughter to *Agamemnon*. The goddeſs, ſay the poets, was incenſed againſt him for having killed by chance one of her ſtags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, ſhe prevented ſo horrid a ſacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have obſerved elſewhere (21), that the fable of the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia* had its birth from *Jephtha* ſacrificing his daughter.

(21) *p.* 751. O.

a coasts, and reducing such cities and islands as sided with the *Trojans*. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, islands plundered, strong-holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by *Achilles*, whom the army could not well have spared, had there been any service of importance to be performed before *Troy* (Q).

At last the several small parties, that had been dispersed up and down the neighbouring countries and islands, being joined in one body, and great store of provisions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a design to exert their utmost efforts, and put an end to so tedious a war. But by this time the *Trojans* had been reinforced with considerable bodies both of mercenaries and allies. Insomuch,
b that when the *Greeks* first invested the town, *Hector* attacked them at the head of an army scarce inferior to theirs in number. The *Greeks* had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which *Homer* says was sent by *Apollo*, because *Agamemnon* refused to release the daughter of one of his priests; but *Heraclides* on this passage informs us, that it was occasioned by the violent heats, and pestilentious vapours raised by the sun, the *Greeks* being encamped among fens and marshes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*; for *Agamemnon* being obliged by the soothsayer *Calchas* to return his fair captive to her father a priest of *Apollo*, to appease that revengeful deity, took *Briseis* in her room, who in the division of the booty had fallen to *Achilles*. This
c affront *Achilles* revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his vessels. In his absence several battles were fought with great slaughter on both sides, the victory generally inclining to the *Trojans*. In one of these *Patroclus* was slain by *Hector*; but his death was not long unrevenged, for *Achilles* returning to the camp put the *Trojans* to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing *Hector* himself. *Achilles* did not long outlive him, being slain by *Paris*. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both sides, but the *Greeks* at last carried the city; whether by force, stratagem, or treachery is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some say, that *Æneas* and *Antenor*, who commanded the *Dardanians*, seeing, that *Priam* would hearken to no terms even
d after the death of *Hector* and *Paris*, concluded a separate peace with the *Greeks*, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horse, which fable some think to have had its birth from the *Greeks* entering the city by the *Scæan* gate, over which was the picture or statue of a horse. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by some wooden engine, called *a horse*, and in the nature of that which the *Romans* in after-ages made use of to batter the walls, and from its shape called *a Ram*. Be that as it will, the *Greeks*, having at last mastered the city, practised all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in ashes, and such of the inhabitants as had not time to save themselves by flight, were either put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of *Troy*, after having stood, from *Teucer* to *Priam*, 296 years, according to the most exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month *Thargelion*, or *April*, 1184 years before Christ.

Troy *taken: Year of the flood*, 1819. *Before Christ.* 1184.

The *Greeks*, having at last put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to sea in order to return to their respective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far distant coasts. *Menestheus* king of *Athens* died at *Melos*. *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* settled in *Cyprus*, where he built a city calling it *Salamis*, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadians*, built in the same island the city of *Paphos*. *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* settled in *Epirus*, and there built *Ephyra*. *Ajax* the son of *Oileus*

(Q) *Ovid* says, that from the first year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Greeks* did not sit down before *Troy* till the tenth year, contenting themselves with laying waste the enemies country, and blocking up the city. *Homer* (21) introduces king *Priam* sitting on a high tower, and there learning of *Helen* the names of the *Greek* commanders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be such, there would have been no room, had the *Greeks* been encamped under the walls of *Troy* for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that some, with *Thucydides* (22), say, that the whole army was employed in subduing the *Trojan* allies; while others, with *Herodotus*, tell us, that a considerable body of troops was encamped the whole time before *Troy*.

(21) *Iliad.* 3.

(22) *lib.* i. *p.* 9.

Oileus was loſt. Some of the *Locrians* were driven on the coaſts of *Afric*, others a
to *Italy*, whereof all the eaſt part was called *Magna Græcia* by reaſon of the many
towns built there by the *Greeks*. Many, who got ſafe home, were obliged to put
to ſea again, as *Thucydides* informs us [u], in queſt of new ſeats, others having ſeized
their territories, and uſurped the ſovereignty, during their abſence. *Agamemnon* and
his brother *Menelaus* fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to
return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, ſome ſailing with *Menelaus*
to the iſland of *Tenedos*, and others remaining with *Agamemnon* on the coaſts of
Troas. Thoſe, who followed *Menelaus*, not agreeing among themſelves, parted,
each holding his own courſe homewards. *Agamemnon* arrived ſafe at *Mycenæ*, where
he was ſoon after his arrival murdered by his wife *Clytemneſtra*; but his ſon *Oreſtes* b
revenged his death by the murder of *Clytemneſtra*, of *Ægiſthus* her gallant, and of
Helen their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the *Areopagus*.
The adventures of *Ulyſſes* are related by *Homer* in a fabulous manner; but what may
have ſome foundation in hiſtory is, that ſome years paſſed before he got home. The
adventures of the other *Greeks* are leſs known; but upon the whole it appears,
that this war proved no leſs fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the *Trojans*, thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſeeing their country
utterly ruined, took their meaſures accordingly, and ſettled in diſtant regions.
Antenor, as we have ſaid already, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Italy*, and founded the
nation of the *Heneti*. *Helenus*, one of *Priam*'s ſons ſettled in *Macedonia*, where he c
built the city of *Ilium*. Some ſay, that during the ſiege he went over to the *Greeks*,
and ſhewed them in what manner they might eaſily maſter the city.

As to *Æneas*, all the *Roman* writers aſſure us, that he ſettled in *Italy*, and there
founded the kingdom of *Alba*. From him the *Cæſars* affected to derive their pedi-
gree, as the other *Romans* did theirs from the *Trojans* who accompanied him. *Livy*
alone ſeems to betray ſome ſort of doubt as to this particular, inſinuating, with a
great deal of reſerve, that he has not ſufficient grounds either to admit or reject the
common opinion. But, notwithſtanding the unanimous conſent of the *Latins*, there
are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned *Bochart* [w] has care- d
fully collected, to evince the arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy* to be a mere fable (R).

The

[u] lib. i. [w] BOCHART. epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia.

(R) In the firſt place this opinion is directly oppoſite to that of *Homer* (23), who ſuppoſes *Æneas* to have remained in *Phrygia*; for he introduces *Neptune*, whom he repreſents favourable to *Æneas* on all occaſions, and averſe from *Priam* and his whole race, aſſuring him, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the *Trojans*, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that *Æneas* and his poſterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the cuſtom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand that ſuch things will happen as the poets knows to have already happened; but no poet ever-made them utter ſuch things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be *Homer*'s caſe if *Æneas* had not reigned in *Phrygia*. To this argument ſome anſwer, that *Æneas*, after ſettling a colony in *Italy*, returned to *Phrygia* and reigned over the few *Phrygians* that outlived the deſtruction of their country. As this anſwer has no manner of foundation in hiſtory, it is ſcarce worth refuting. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* (24) is of opinion, that *Neptune*, or rather *Homer*, meant only, that *Æneas* was to reign over ſuch *Phrygians* as accompanied him, or over a *Phrygian* colony. But this is no more than what happened to *Antenor*, *Aceſtes*, *Capys*, *Helenus*, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make *Neptune* diſtinguiſh *Æneas* from the other *Phrygians* by ſome particular marks of his favour. Beſides, the words of *Venus* in the hymn which is generally aſcribed to *Homer* ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει are capable of no other ſenſe, but that *Æneas* ſhall reign in the country of the *Trojans*; and in this ſenſe they are underſtood by *Strabo* (25), who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Æneas* remained in the country of the *Trojans*, that the family of *Priam* being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Euſtathius* thinks (26), that when *Homer* introduces *Neptune* promiſing to *Æneas*, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the *Trojans*, the poet by the *Trojans* meant the *Romans*, and becauſe it might be objected, that *Homer* could have no knowledge of the *Romans*, being dead long before the foundation of *Rome*, he adds, that *Homer* had either ſeen the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which derive the *Roman* princes from *Æneas*, or had himſelf foreſeen, as moſt poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the *Romans* were to deſcend from *Æneas* and be maſters of the world. But as to the Books of the *Sibyls*, *Homer* certainly never did, nor could, ſee them; for they were forged, as ſeveral writers have demonſtrated, above a thouſand years after *Homer*'s time; and as to the ſpirit of prophecy, which *Euſtathius* is pleaſed to beſtow upon poets, every one ſees that it has not the leaſt appearance of truth. To the authority of *Homer* we may add that of *Agathocles Cyzienſis*, quoted by *Feſtus* (27), who cites many authors affirming *Æneas* to have been buried in the city of *Berecynthia* by the river *Nolos* (or, as others read, *Gallus*) not far from *Troy*. *Stephanus* informs us, that the city of *Aſcania* in *Phrygia* was built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, wherein he agrees with *Nicolaus Lamaſcerus*. *Mela* tells us, that the city of *Antandrus* was ſo called, becauſe *Aſcanius* who reigned there, being taken by the *Pelaſgi*, yielded this city to

(23) *Iliad.* 20. (24) *lib.* i. (25) *lib.* xiii. (26) *In Iliad.* (27) *Feſtus voce Roma.* (28) *ubi ſupra.*

a THE city of *Troy* being utterly ruined, and moſt of the inhabitants of *Troas* put to the ſword, ſome writers tell us, that the neighbouring *Phrygians* and *Lydians*, poſſeſſing themſelves of that country, ſettled there, and that *Troas* from that time began to be called *Phrygia*; others are of opinion, that *Æneas*, having gathered together the ſcattered remains of the *Trojans*, rebuilt the city, and that his deſcendants and the deſcendants of *Hector* reigned there till the country was ſubdued by the *Lydians*, who became ſo powerful as to over-run all *Aſia Minor*. If the *Trojans* had any kings of their own after their city was deſtroyed by the *Greeks*, they muſt needs have made but a very indifferent figure, ſince they are not ſo much as named in hiſtory.

to them for his ranſom. *Hellanicus* in his *Troica* makes *Æneas* fly into *Thrace*, and from thence to *Pallene*; but as to *Aſcanius*, he ſays, that he remained in *Troas* and reigned there. *Strabo* aſſures us, that the city of *Scepſis*, in former times ſituate near *Troy*, was removed from thence ſixty furlongs by *Scamander* the ſon of *Hector* and *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*; and adds, that theſe two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being firſt changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheleſs ſuch as were deſcended from theſe two families were ſtill honoured with the title of kings. To theſe authorities *Bochart* (28) adds two arguments of no ſmall weight, namely, that the chief deities of the ancient *Trojans*, viz. *Venus*, *Apollo*, *Cybele*, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the *Romans*, and that there is not the leaſt ſimilitude imaginable between the ancient *Phrygian* and *Roman* language, which he proves by producing the few *Phrygian* words that have been tranſmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to *Virgil*'s divine and inimitable *Æneid*; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the hiſtorians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flouriſhed before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(28) *ubi ſupra.*

CHAP. XIV.

The History of the MYSIANS.

SECT. II.

The deſcription of the country, the manners, cuſtoms, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

THE ſmall country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the *Lydian* word *Myſos* ſignifying a *beech-tree*, becauſe that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the *Greater* and *Leſſer Myſia*. *Myſia Minor* or the *Leſſer Myſia* lay on the *Propontis*, and from thence extended to mount *Olympus*, being bounded by *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* on the north and weſt, by *Phrygia Minor* on the ſouth, and by *Phrygia Major* on the eaſt. *Myſia Major* or the *Greater Myſia* was bounded on the north by *Phrygia Minor*, on the ſouth by *Æolia*, on the eaſt by *Phrygia Major*, and on the weſt by the *Ægean* ſea. What *Strabo*, whom we have followed, calls *Myſia Minor*, *Ptolemy* calls *Myſia Major*; the former is alſo named *Olympena* from mount *Olympus*, and *Helleſpontiaca* becauſe ſome towns anciently belonging to it were ſeated on the *Helleſpont*. That part of *Myſia* which lay between *Ancyra* of *Phrygia* and the river *Rhindacus* is called by *Strabo Abrettana*, and the remaining part *Morena*. The former denomination is often given to all *Myſia*. *Name.*

In that part of *Myſia Minor* which lay on the *Propontis* were the following cities: *Cyzicus* or *Cyzicum* ſeated in an iſland of the *Propontis* bearing the ſame name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by *Alexander the Great*. It borrowed its name from *Cyzicus* king of that iſland and the adjacent continent, who is ſaid to have been killed through miſtake by *Jaſon* the *Argonaut*. This city, when firſt known to the *Romans*, was one of the greateſt and richeſt of all *Aſia*, and hence was ſtiled by

by *Florus* the *Rome* of *Asia*, and celebrated by him and all the other *Latin* writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, *&c.* [x]. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the ancients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of *Jupiter*, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship [y]. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against *Mithridates*, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the ancient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch, that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a *Cyzican* [z]. *Tully* [a] represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called *Stater* and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by *Jupiter* to *Proserpine* for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to *Appian* [b]. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed to *Constantinople* to embellish that city. Under the *Romans* it was the metropolis of the *Consular Hellespont*, but is at present little better than a village, and known under the names of *Chizico*, *Spiga*, and *Palormi*.

Parium, so called, as some writers inform us, from *Parus* the son of *Jason*. Some think, that *Archilochus*, the famous writer of *Iambics*, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked *Cupid* much celebrated by the ancients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous *Venus* of *Cnidos*. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the *Ophiogenes* mentioned by *Pliny* [c], who are said to have had the gift of curing the bitings of serpents with their touch. Not far from hence stood a stately temple of *Apollo Actæus* and *Diana*, which being demolished, the ruins were employed to build an altar at *Parium*, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of *Asia*. The ancient *Parians* were a colony of *Milesians*, and the more modern of the *Romans*, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely *Parium* and *Troas*. *Homer* makes *Parium* and *Adrastia* one and the same city; but *Strabo* distinguishes them. *Parium* is now reduced to a village, but retains its ancient name.

Lampsacus or *Lampsacum* was seated at the entrance of the *Propontis* over-against *Callipolis* in the *Thracian Chersonese*. It was built, according to some, by the *Phocenses*, according to others by *Priapus*, who was a native of this city and the most infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named *Lampsaces*. It had a capacious and safe harbour and a noble temple consecrated to *Cybele*. It was in ancient times famous for its wine, and on that consideration given by *Artaxerxes* to *Themistocles* in his exile. *Alexander the Great* conceived such an aversion to this city for the lewdness and vices of the inhabitants, that he resolved to lay it in ashes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, dispatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if possible their impending doom. They no sooner appeared before *Alexander*, but the incensed monarch, to redeem himself from their importunity, solemnly vowed that he would deny their request. Whereupon *Anaximenes*, who was at the head of that embassy, addressed the king thus: Most just and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of *Lampsacus*, having been so unhappy as to incur your royal displeasure, and desiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of so merciful a prince, have sent us to beg, that you would utterly destroy their unfortunate city, a punish-

[x] FLORUS, lib. iii. c. v. [y] XIPHILINUS in Dione. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [z] HESYCHIUS. ERASM. Chiliad. [a] Act. iii. in Ver. [b] APPIAN. in Mithridatico. [c] lib. vii. c. 2.

(S) This gave birth to the *Greek* proverb Κυζικηνοὶ στατῆρες an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving; as if the *Cyzician stateres* were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side *Cybele* the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the abovementioned proverb to be a taunt on those who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) *Erasm. Chiliad.*

a a punishment richly deserved by those who could provoke your displeasure. This unexpected request, and the vow which *Alexander*, being bent on its destruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preservation. *Priapus* was worshipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect sink of lewdness, a very school of the most unnatural lusts. *Tully* [c] represents the inhabitants of *Lampsacus* as a quiet and indolent sort of people, and more fit to relish the ease of peace, than suffer the toils of war. This city is still in a tolerable good condition, situated in a pleasant plain, and surrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The *Greeks* call it *Lampsaco*, and the *Turks Lepseck*. These were the chief cities of *Mysia Minor* seated on the coast.

b We will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Mysia*, which, according to *Strabo*, lay between the river *Rhyndacus* and mount *Ida*. Here *Stephanus* places the city of *Apollonia* on the banks of the *Rhyndacus*, which rises from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake called now the lake of *Abouillona*, is five-and-twenty miles in compass, and eight miles wide, being interspersed with several islands and peninsula's, whereof the largest, which is three miles in circuit, is called *Abouillona*. As the village situate in this island bears the same name, some modern travellers [d] take it to be the ancient city of *Apollonia* (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its ancient lustre to the reign of the emperor *Alexis Comnenus*, when it was taken and pillaged by the *Turks*, as his daughter
c *Anna Comnena* informs us. *Apollo* was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for, besides that it bore his name, he is represented on the reverse of several medals of this city [e].

The chief rivers of *Mysia Minor* are the *Rhyndacus* and the *Granicus*. The *Rhyndacus*, called by *Pliny Lycus*, and by the moderns *Lartacho*, has its source in the lake of *Apollonia*, or *Artynia*, as *Pliny* names it, and falls into the *Propontis* near *Cyzicus*. This river is memorable in the *Roman* history for the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who, designing to surprize *Lucullus*, was himself surprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The *Granicus* rises on mount *Ida*, and discharges itself into the *Propontis* between *Parium* and
d *Cyzicus*. This river *Alexander* crossed at the head of 30000 *Macedonians* in face of the *Persian* army 600000 strong. Travellers observe, that its banks are very high and steep on the west side; so that the forces of *Darius* had a considerable advantage, had they known how to use it. This river at present is called the *Soussoughirli*, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

In this part of *Mysia* stands mount *Olympus*, called by the ancients *Olympus Mysiorum* to distinguish it from several other mountains of the same name. It is one of the highest mountains in *Asia*, and great part of the year covered with snow.

The city of greatest note in *Mysia Major* was *Pergamus*, seated in a spacious plain
e on the banks of the *Caicus*. It was the royal seat of the *Attalic* kings and of *Eumenes*, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the transcribing of which parchment was here first invented, and thence called by the *Latins Charta Pergamena*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave occasion to this useful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the *Egyptian* papyrus, in order to defeat the design of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, which was to cause all the valuable books then extant to be carefully transcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with *Ptolemy*'s famous library at *Alexandria*. In *Pergamus* were likewise invented those costly hangings which we call *Tapestry*, and the *Romans* named *Aulæa* from *Aula* signifying *a hall*, because the hall of *Attalus*, who inven-
f ted them, was the first room adorned with this furniture. *Galen* the famous *Physician* was born in this city. Here *Æsculapius* is said to have practised physic.

We

[c] Act. c. iii. in Verr. [d] Tournefort voyag. au Levant, &c. [e] Tournefort ubi supra.

(U) *Vaillant*, who visited those places, describes *Apollonia* as seated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the *Rhyndacus*; but this learned traveller mistook the city of *Lopadi*, or as the *Turks* call it, *Ulubat*, for the ancient *Apollonia*, not being aware, that the inhabitants of *Apollonia* for the conveniency of their commerce removed from *Apollonia* to *Lopadi*, giving the name of the city they had forsaken to this their new habitation; it being manifest from *Anna Comnena*, that in her time *Lopadi* bore also the name of *Apollonia*.

(W) *Spon* mistakes the *Fourtissar*, as it is now called, for the *Granicus*. The *Fourtissar* is a small brook rising on mount *Tmolus*, which some, thro' mistake, think to be the *Caicus* of the ancients.

We must not forget that *Pergamus* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *Revelations*. It is now an inconsiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are still to be seen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the *Attalic* kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

ON the coasts of the *Greater Mysia* were seated the following cities, *Antandrus*, *Scepsis*, *Assus*, *Adramyttium*, *Pitane*, &c.

Soil and climate. THE soil of this country is one of the finest and richest of *Asia*, and as such celebrated by the ancients [f]. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well stocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for pasturing them. It was plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Ida* and mount *Olympus*. In short, the *Mysians*, as *Philostratus* informs us, with respect to their country, were the happiest of all the *Asiatics*.

Origin. AS to the origin of the *Mysians*, *Herodotus* [g] informs us, that they were *Lydians* by descent. According to his account, *Manes*, the first king of *Lydia*, was father to *Cotys*, and *Cotys* to *Atys*, who had three sons, *Lydus*, *Mysus*, and *Cares*. From *Lydus* the *Lydians*, formerly called *Mæones* from *Mæon* the father of *Cybele*, borrowed their name. *Mysus* and *Cares* planted *Lydian* colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named *Mysia* and *Caria*. Others derive them from the *Phrygians*, and tell us that *Mysus*, was not a *Lydian* but a *Phrygian*. *Strabo* derives the *Asiatic Mysians* from those of *Europe*, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount *Hermus* and the *Danube*, and is now known under the names of *Bosnia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people, which it would be of no use to relate, as they are mostly founded on distorted and far-fetched etymologies.

Character. AS to the character of the ancient *Mysians*, it must be considered at different times; for they seem to have been once a warlike people. *Herodotus* [h] and *Pliny* [i] speak of a very powerful army of *Mysians* and *Trojans*, which before the *Trojan* war, passing over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe*, subdued all *Thrace*, and advancing to the *Ionian* sea penetrated as far as the river *Peneus*. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, so as to be looked upon as the most contemptible and insignificant nation on the earth; insomuch, that the *Greeks* [k] had no expression to signify more emphatically a person of no worth or merit, than to call him *the last of the Mysians*. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the *Greeks* [l] to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceased. Their language was in all likelihood the same as the *Phrygian* and *Trojan*, with some variation of dialect. As to their manners, customs, arts, and sciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only guess at from their situation and wealth; for *Philostratus* informs us, that in ancient times they were the most wealthy nation of all *Asia*.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the same with that of the neighbouring *Phrygians*, whom they did not fall short of in superstition. They worshipped the same deities, and used the same religious ceremonies, which has made some believe them to be originally *Phrygians*. *Cybele* had a stately and rich temple at *Cyzicus*, and *Apollo Æsæus* near *Parium*. *Nemesis* also is numbered among their deities, and was worshipped in a magnificent temple built by king *Adrastus* not far from the city of *Parium*, whence both the country and the goddess were named *Adrastia*. *Priapus* was worshipped by the more modern *Mysians*, but unknown to them even in *Hesiod*'s time. The *Mysian* priests abstained from flesh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practised among them to sacrifice a horse, and eat his entrails, before they were admitted to the priesthood.

Their history. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears, that it was monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the *Argonautic* expedition; but authors are of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. *Diodorus* [m] tells us, that they lived in subjection to *Ninus*, by whom they had been conquered, and to the *Assyrian* kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of *Troy* and dispersion of the *Trojans*, the *Mysians* possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*.

THE

[f] VIRG. Georg. l. i. vers. 103. Cic. pro Flacco. [g] lib. i. & vii. [h] lib. vii. [i] lib. vii. c. 6. [k] STRAB. l. xii. [l] ÆSCHYL. in Persis. ERASM. Chiliad. [m] lib. ii. cap. 1.

a THE firſt king of *Myſia* we find mentioned is called *Olympus*: He is ſaid to have married *Nipæa* the daughter of *Jaſius* or *Jaſion*, brother to *Dardanus* king of *Troy* [n]. Olympus.

Teuthras appears next; it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded; he is ſaid to have reigned over the *Myſians*, *Cilicians*, and *Ceteans* [o]. He married *Auge* daughter to *Aleus* the king of *Arcadia*'s ſon [p]. As he had no iſſue-male, he gave his daughter *Agriope*, whom he had by his firſt wife, in marriage to *Telephus* his ſecond wife's ſon by *Hercules* [q] (X). He built a city calling it *Teuthrania*, which name became common to the country where the new city ſtood, and in proceſs of time to all *Myſia* [r]. He had another daughter by name *Tecmeſſa*, who, in the diviſion of the booty, which b the *Greeks* had got in plundering *Myſia*, fell to *Ajax* the ſon of *Telamon*. Teuthras.

Teuthras was ſucceeded by *Telephus* a natural ſon of *Hercules* by *Auge*. *Telephus*, being expoſed by his grand-father's order on mount *Parthenius*, was nurſed there by a hind till he was found by the ſhepherds of one *Corythus*, who brought him up as his own child. Being deſirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he was directed by an oracle to ſteer his courſe towards *Myſia*, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but alſo by king *Teuthras* her huſband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, beſtowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the *Trojan* war he firſt ſided with king *Priam*, and was dangerouſly wounded by *Achilles*; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the *Greeks* c to ſtand neuter [s]. *Pauſanias* and *Ariſtides* tell us, that he planted a colony of *Arcadians* in the neighbourhood of *Pergamus*. *Jornandes* [t] makes him king of the *Goths*, wherein he confounds the *European* with the *Aſiatic Myſians*; for thoſe of *Europe*, whom *Pliny* calls *Mæſians*, are thought to be deſcended from the *Myſians* of *Aſia*. *Telephus* had two ſons, *Eurypylus* and *Latinus*: *Eurypylus*, according to ſome [u], was killed in the *Trojan* war, according to others ſucceeded his father, or reigned over the *Cilicians* [w]. *Latinus* is ſaid to have led a colony of *Ceteans* into *Italy* [x]. Telephus.

Eurypylus left one ſon by name *Arius*, who ſucceeded his father or grand-father, and was ſlain in a ſingle combat by *Amphialus* the ſon of *Neoptolemus*, who poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Myſia* [y]. We read of no other kings of *Myſia* till many d ages after, when the *Attalic* family reigned at *Pergamus*, which we ſhall ſpeak of in its proper place. Arius.

[n] Scholiaſt. Apoll. p. 155. [o] STRAB. l. xiii. [p] DIODOR. l. iv. c. 3. [q] STRAB. l. xiii. [r] PINDAR. in Olymp. [s] DIODOR. lib. iv. STRAB. l. xiii. APOLLODOR. STEPHAN. &c. [t] De rebus Geticis. [u] CALABER. l. vi, vii, viii. HYGINUS fab. 113. [w] STRAB. l. xiii. [x] CEDRENUS. p. 115. [y] PAUSANIAS in Atticis.

(X) *Euripides*, quoted by *Strabo* (30), informs us, that *Telephus* was a natural ſon of *Hercules* by *Auge*; and adds, that her father *Aleus* cauſed both her and her child to be locked up in a cheſt and thrown into the ſea; that the cheſt was by the provident care of *Pallas* guided to the mouth of the river *Caicus*, and that *Teuthras*, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with *Auge*, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her ſon *Telephus*, declaring him his heir and ſucceſſor to the crown.

(30) *Strab. l.* xiii.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the LYDIANS.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of LYDIA.

WHENCE this country borrowed the name of *Lydia* is not determined. Some, led by the affinity of words, derive it from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon, whom they pretend to have ſettled here. But this opinion we ſhall examine, when we *Name.*

we come to enquire into the origin of the *Lydians*. All the ancient writers tell us, a
that *Lydia* was firſt called *Mæonia* or *Meonia* from *Meon* king of *Phrygia* and *Lydia*,
and that it was known under no other name till the reign of *Atys*, when it began to
be called *Lydia* from his ſon *Lydus*. *Bochart* [z], finding in his learned collection of
Phœnician words the verb *Lud* ſignifying *to wind*, and obſerving that the country
we are ſpeaking of is watered by the *Mæander* ſo famous for its windings, con-
cludes, that it was thence named *Lydia* or *Ludia*. As to *Meon* and *Lydus*, he rids
himſelf of them at once, by denying that there ever were any ſuch perſons. To
ſupport this opinion, he endeavours to prove, that the *Phœnicians*, and after them
Moſes, who, in the deſcription of countries made uſe of their terms, gave the name
of *Lud* not only to *Lydia* on the banks of the *Mæander*, but likewiſe to *Ethiopia*, b
where the *Nile*, as *Herodotus* obſerves [a], has as many turnings and windings as the
Mæander itſelf. Now as theſe two countries, lying on the two moſt winding rivers
that were then known, were named *Lud*, which word ſignifies *to bend* or *wind*, who
can doubt, ſays he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which
watered them? As to the ancient name of *Mæonia*, he takes it to be a *Greek* tranſ-
lation of the *Phœnician* word *Lud*, wherein he agrees, in ſome meaſure, with *Ste-*
phanus, who derives the name of *Mæonia* from *Mæon* the ancient name of the
Mæander. Some take the word *Mæonia* to be a tranſlation of a *Hebrew* word ſig-
nifying *metal*, becauſe that country, ſay they, was in former times enriched above c
any other with mines.

Though *Lydia* and *Mæonia* are by moſt authors indifferently uſed for one and
the ſame country, yet they are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed, that part, where mount
Tmolus ſtood and which was watered by the *Pactolus*, being properly called *Mæonia*,
and the other, lying on the coaſt, *Lydia*. This diſtinction is uſed, as *Spanhemius*
obſerves [b], by *Homer*, *Callimachus*, *Dionyſius*, and other ancient writers. In after
ages, when the *Ionians*, who had planted a colony on the coaſt of the *Ægean* ſea,
began to make ſome figure, that part was called *Ionia*, and the name of *Lydia* given
to the ancient *Mæonia*.

Lydia, according to *Pliny* [c], *Ptolemy*, and other ancient geographers, was boun-
ded by *Myſia Major* on the north, by *Caria* on the ſouth, by *Phrygia Major* on the d
eaſt, and *Ionia* on the weſt, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north
latitude. What the ancients ſtile the kingdom of *Lydia* was not confined within
theſe narrow boundaries, chiefly under the later kings, but extended from the river
Halys to the *Ægean* ſea. *Pliny*'s deſcription includes *Æolia*, lying between the *Her-*
mus and the *Caicus*, but that tract we ſhall conſider apart.

The chief cities of *Lydia* were *Sardis*, the metropolis of that kingdom and the
ſeat of king *Cræſus*. This city ſtood on the banks of the *Pactolus* at the foot of
mount *Tmolus*. The *Perſians* thought *Sardis* of ſuch conſequence after it fell into
their hands, that *Xerxes*, hearing it was taken by the *Greeks*, commanded one of his
attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner; *The Greeks have taken* e
Sardis; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by
an earthquake and rebuilt by *Tiberius*. There are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a large
palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of
marble. Not far from *Sardis* ſtands a village of the ſame name, which ſome take
to be that *Sardis* which is mentioned in the *Revelations*, and was one of the ſeven
churches. Near this city was to be ſeen in *Herodotus*'s time [d] the ſepulchre of *Ily-*
attes father to *Cræſus*, whereof the foundation was of ſtone but the whole ſuper-
ſtructure of earth, being ſix furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thou-
ſand three hundred foot in breadth.

Philadelphia, formerly the ſecond city of *Lydia*, and ſo called from *Attalus Phi-*
ladelphus brother to *Eumenes*, ſtood in a ſpacious and fruitful plain on the north ſide
of mount *Tmolus*. In this city were anciently celebrated the common feaſts of all
Aſia, as appears from an inſcription quoted by *Spon* [e]. It was one of the ſeven
churches, and continued to make a good figure under the *Greek* emperors. It was
the laſt in *Aſia Minor* that ſubmitted to the *Turks*, and that upon very honourable
terms after ſix years ſiege. Among the *Greeks* it retains its ancient name, but is
known to the *Turks* by the name of *Allachſheyer*. Part of the ancient walls is ſtill
remain-

[z] Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12. [a] lib. ii. c. 29. [b] Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, verſ. 250. [c] lib. v. c. 29. [d] Herodot. l. i. [e] Voyage d'Italy, &c.

a remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and ſome ſepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an ancient tradition among the inhabitants, were tranſported by the *Chriſtians* into *Europe*.

Thyatira, a colony of the *Macedonians*, as *Strabo* informs us, was ſituated in a pleaſant plain not far from the river *Hermus*. This city was another of the ſeven churches, and its preſent ruins teſtify its former grandeur. The *Greeks* call it *Thyra*, and the *Turks Akhiſar*. It is a place of ſome trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 *Turks*.

Magneſia, by the *Turks* called *Guzethiſar*, ſeated on the *Mæander*, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many ſtately buildings demonſtrate. Here b *Themiſtocles* died, this being one of the three towns that *Xerxes* allotted to him for his ſubſiſtence during his exile. It is ſtill a large, handſome, and well-built city. Another city of the ſame name ſtood at the foot of mount *Sypilus* on a riſing ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in hiſtory for many battles fought there, but eſpecially for that between *Antiochus* and the *Romans* under the command of *Scipio*, which decided the fate of *Aſia*. This city was for ſome time the ſeat of the *Ottoman* empire, and is ſtill the capital of *Caraſia*.

Mount *Sypilus* is the only one in *Lydia* of any note. The goddeſs *Sypilene* took her name from this mountain; or rather *Cybele* was called *Sypilene*, becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner on mount *Sypilus*. And hence on the reverſe of c almoſt all the ancient medals of *Magneſia* this goddeſs is repreſented, ſometimes on the frontiſpiece of a temple with four pillars, and ſometimes in a chariot. *Plutarch* informs us, that mount *Sypilus* was likewiſe named the *Thunder Mountain*, becauſe it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of *Aſia*; and hence we find on the reverſe of ſeveral medals ſtamped at *Magneſia Jupiter* armed with thunder-bolts. Mount *Tmolus*, and in more ancient times *Timolus*, was once very famous for its wine and ſaffron.

The rivers of this country, that we ſhall take notice of, are the *Pactolus*, which ruſhing from mount *Tmolus* waters the city of *Sardis*, and then diſcharges itſelf into the *Hermus* or *Sarabat*. It was called by the ancients *Chryſorhoas*, from the colour d of its ſands which ſhine like gold. The *Cayſter*, celebrated by the poets for the ſwans that frequented its banks, has its ſource in *Phrygia Major*, baths *Lydia*, and empties itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea near *Epheſus*. It has almoſt as many windings, if *Spon* is to be believed, as the *Mæander* itſelf, but neither have near ſo many, according to *Tournefort*, as the *Seine* beneath *Paris*.

As to the origin of the *Lydians*, *Joſephus* and after him all the eccleſiaſtic wri- *Origin and antiquity.*
ters derive them from *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon. As this opinion has no other foundation but the ſimilitude of names, there is a ſtrong objection againſt it, *viz.* that the *Lydians* were firſt called *Mæones*, as alſo the ancients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys*, except we ſuppoſe the *Greeks* were deceived, and that, the c name of *Mæones* ceaſing, they reſumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that caſe, we ought perhaps to conſider *Lydia* as poſſeſſed by the *Ludim*, or poſterity of *Lud*, on a ſecond or third remove, for we ſee no more reaſon than Sir *Walter Raleigh*[f], why *Lud* ſhould ſtraggle ſo far from his friends as *Lydia*, according to what we have ſaid elſewhere[g]. Some of the ancients will have the *Lydians* to be a mixt colony of *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, and *Carians*. Others, finding ſome conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the *Egyptians* and *Tuſcans* who were a *Lydian* colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally *Egyptians*. The very ſimilitude of names, which on like occaſions is generally ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged f ſome writers to take up with arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the *Lydians* were a very ancient nation, as is manifeſt from their very fables, for *Attis*, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe*, and *Arachne*, are all ſaid to have been the children of *Lydus*. And *Xanthus* in his *Lydiaca*, quoted by *Stephanus*, informs us, that the antient city of *Aſcalon*, one of the five ſatrapies of the *Philiſtines* mentioned in the books of *Joſhua* and the *Judges*, was built by one *Aſcalus* a *Lydian*, whom *Alciamus* king of *Lydia* had appointed to command a body of troops which he ſent, we know not on what occaſion, into *Syria*. The *Heraclidæ*, or kings of *Lydia* deſcended from *Hercules*, began to reign before the *Trojan* war, and had been preceded

[f] Book I. cap. viii. ſect. 15. [g] p. 165. d.

preceded by a long series of kings sprung from *Atys*, and hence stiled *Atyadæ*, which a
is a strong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

Government. THE *Lydians* began very early to be ruled by kings, whose government, so far as we can gather from their conduct, seems to have been truly despotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three distinct races of kings reigning over *Lydia*, viz. the *Atyadæ*, the *Heraclidæ*, and the *Mermnadæ*. The *Atyadæ* were so called from *Atys*, the son of *Cotys* and grandson of *Manes*. *Manes*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Tellus* and first king of *Mæonia*, had by *Callirhoa*, the daughter of *Oceanus*, one son by name *Cotys*; *Cotys* by *Halia* the daughter of *Tullus* had two, *Asius* and *Atys*; from *Asius Lydia* borrowed the name of *Asia*, which in process of time became b
common to the whole continent. *Atys* married *Callithea* the daughter of *Choræus*, and had by her *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus*. *Lydus* succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Mæonia*, which in his reign began to be called *Lydia*. *Tyrrhenus* led a colony into *Italy*, and settled in *Heturia* now *Tuscany*. This is the account *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* gives us of the kings sprung of *Atys*, or the first race of the *Lydian* kings.

THE *Atyadæ* were succeeded by the *Heraclidæ* or the descendants of *Hercules*. For *Hercules*, being by the directions of the oracle sold as a slave to *Omphale* queen of *Lydia*, to expiate thereby the murder of *Iphitus*, had during his captivity by one of her slaves a son named *Cleolaus*, whose grandson by name *Argon* was the first of the *Heraclidæ* that ascended the throne of *Lydia*. This race reigned from *Argon* c
the first to *Candaules* the last 505 years, the father succeeded the son for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the *Trojan* war.

THE third race called *Mermnadæ*, perhaps from one of the family named *Mermnas* (for the ancients are silent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the *Medes* shook off the *Assyrian* yoke. The *Mermnadæ* were also, properly speaking, *Heraclidæ*, being descended from one *Lemnos*, or, as *Apollodorus* calls him, *Agelaus*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*. The first king of this race was *Gyges*, and *Cræsus* the last.

Their character. As to their character, it must be considered at different times: under *Cræsus* and d
some of his predecessors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being afterwards subdued by the *Persians*, and enjoyned by *Cyrus*, according to the advice given him by *Cræsus* (Y), to wear long vests and apply themselves to such arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their courage, they became by degrees a most voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleness, pleasures, and diversions.

The soil. THE soil of this country, by reason of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all sorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquisite wines. It was enriched with several mines, whence *Cræsus* is said to have drawn his e
immense wealth.

Religion. As to the religion of the *Lydians*, it seems to have been much the same with that of the *Phrygians*, which we have already spoke of; they worshipped *Diana*, *Jupiter*, and *Cybele* at *Magnesia* under the name of *Sypilene*; for in the alliance concluded between those of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* in favour of king *Seleucus Callinicus* both parties swore, as appears from the *Arundelian* marbles, by the goddess *Sypilene*. She borrowed this name from mount *Sypilus*, or perhaps from a town of the same name, which, as *Strabo* informs us [h], was ruined by an earthquake

[h] STRAB. l. i. p. 38.

(Y) The *Lydians*, not long after they were conquered by *Cyrus*, rebelled at the instigation of one *Pactyas* a *Lydian*, whom *Cyrus* had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of *Cræsus* at *Sardis*. With this gold *Pactyas* putting to sea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raised a considerable army of mercenaries, marched to *Sardis*, where he besieged *Tabalus*, whom *Cyrus* had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to *Cyrus*, as he was leading his army against the *Babylonians*, *Bactrians*, and *Egyptians*, he resolved to march back into *Lydia*, sell all the *Lydians* for slaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This resolution he imparted to king *Cræsus* at that time his prisoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earnestly intreated him to forgive the *Lydians*, and wreak his just anger on *Pactyas* alone by whom they had been seduced, advising him at the same time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the *Lydians* the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only, as were most capable of debauching their minds and inclining them to idleness. This advice was followed by *Cyrus*, and in a short time the *Lydians* became the most lewd and debauched nation under the sun (31).

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

a quake in the reign of *Tantalus*. In the ſame city of *Magneſia* ſtood a temple of *Diana Leucophryna*, no ways inferior to the ſo much celebrated temple of *Diana Epheſina*.

The manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Lydians.

THE cuſtoms of the *Lydians* were, as *Herodotus* informs us [i], much the ſame with thoſe of the *Greeks*, except that they uſed to proſtitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by proſtitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleaſed. They puniſhed idleneſs as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardſhips. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as ſome have pretended to argue from *Jeremiah* [k], but long
b ſpears, ſuch as were anciently uſed by the horſe; and in horſemanſhip, if *Herodotus* is to be credited [l], the *Lydians* far excelled all other nations. They were the firſt that introduced the art of coining gold and ſilver to facilitate trade; the firſt that ſold by retail, that kept eating-houſes and taverns, that invented publick ſports and ſhews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the *Romans*, who borrowed them of the *Tuſcans*, deſcended, as we ſhall ſee anon, from the *Lydians*. *Herodotus* informs us [m], on what occaſion they invented thoſe public and ſeveral other private diverſions. During the reign of *Atys* the ſon of *Manes*, a great ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed all over the kingdom of *Lydia*, which the inhabitants endured for ſeveral years with an aſtoniſhing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their
c minds from the conſideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themſelves to all manner of diverſion, and ſome inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and ſuch other diverſions as were in ancient times uſed among the *Greeks*, cheſs only excepted, whereof the *Lydians*, as we are told by *Herodotus*, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diverſions, they uſed to play one whole day without intermiſſion, eating and drinking the next day without amuſing themſelves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately faſting and feaſting, as the ſcarcity of their proviſions could well allow, finding that their calamities increaſed rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determine
d by lot, which of the two ſhould remain at home, and which go abroad in queſt of new ſeats, ſince their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his ſon *Tyrrhenus* to command thoſe who ſhould be obliged to remove, he himſelf remaining to reign over thoſe who ſhould have the fortune to ſtay. Thoſe who by lot were conſtrained to abandon their country marched to *Smyrna*, where they equipped a ſmall fleet, and putting to ſea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of *Italy* which was then called *Umbria*, and now *Tuſcany*. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called *Lydians*, but *Tyrrhenians* from their leader *Tyrrhenus*.

Commerce.

THE trade of the ancient *Lydians* is no-where mentioned; but we may ſuppoſe
e it to have been very conſiderable, eſpecially under the latter kings, when *Lydia* was in the meridian of its glory; whoſoever conſiders the ſplendor of this monarchy, and commodious ſituation of the country, cannot doubt, but commerce muſt here have flouriſhed to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immenſe riches not only of the *Lydian* princes, but of ſeveral private perſons. *Herodotus* [n] mentions one, by name *Pythius*, who not only entertained *Xerxes* and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade *Greece*; but made him a proffer of two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety-
f three thouſand pieces of gold bearing the ſtamp of *Darius*, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The ſame *Pythius* had preſented *Darius*, father to *Xerxes*, with a plane-tree and vine of maſſive gold, and was reckoned, after the king of *Perſia*, the richeſt man in the then known world.

SECT.

[i] HERODOT. l. i. [k] Jerem. xlvi. 9. [l] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [m] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.
[n] HERODOT. lib. vii.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Lydia.

Maſnes. THE firſt king of *Lydia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Maſnes*, or *Manes*, as *Herodotus* calls him. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of the earth, which in the language of the ancients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. *Heraclides* mentions an anonymous king of *Lydia*, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or ſlave to a cartwright living at *Cyma*, was raiſed to the throne of *Lydia*. The ſame author adds, that as the *Lydians* were diſburſing the money for his ranſom, a citizen of *Cyma*, for whom the ſlave was at that time making a cart, inſiſted on his finiſhing what he had in hand before he was ſet at liberty, proteſting, that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of *Lydia*, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate ſlave may have been *Maſnes*, ſince he in regard of his mean deſcent is called by the ancients ſon of the earth. *Heraclides* does not tell us what induced the *Lydians* to place a ſlave on the throne; but we may ſuppoſe this to have been brought about by the advice of ſome oracle, as it happened in the caſe of *Gordius* king of *Phrygia*; for *Heraclides* informs us, that the *Lydians* choſe a ſlave for their king, in hopes of being reſcued by his means from the oppreſſions they groaned under. a b

Cotys. *Maſnes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cotys*, and *Cotys* by his ſon *Atys*, in whoſe reigns,
Atys. as the country was overſtocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the ſpace of 18 years, and obliged the king to divide his ſubjects, keeping one half of them at home, and ſending the other abroad in queſt of new ſettlements, under the conduct of his younger ſon *Tyrrhenus*. c

Lydus. *Atys* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Lydus*, from whom the country had the name of *Lydia*, having been called to that time *Mæonia*.

Alcymus. *Alcymus* appears next: It is uncertain whom he ſucceeded: He is repreſented as an excellent prince, and is ſaid to have had nothing ſo much at heart, as the welfare of his ſubjects; whence in the ſeventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as *Suidas* informs us, to offer up prayers and ſacrifices for his health and proſperity. *Stephanus* calls him *Alciamus*, and adds, that in his time the city of *Aſcalon* was built by *Aſcalus*, ſon of *Hymenæus* and brother to *Tantalus*, who conducted an army of *Lydians* into *Syria*.

Adrymetes. *Adrymetes* or *Adramytis* is mentioned by *Athenæus*, and ſaid to have been the firſt that employed women in ſuch miniſteries as other kings had done eunuchs. d

Cambletes. *Cambletes*, *Camblitas*, or *Cambles*, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himſelf. *Athenæus* ſays, that he was ſo ravenous as to devour his wife in his ſleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was ſo grieved and aſhamed of what he had done, that he put himſelf to death.

Tmolus. *Tmolus* put an end to his life by throwing himſelf headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as *Plutarch* acquaints us [n], by *Diana* for raviſhing one of her followers by name *Arrhipe*.

Theoclymenus. *Theoclymenus* ſucceeded his father *Tmolus*, of whom we find nothing in hiſtory, but that he buried his father on mount *Tmolus*, which from him had its name.

Marſyas. After *Theoclymenus Marſyas* reigned, who, on what occaſion we know not, coming into *Italy*, built there, as we are told by *Solinus* [o], the city of *Archippena*.

Jardanes. *Jardanes* ſucceeded *Marſyas*, and in his reign all manner of lewdneſs prevailed in the kingdom of *Lydia* to ſuch a degree, that *Omphale*, the king's only daughter, could not find ſhelter even within the walls of the royal palace againſt the inſults of the licentious multitude, the moſt infamous luſts receiving a kind of ſanction from the example of the prince.

Omphale. On the death of *Jardanes* his daughter *Omphale* was by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She puniſhed with great ſeverity thoſe by whom ſhe had been abuſed in her father's life-time, and by cauſing the ſlaves all over the kingdom

[n] Plutarch. de fluviis. [o] Solinus, lib. vii.

a kingdom to be ſhut up with their miſtreſſes, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with *Hercules* ſhe gave herſelf entirely up to him, and had by him a ſon named *Alcæus*.

Omphale was ſucceeded by her ſon *Alcæus*, according to ſome authors, who will Alcæus.
have him to have been the firſt king of *Lydia* of the race of *Hercules*.

After *Alcæus* reigned *Belus*, and after *Belus* his ſon *Ninus*, of whom we know Ninus.
nothing but their bare names.

Argon ſucceeded his father *Ninus*, and is ſaid to have transferred the royal ſeat Argon.
to *Sardis*. *Herodotus* will have *Argon* to have been the firſt of the deſcendants of *Hercules* that reigned in *Lydia*.

b *Argon* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leon*, *Leon* by *Adryſus*, who reigned thirty-ſix Leon, &c.
years; *Adryſus* by *Alyattes* who reigned fourteen; and *Alyattes* by *Meles*, who reigned twelve.

Candaules the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt king of this ſecond race, and loſt by his Candaules.
imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by *Herodotus* [p]: He *Year of the flood*, 2268. *Before Chriſt*, 735.
had a wife whom he paſſionately loved, and believed the moſt beautiful of her ſex. He extolled her charms above meaſure to *Gyges*, his favourite, whom he uſed to entruſt with his moſt important affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, reſolved to ſhew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen uſed to undreſs when ſhe went to bed, ordering
c him to retire after ſeeing her, and take all poſſible care not to be obſerved. But notwithſtanding all the caution he could uſe, ſhe plainly diſcovered him going out, and though ſhe did not doubt but it was her huſband's contrivance, yet ſhe paſſed that night in a ſeeming tranquillity, ſuppreſſing her reſentment to the next morning, when ſhe ſent for *Gyges*, and reſolutely told him, that he muſt either with his death atone for the criminal action he was guilty of, or put to death *Candaules* the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of *Lydia* for his reward. *Gyges* at firſt earneſtly begged of her, that ſhe would not drive him to the neceſſity of ſuch a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he muſt either kill his maſter, or die himſelf, he choſe the former, and being
d led by the queen to the ſame place, where her huſband had placed him the night before, he ſtabbed the king while he was aſleep, and at the ſame time married the queen, and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the anſwer of the *Delphic* oracle. For the *Lydians* having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of *Gyges*, that if the oracle ſhould declare him to be lawful king of *Lydia*, he ſhould be permitted to reign; if not, he ſhould reſign the crown to the *Heraclidæ*. The anſwer of the oracle proved favourable to *Gyges*, whereupon he was univerſally acknowledged for lawful king of *Lydia*. *Candaules* is ſaid [r] to have purchaſed a picture, done by one *Bularchas*, and repreſenting a battle of the *Magnetes*, for its weight in gold,
e which ſhews how early the art of painting began to be in requeſt, for *Candaules* was contemporary with *Romulus*.

Gyges, having thus poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Lydia*, ſent many rich and Gyges.
valuable preſents to the oracle of *Delphos*, among the others ſix cups of gold weigh- *Year of the flood*, 2285. *Before Chriſt*, 718.
ing thirty talents, and greatly eſteemed for the workmanſhip. He made war on thoſe of *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, took the city of *Colophon*, and ſubdued the whole country of *Troas*. In his reign, and by his permiſſion, the city of *Abydus* was built by the *Mileſians*. *Plutarch* and other writers relate his acceſſion to the crown of *Lydia* in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that *Gyges* rebelled againſt *Candaules* and ſlew him in an engagement. As to
f his fabulous ring mentioned by *Plato* [s], and *Tully* [t], we refer the reader to *Tzetzes*, *Suidas*, *Philoſtratus*, &c. *Gyges* reigned thirty-eight years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ardyes*.

Ardyes or *Ardys* carried on the war againſt the *Mileſians* which his father had begun, Ardyes.
and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Priene*, in thoſe days a ſtrong city. In the reign of this prince the *Cimmerians* invaded and over-ran all *Aſia Minor*; but what battles were fought between the *Lydians* and theſe invaders, and with what ſucceſs, we find no-where mentioned. *Herodotus* only informs us [u], that in the time of *Ardyes* they poſſeſſed

[q] Herodot. x. l. i. [r] Plin. lib. xxxv. c. viii. [s] Plato de rep. l. xi. & x. [t] Cic. lib. iii. de off.
[u] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

poſſeſſed themſelves of *Sardis* the metropolis of *Lydia*, but could never win the a caſtle. *Ardyes* reigned forty-nine years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Sadyattes. *Sadyattes*, who reigned twelve years, and warred moſt part of his reign with the *Mileſians*.

Alyattes. *War of the flood*, 2383. *Before Chriſt*, 620. AFTER him came his ſon *Alyattes*, who for the ſpace of ſix years waged a bloody war with *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*. The occaſion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus*. Certain *Scythians* being driven out of their country on occaſion of a ſedition that happened among them, they retired into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* received them with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be inſtructed in the uſe of the bow, and in the *Scythian* tongue. The ſtrangers were great ſportſmen, and uſed daily to ſupply the king's b table with game, which they dreſſed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, *Cyaxares*, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with moſt oppro- brious language, which the *Scythians* reſenting, agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and ſerve his fleſh up to the king's table dreſſed like veniſon. This they effected, and then made their eſcape into *Lydia*, where they were kindly entertained by *Alyattes*, which, according to *Herodotus*, gave occaſion to a war that laſted ſix years, *Cyaxares* demanding the *Scythians*, and *Alyattes* refuſing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various ſucceſs, the *Medes* ſometimes defeating the *Lydians* and the *Lydians* ſometimes the *Medes*. In the ſixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a ſudden turned into night (Z), c which ſo frightened both the *Lydians* and *Medes*, that they gave over fighting, and ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediation of *Syenneſis* king of *Cilicia* and *Nebuchad- nezzar* king of *Babylon*. The peace was ratified by a marriage between *Aryenis* the daughter of *Alyattes* and *Aſtyages* the ſon of *Cyaxares* (A). A peace being thus concluded between the *Lydians* and *Medes*, *Alyattes* employed all his forces againſt the *Scythians*, and, after a war, which laſted ſeveral years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of ſo troubleſome gueſts. He was attended with the like ſucceſs in the war he undertook againſt the *Smyrneans*, whom he worſted in ſeveral battles, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of their capital and whole country. He continued for the d ſpace of five years the war, which his father had begun againſt the *Mileſians*, rava- ging their country, and about harveſt time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of proviſions to ſurrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the *Mileſians* being at that time maſters of the ſea. In the 12th year of this war the *Lydians* having ſet fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of *Minerva* at *Aſſeſus*, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after *Alyattes* falling ſick ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphos*, which refuſed to return any anſwer, till ſuch time as the king ſhould rebuild the temple of *Minerva* e at *Aſſeſus*. Hereupon *Alyattes* diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Miletus*, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the *Mileſians* till the temple ſhould be rebuilt. On the arrival of the embaſſadors *Thraſybulus*, then king of *Miletus*, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully ſtored with all manner of proviſions. This *Thraſybulus* did to the end, that the embaſſadors, ſeeing ſuch quantities of corn, and the people every-where diverting themſelves, might acquaint their maſter therewithal, and divert him from purſuing the war. As *Thra- ſybulus* had deſigned, ſo it happened; for *Alyattes*, who believed the *Mileſians* greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, receiving a quite different account from his embaſ- f ſadors, changed the truce into a laſting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendſhip with *Thraſybulus* and the *Mileſians*. *Alyattes* had two ſons, *Cræſus* by a *Carian*,

(Z) This total eclipſe fell upon the 28th of *May*, and had been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* ſome years before.

(A) The account which *Herodotus* gives us of the cauſe of this war ſeems to ſome writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the *Scythians* falling out among themſelves ſhould have had recourſe to either of theſe kings, whoſe countries the *Scythians* had over-run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyax- ares*, for the treachery he had ſhewn in maſſacring ſuch of their countrymen as had ſettled in his domi- nions. Others are of opinion, that *Alyattes*, being jealous of the too great power of *Cyaxares* (who had ſeized, after the conqueſt of *Nineveh*, the re- gions belonging to the *Aſſyrians* as far as to the river *Halys*), entered into an alliance with the *Scythians* againſt the *Medes*, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the *Lydians* and *Scythians*.

a a *Carian*, and *Pantaleon* by an *Ionian*. *Cræsus* succeeded his father after he had reigned fifty-seven years.

Cræsus, succeeding his father at the age of thirty-five years, enlarged his dominions so as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, *viz.* of *Media*, of *Babylon*, and of *Egypt*. *Cræsus* was the first that made war on the *Ephesians*, whose city he besieged and took, notwithstanding their consecrating it to *Diana*, and fastening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was seven stades distant from the city. After the reduction of *Ephesus* he attacked under various pretences the *Ionians* and *Æolians*, obliging them, b and all the other *Greek* states of *Asia*, to pay him a yearly tribute. He also formed a design of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the islands, but was diverted from this thought by *Bias* of *Priene*, or, as others say, by *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* (B.) Not long after he subdued the *Phrygians*, *Mysians*, *Maryandini*, *Chalybes*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, *Thynians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Pamphylians*, and all the nations that lay between *Lydia* and the river *Halys*. *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* mentions a signal victory of his over the *Sacæans* a *Scythian* nation, in memory whereof the *Babylonians* his allies yearly celebrated a feast, which they called *Sacæa*. *Cræsus* having by these victories acquired great fame and renown, many wise men of that age went to *Sardis* on purpose to see him, and among others c *Solon*, who, after publishing his laws at *Athens*, had absented himself from his country, under pretence of travelling for the space of ten years, that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the *Athenians* could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at *Sardis* he was with great humanity entertained by *Cræsus* in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, *Cræsus* asked him, who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But *Solon*, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain d truth, answered, that *Tellus* the *Athenian* was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). *Cræsus* again asked him who was the happiest man after *Tellus*, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to *Cleobis* and *Biton* two *Argives* (D). *Cræsus* shewing himself highly dissatisfied with *Solon*, for preferring the condition of private men to that of so rich and powerful a prince as he, the philosopher informed him, that it was impossible to judge of the happiness of any man before death, and that all things ought to be measured by their end. Whereupon he was dismissed by *Cræsus* as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of *Solon*, *Cræsus* lost his favourite son *Atys*, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by e *Adrastus*, son of *Gordius* and grandson of *Midas* kings of *Phrygia*, who had fled to *Sardis*

Cræsus. *Year of the flood*, 2441. *Before Christ*, 562.

(B) *Bias* arriving at *Sardis* from *Greece* told *Cræsus*, inquiring what news he brought from thence, that the islanders had bought ten-thousand horses with a design to attack him by land, which *Cræsus* believing thanked the gods for inspiring them with such a resolution, as knowing, that the main strength of his army consisted in cavalry. Then *Bias* acquainted him, that the islanders had no such design, but were no less pleased in hearing that he designed to attack them by sea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon *Cræsus*, being fully apprised of the rashness of his design, laid it aside, and concluded an alliance with all the *Greeks* that inhabited the islands.

(C) *Tellus* was an *Athenian*, had many virtuous children who all survived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at *Eleusis* against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the *Athenians* at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two *Greeks* proved victorious in the *Olympic* games and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of *Juno*, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother, transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess, that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantagious to them. Having put up this petition, and after offering the usual sacrifices banquetted, and with her sons, they both fell asleep and died in the temple. Upon which the *Argians*, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at *Delphos* (31.)

(31) *Herodot. lib.* i.

Sardis for refuge. This loſs was no ſmall allay to his happineſs, for he continued a diſconſolate the ſpace of two whole years and in a ſtate of inaction, till the conqueſts of *Cyrus* and growing power of the *Perſians* rouſed up his martial ſpirits, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good ſucceſs, which attended *Cyrus* in all his undertakings, might at laſt prove dangerous to himſelf, and therefore reſolved to put a ſtop, if poſſible, to his conqueſts. To this end he conſulted all the oracles of any fame either in *Greece* or *Afric* (E), he ſtrengthened himſelf with alliances, and, having raiſed what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, then belonging to the *Perſians*, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of *Sinope* on the *Euxine* ſea, took the city of *Pteria*, and laid waſte all the adjacent country. *Cyrus*, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himſelf b at the head of a powerful army, and marching into *Cappadocia* encamped in ſight of the *Lydian* army. Here after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes the two armies came at laſt to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both ſides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But *Cræſus* fearing to venture a ſecond battle, as his forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of *Cyrus*, retired in the night-time, and marched with all poſſible expedition to *Sardis*, where he diſbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months; for he did not in the leaſt apprehend, that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. *Cyrus*, finding the next morning c that the enemy had left the field, reſolved to purſue him to *Sardis*, and oblige him to venture a ſecond battle before his allies could join him. This reſolution was executed with ſuch expedition, that *Cyrus* at the head of his army appeared in the plains of *Sardis*, before *Cræſus* had any intelligence of his deſign. The *Lydians* were ſtrangely alarmed at ſo bold an attempt, which they had neither foreſeen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were ſtill remaining, marched out againſt the *Perſians*, by whom, after a ſharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, which was ſoon after taken by aſſault and *Cræſus* himſelf made priſoner. In the taking of the town *Cræſus* himſelf had been killed, had not his ſecond ſon, who to that time had been ſpeechleſs, cried out to the *Perſian* who was ready to ſtrike, *Spare Cræſus*. Whereupon he was d againſt his will ſaved and carried to *Cyrus*, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a deſign to burn him and fourteen young *Lydians* in honour of the gods, as a ſacrifice and the firſt-fruits of his victory. Then *Cræſus* recollecting the words of *Solon*, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philoſopher's name, which *Cyrus* hearing,

Cræſus *taken.* *Year of the flood*, 2454. *Before Chriſt*, 549.

(E) We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Cræſus* ſent embaſſadors to the oracles of *Delphos*, of *Abe*, of *Phocis*, of *Amphiaraus*, of *Trophonius*, of *Branchis*, and of *Jupiter Ammon*, enjoining them to propoſe, each to the oracle he was to conſult, and all on the ſame day, the following queſtion; *What is* Cræſus *the ſon of* Alyattes *king of* Lydia *now doing?* What anſwer the other oracles returned we find no-where mentioned; but that of *Delphos*, as *Herodotus* informs us, anſwered thus: *I know the number of the ſands of* Libya, *the meaſure of the ocean, the ſecrets of the ſilent and dumb lie open to me. I ſmell the odour of a lamb and tortoiſe boiling together in a brazen cauldron; braſs is under, and braſs above the fleſh.* *Cræſus* hearing this anſwer adored the god of *Delphos*, and owned, that the oracle had ſpoke truth; for on the ſame day that his embaſſadors conſulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoiſe in a cauldron of braſs, which had a cover of the ſame metal, thinking it impoſſible, that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the *Delphic Apollo* a ſacrifice conſiſting of three thouſand oxen; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought out beds of gold and ſilver, veſſels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the *Lydians* to follow his example. On this occaſion ſo much gold was melted down, that one hundred and ſeventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longeſt were ſix ſpans in length, the ſhorteſt three, but all one ſpan in thickneſs. Theſe, with a golden lion weighing ten talents and many other rich preſents, *Cræſus* ſent to the *Delphic* oracle, enjoining his embaſſadors to enquire whether he ſhould undertake a war againſt the *Perſians*. The oracle returned this anſwer; *If* Cræſus *paſſes the* Halys *he will put an end to a vaſt empire*, which was capable of being interpreted either of *Perſia* or *Lydia*. *Cræſus*, hearing this anſwer, and not doubting in the leaſt, but that he ſhould overturn the *Perſian* monarchy, ſent more preſents to the oracle, and two ſtaters of gold to each of the inhabitants of *Delphos*. In conſideration of which the *Delphians* granted *Cræſus* and the *Lydians* a right to conſult the oracle before any other nation, together with the firſt place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. *Cræſus*, having made theſe preſents, ſent a third time to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle anſwered, *That he ſhould reign till a mule ruled over the Medes*, which *Cræſus* deeming impoſſible concluded, that he and his poſterity were to hold the kingdom of *Lydia* for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant *Cyrus*, whoſe parents were of different nations, his mother being a *Mede* and his father a *Perſian*. And now *Cræſus*, relying on theſe fallacious anſwers, and believing himſelf invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into *Cappadocia*, where he was met by *Cyrus* at the head of a powerful army.

a ing, and underſtanding what induced him to invoke *Solon*, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counſellors. *Xenophon* tells us, that *Cyrus* received his royal priſoner with great kindneſs and humanity, when he was firſt preſented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in *Herodotus*. The firſt favour *Cræſus* begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to ſend his fetters to the oracle at *Delphos*, as the trophies of the ſucceſs which *Apollo* had promiſed him. This favour *Cyrus* willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the prieſts, convinced *Cræſus*, that he and not *Apollo* was to blame (F). Thus ended the ancient kingdom of *Lydia*, continuing ſubject to the *Perſians*, till they alſo were conquered by the *Macedonians*, as we have ſeen in the foregoing part
b of this hiſtory.

(F) The oracle anſwered, that the god himſelf could not reverſe the decrees of fate, and that *Cræſus* in the fifth generation ſuffered for a crime of one, who, at the inſtigation of a woman, had murdered his maſter, and poſſeſſed himſelf of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the anſwers of the oracle, he had no reaſon to complain; for *Apollo* only foretold, that by making war on the *Perſians* he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he deſired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have ſent again to enquire whether his own, or that of *Cyrus*, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither underſtood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of ſuing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfal was entirely owing to himſelf. *Cræſus*, hearing this anſwer, acknowledged himſelf to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle from all ſuſpicion of falſhood.

CHAP. XVI.

The Hiſtory of the LYCIANS

c THE country before us was at firſt called *Milias* or *Tremile* from the *Milia*, a people of *Crete* that ſettled there, as *Herodotus*[a] and *Stephanus* informs us, and afterwards *Lycia* from *Lycus*, the ſon of *Pandion* king of *Athens*. The proper *Lycia*, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the thirty-ſixth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by *Caria* on the weſt, by *Pamphylia* on the eaſt, by *Phrygia Major* and part of *Pamphylia* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. *Name and diviſions.*

THIS country was divided into two parts, the *Maritime* and the *Mediterranean*, or the coaſt and the country. The moſt remarkable cities on the coaſt were *Telmeſſus* or *Telmiſſus*, ſeated on a noted bay in the weſtern limits, whoſe inhabitants are
d ſaid to have been the firſt pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. *Patara*, ſituated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* no ways inferior to that of *Delphos*. At *Patara Apollo* was ſaid to reſide the ſix winter months, and the ſix ſummer months at *Delos*, whence the epithets of *Pataræus Apollo*[b] and *Sortes Lyciæ*[c]. This city was greatly improved and embelliſhed by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, and called *Arſinoe* from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. *Myra*, built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coaſt, mentioned in the *Acts*[d]. This city was the metropolis of *Lycia* when a *Roman* province, and of conſequence in the chriſtian times an archbiſhop's ſee. *Olympus*, a famous city with a mountain of the ſame name. *Phaſelis*, on the borders of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and
e therefore by ſome placed in *Pamphylia*, by others more accurately in *Lycia*. This city in the time of the *Romans* was a famous neſt of pyrates, but was at laſt reduced by *Servilius*, while *Pompey* ſcoured the ſea with a numerous fleet. To the pyrates of this town former ages were indebted for thoſe ſwift veſſels, which the *Romans* from the place called *Phaſeli*, and we *Brigantines*. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Lycia*. *Strabo* reckons in it the following towns, *Pinara*, *Cragus*, at the foot of a hill bearing the ſame name, *Tlos*, *Simena*, &c. *Ptolemy* adds to the *Mediterranean* part of *Lycia* two ſmall countries, viz. *Milias* on the weſt bordering on *Caria*, and *Cabalia* on the eaſt bordering on *Lycia Proper*. But *Strabo* places *Milias*

[a] HERODOT. l. i. & vii. [b] HORAT. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4. [c] VIRGIL. Æneid. iv. 346. [d] Act. xxvii. 5.

Milias on the borders of *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*. The inland part of *Lycia* was divided a
by the river *Xanthus*, which, rising in two springs from the foot of mount *Cadmus*, and washing the walls of *Xanthus*, a city formerly of some note, discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*. From this river the people, inhabiting the inland parts of *Lycia*, were called *Panthians*. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all *Asia*, is mount *Taurus*, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eastward to the great oriental ocean. In *Lycia* was also the famous mountain *Chimæra* which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infested with serpents, the middle parts afforded pasture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occasion to the poets to paint it as a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. This mountain was first planted and rendered habitable b
by *Bellerophon*, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monster.

Soil and climate. The soil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholesome, It is plentifully watered with small rivers running down from mount *Taurus*, which often swell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increased by the melting of the snows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin. As to the origin of the *Lycians*, *Herodotus* and others [c] inform us, that they were descended from the *Cretans*; for *Sarpedon*, being driven out of the island by his brother *Minos*, and landing in *Asia* with those *Cretans* who had sided with him, settled in *Milias*, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the ancient proprietors, whom *Herodotus* calls *Milyans* and *Solymi*. During the c
reign of *Sarpedon* they continued to be called *Cretans*, but after his death took the name of *Lycians* from *Lycus*, the son of *Pandion* king of *Athens*, who, being forced by his brother *Ægeus* to quit his native country, had fled to *Sarpedon*. Hence the poets, and with them *Strabo*, seem to confound the *Lycians* with the *Carians*, who were undoubtedly descended from the *Cretans*. But *Diodorus Siculus* [f], and *Plato* [g] before him, counts the *Lycians* among the *Greek* nations of *Asia*, as being descended from the *Argivi*. But not to dwell on such uncertainties, the *Lycians* were once a very powerful and warlike people, considering the smallness of their country. They had, according to *Strabo* [h], three and twenty, according to *Pliny* [i] six and thirty, large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their d
power on the seas as far as *Italy*.

Their manners, governments. &c. The *Lycians* are highly commended by the ancient writers for their sobriety, and manner of administering justice. They had in latter ages twenty-three considerable cities, each of which sent their deputies to a general assembly or diet, the great cities three, the lesser two, and the least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchi- e
cal, or their monarchs no way absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the *Romans*, as *Strabo* informs us [k], but with this difference, that the consent of the *Roman* governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of *Bellerophon*, *Sarpedon*, *Lycus*, *Telephus*, and *Pandarus* reigning in *Lycia* at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest sway in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all *Lycia* became subject to one prince; for *Herodotus*, in enumerating the princes that f
contributed towards the equipping and arming of *Xerxes*'s fleet, mentions but one king of *Lycia*, by name *Cybernisc*us. This nation, as most of the other nations of *Asia*, was first subdued by *Cræsus* or the *Lydians*, and after the downfal of the *Lydian* kingdom by *Cyrus*. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity, with which the *Lycians* of *Xanthus* opposed *Harpagus* the *Persian* general, deserves particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the *Persian* yoke, they attacked with a handful of men *Harpagus*'s numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being overpowered

[c] Herodot. lib. i. & vii. Strab. lib. xii. & xiv. Pausanias lib. vii. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16. [g] Plato in Minoe. [h] Strab. l. xiv. [i] Plin. l. v. c. 27. [k] Strab. l. xiv.

a powered with numbers, and forced to retire into their city, they firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, where they had ſhut up their wives, children, ſlaves, and all their riches; and then, engaging themſelves by a ſolemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The *Lycians* continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were ſubdued by the *Perſians*, but paid an annual tribute to the king of *Perſia*. They fell with the *Perſians* under the power of the *Macedonians*, and after the death of *Alexander* were governed by the *Seleucidæ*. Of theſe *Antiochus the Great* being confined by the *Romans* beyond mount *Taurus*, *Lycia* was granted to the *Rhodians*; but theſe diſobliging the *Romans* in the war with *Perſeus*, *Lycia* was declared a free country, and continued to be ſo till the reign of *Claudius*, who, provoked at their inteſtine diſſenb ſions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR cuſtoms were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Cretans* and *Carians*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. But they had one cuſtom peculiar to themſelves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, ſo that if any one was aſked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourſe to the female line. Beſides, if a free-born woman married a ſlave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contray, if a man of ever ſo great a family married a ſlave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment [l]. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the ſame with that of the inhabitants c of *Crete*, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe when we treat of the *Greek* iſlands.

Their kings. THE ſucceſſion of the kings of *Lycia* and the years of their reſpective reigns are overcaſt with ſuch a miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is not poſſible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all *Lycia* that we are ſure of.

Amiſodarus, who is fabled to have nouriſhed the monſter *Chimæra*.

Jobates, who married his daughter *Sthenobæa*, or, as others call her, *Antea*, to *Prætus* king of the *Argives*. He is ſaid to have undertaken an expedition againſt the *Tyrinthians* in favour of his ſon-in-law, and to have ſubdued them. His daughter d *Sthenobæa* falling in love with *Bellerophon*, the ſon of *Glaucus* king of *Ephyra*, and having ſolicited him in vain to comply with her unchaſte deſires, complained to her huſband as if ſhe had been ſolicited by him. Whereupon *Prætus*, being unwilling to violate the laws of hoſpitality by putting a ſtranger to death in his own kingdom, ſent him into *Lycia* with letters to *Jobates* his father-in-law, requeſting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. *Jobates*, thinking it a baſe thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a ſtranger, ſent him with a ſmall body of troops againſt the *Solymi*, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he ſhould there find his doom. But *Bellerophon* returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only ſafe, but victorious; e whereupon *Jobates*, being reconciled to him and diſcovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

MANY years after reigned *Cybernicus*, who was one of *Xerxes*'s admirals in his expedition againſt *Greece* [m]. And this is all we find upon record concerning the ancient kings of *Lycia*.

[l] HERODOT. l. i. [m] HERODOT. l. vii.

The History of the ancient CILICIANS.

Name and diviſions. CILICIA, according to the *Greek* writers, borrowed its name from *Cilix*, the ſon of *Agenor* and brother of *Cadmus*, who is ſaid by them to have ſettled in this country, as we have obſerved elſewhere [n]. *Joſephus* [o] tells us, that it was anciently called *Tarſis* from *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan*, who firſt peopled this part of *Aſia* [p]; and of the ſame opinion are *Stephanus* [q], *Zonoras* [r], and *Hierom* [s]; but the latter by *Tarſis* in ſcripture ſometimes underſtands *Carthage* [t], ſometimes a province in *India* [u], and

[n] Vol. I. 409. b. [o] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [p] See Vol. I. p. 168. [q] STEPH. verbo Ταρσος.
[r] ZONAR. tom. i. [s] HIERONYM in quæſt. Hebraic. [t] Idem, in cap. 23. Eſa. [u] Idem, ad Marcell.

and ſometimes the ſea [w]. *Bochart* [x] derives the name of *Cilicia* from the *Phœnician* word *Challekim* or *Challukim* ſignifying *a ſtone*, that part of *Cilicia*, which the *Greeks* called *Cilicia Trachæa*, being very ſtony, and to this day called by the *Turks Tas Wileieth*, that is, *the ſtony province*. a

Cilicia, properly ſo called, lies between the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and is bounded by *Syria* on the eaſt, or rather by mount *Amanus* which ſeparates it from that kingdom, by *Pamphylia* on the weſt, by *Iſauria*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia Minor* on the north, and by the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. It is now called *Caramania*, having been the laſt province of the *Caramanian* kingdom that held out againſt the *Ottoman* race. This province is ſo ſurrounded by ſteep and craggy mountains, chiefly the *Taurus* and *Amanus*, that it may be defended by a handful of b
reſolute men againſt a whole army how numerous ſoever, there being but three narrow paſſes leading into it, commonly called *Pylæ Ciliciæ* or *the gates of Cilicia*, one on the ſide of *Cappadocia* called *the paſs of mount Taurus*, and the other two, called *the paſs of mount Amanus, and the paſs of Syria*, leading from *Syria*. The *Perſian* army marched through the ſtraits of mount *Amanus*, while that of *Alexander* was encamped at *Iſſus* not far from the ſtraits of *Syria*, which lie more to the ſouth, and were guarded by a body of *Macedonians* under the command of *Parmenio*; the ſtraits of mount *Taurus Alexander* had paſſed in entering *Cilicia*, the *Perſians* who guarded that important paſs having retired at the approach of the *Macedonians*.

Cities of Cilicia Aſpera. The whole country was divided by the ancients into *Cilicia Aſpera* and *Cilicia Campeſtris*; the former, called by the *Greeks Trachæa* or *ſtony*, is bounded by *Iſauria* on the north, *Pamphylia* on the weſt, *Cilicia Campeſtris* on the eaſt, and the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. The cities in this part of *Cilicia*, mentioned by the ancients, are *Sydra*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Syedra*, *Nagidus* a *Samian* colony, *Anemurium*, *Arſione*, *Celendris* or *Celanderis*, *Aphrodiſias*, ſo called from *Venus* who was worſhipped there in a ſtately temple, *Holmus*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Holmia*, *Sarpedon*, famous for a noble temple conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Lephyrium*, according to *Ptolemy*, the laſt city of *Cilicia Aſpera*, which *Strabo* extends to *Solæ*. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Scylax* make no diſtinction between the two *Cilicias*. Near *Lephyrium* was a grove much celebrated by the ancients, and minutely deſcribed by *Pompo-* d
nius Mela [y]. *Sebaſte*, which *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian* choſe for his reſidence, after he was by *Auguſtus* appointed king of *Cilicia Aſpera*; this city was ſituated on a ſmall iſland called *Eleuſa*, and not on the continent, where *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* have placed it. Theſe were the towns of moſt note on the coaſt of *Cilicia Aſpera*; the inland cities were, *Seleucia*, built by *Seleucus Nicator* on the banks of the *Calycadnus*, and peopled by the inhabitants of *Holmus*; it was a free city under the *Romans*, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from ſeveral medals, at leaſt to the time of the emperor *Gordian*. *Domitianopolis*, *Philadelphia*, *Lamus*, and in latter times *Scandeloro*, on the confines of *Pamphylia*, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were ſubject to the *Cara-* e
manian kings.

Cities of Cilicia Proper. The chief cities of *Cilicia* properly ſo called, or *Cilicia Campeſtris*, were, according to *Strabo*, *Soli* or *Solæ*, built by the *Rhodians* and *Achæus*. This city was deſtroyed by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* in his wars with the *Romans*, and rebuilt by *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius* [z] *Pompey*; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of *Pompeiopolis*. *Laertius* [z] tells us, that this city was built by *Solon* on his return from the court of *Cræſus*, and peopled by a colony from *Athens*; and adds, that theſe *Athenians*, having in proceſs of time quite loſt the purity of their native language by converſing with the *Barbarians*, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expreſſions, whence any impropriety of ſpeech was called a *Soleciſm*. But this is contradicted f
by others [a], who derive the word *Soleciſm* not from the *Solenſes* in *Cilicia*, but from the *Solii* in *Cyprus* [b]. *Tarſus*, which produced the great apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, and was, if we believe *Strabo* [c], in former times no ways inferior for the ſtudy of philoſophy and polite literature either to *Athens* or *Alexandria*. We are told, that it borrowed its name from *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan*, by whom or by his deſcendants it was built; but *Strabo* out of *Ariſtobulus* acquaints us, that it was built by *Sardanapalus*, and proves his aſſertion from an ancient monument found in thoſe parts with this

[w] Idem, in cap. 10. Eſa. [x] Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 5. [y] Pomp. Mela, apud. Apollodor. l. i. c. 6. ſect. iii. [z] Laert. in vitis Philoſoph. [a] Strab. l. xiv. p. 456. [b] Vid. Plut. in vita Solon. [c] Strab. l. xiv. p. 463.

a this inſcription, *Sardanapalus the ſon of* Anacyndaraxes *built the cities of* Anchiale *and* Tarſus *in one day*. *Tarſus* was at firſt the metropolis of all *Cilicia*, and after *Conſtantine*'s diviſion of *Cilicia Prima*. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of *Roman* citizens, which St. *Paul* thought fit to make uſe of according to the *Portian* law [d]. The *Tarſians*, to ingratiate themſelves with *Julius Cæſar*, exchanged the ancient name of their city for that of *Juliopolis*; but the old name ſurvived the new, that city being called to this day by the *Greeks Terſia* or *Teraſſa*; the *Turks*, as *Bellonius* and other more modern travellers inform us, call it *Hamſa*. *Anchiale*, built by *Sardanapalus*, as we hinted above, or, if we believe *Athenodorus*, by *Anchiale* the daughter of *Japhet*. *Anazarbum*, ſituated on the river *Pyramus*, and in the
b *Roman* times the metropolis of *Cilicia Secunda*. *Suidas* tells us, that it was firſt called *Cyinda*, and afterwards *Anazarbum* from one *Anazarbus*, who was ſent by the emperor *Nerva* to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certainly miſtaken, ſince *Pliny*, who died long before the reign of *Nerva*, calls the inhabitants of this city *Anazarbeni*; and *Stephanus* derives its name from mount *Anazarbus* at a ſmall diſtance from the place where this city ſtood. *Anazarbum* was the birth-place of *Dioſcorides*, and continued in a very flouriſhing condition to the diviſion of the empire. *Epiphania*, which gave birth to *George* the famous *Arian* biſhop of *Alexandria*. *Mopſueſtia*, the ſee of *Theodorus Mopſueſtenus*, a great patron of the *Neſtorian* hereſy in the time of *Chryſoſtom*. *Iſſus*, ſituated on a gulph to which
c it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between *Alexander* and *Darius*; this town is now called *Ajazzo*, and the great gulph on which it ſtands the gulph of *Ajazzo*. *Alexandria* built by *Alexander the Great* between *Iſſus* and the ſtraits which lead from *Cilicia* into *Syria*. *Ptolemy* places this city in *Syria*, but *Strabo* more rightly on the bay of *Iſſus*. As this city was ſituated in a place very convenient for trade, it ſoon became one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of the world. *Alexander* in building it employed *Democrates*, who had rebuilt the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* burnt by *Eroſtratus* [e], and took care to people his new city with colonies from ſeveral other places, eſpecially from *Judæa* [f], allowing the *Jews* the free exerciſe of their own religion, and the ſame privileges, immunities, and exemptions
d which he granted the *Macedonians*. As it was very convenient for ſuch as traded on the *Mediterranean*, the *Red-Sea*, and the *Nile*, it continued in a very flouriſhing condition, till trade took another courſe on the diſcovery of a way to the *Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at preſent called by the *Turks Scandaron*, by the *Italians Alexandretta*, remarkable for nothing elſe but ſome ruins, which ſhew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the ancients, but as they were no ways conſiderable, and are at preſent quite unknown, we ſhall not dwell any longer on this ſubject.

THE rivers of any note in *Cilicia* are, the *Pyramus*, which riſes on the north ſide of mount *Taurus*, and empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean* between *Iſſus* and *Ma-* *Rivers.*
e *garſus*; the *Cydnus*, which ſprings from the *Antitaurus*, paſſes through *Tarſus*, and diſembogues itſelf into the *Mediterranean* near the city of *Anchiale*; it is famous for the rapidity of its ſtream, and coldneſs of its waters, which proved very dangerous to *Alexander*; the *Calycadmus*, the *Lamus*, the *Sarus*, the *Pinarus*, and ſeveral others of leſs note, water this province, and diſcharge themſelves into that part of the *Mediterranean*, which the ancients called the ſea of *Cilicia*, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from eaſt to weſt.

THAT part of *Cilicia*, which the ancients called *Cilicia Campeſtris*, was, if we believe *Ammianus Marcellinus*, one of the moſt fruitful countries of all *Aſia*; but the weſtern part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed *Soil and climate.*
f of horſes, of which 600 are yearly ſent to *Conſtantinople* for the ſpecial uſe of the *Grand Signior*. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholeſome, but equally dangerous on the coaſt, eſpecially to ſuch as are not accuſtomed to it.

THIS country, according to *Joſephus* [g], was firſt peopled by *Tarſhiſh* the ſon of *Javan* and his deſcendants, whence the whole country was called *Tarſis*, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of *Tarſus*, as ſome have wrote. The ancient inhabitants were in proceſs of time driven out by a colony of *Phœnicians*, who under the conduct of *Cilix* firſt ſettled in the iſland of *Cyprus*, and from thence paſſed *Their origin.*
into

[d] Act. xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii. [e] PLIN. l. v. c. 10. [f] JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. ii. [g] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [h] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 342.

into the country which from their leader they called *Cilicia*. *Strabo*[h] tells us, that a this *Phœnician* colony paſſed from *Cyprus* into *Phrygia*, where they lived in ſubjection to the kings of *Troy*, and after the *Trojan* war poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which was afterwards called *Cilicia*. In tract of time ſeveral colonies from other countries ſettled in this kingdom, namely from *Syria* and *Greece*, whence the *Cilicians* in ſome places uſed the *Greek* tongue, in others the *Syriac*, but the former greatly corrupted by the *Perſian*, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

Their manners, government, &c.

THE *Cilicians*, if we believe the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the *Roman* times entirely addicted to piracy. They firſt began together with the *Pamphylians* in the b time of the *Mithridatic* war to infeſt the neighbouring coaſts, and being emboldened with ſucceſs ſoon ventured as far as the coaſts of *Greece* and *Italy* itſelf, where they took innumerable ſlaves, whom they ſold to the *Cypriots*, and to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*. *Publius Servilius* was firſt employed againſt them, who gave them a great overthrow in a ſea-engagement, took *Phaſelis* and ſeveral other ſtrong-holds, whither they uſed to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But ſcarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the *Ionian*, *Mediterranean*, and *Archipelago*, with their veſſels, ſo as to entirely obſtruct the navigation. Whereupon *Pompey* himſelf did not think it beneath his greatneſs to undertake a war againſt them, which he ended in the ſpace of one c month, having at the ſame time attacked them both by ſea and land, with 500 ſhips and 130,000 men.

IN ancient times the *Cilicians*, before they ſettled in that country which we call *Cilicia*, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingoms, *viz.* the *Theban* and the *Lyrneſſian*; in the former ruled the family of *Eetion*, in the latter that of *Evenus*. Theſe kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of *Thebes* and *Lyrneſſus*, two cities in the famous plain called the *plain of Thebes*, often mentioned both by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as having been the occaſion of frequent diſputes between the *Lydians* and *Myſians*, and in the *Roman* times between the neighbouring princes of *Aſia Minor*. After the ſettling of the *Cilicians* in that d country which from them was called *Cilicia*, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of *Cyrus*, to whom they voluntarily ſubmitted, continuing ſubject to the *Perſians* till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* by kings of their own nation. *Herodotus* indeed counts *Cilicia* among the *Perſian Satrapies*[i]; but from other writers it is manifeſt, that the *Cilicians* were governed by kings of their own in the time of *Xerxes*[k] and *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. After the downfal of the *Perſian* empire *Cilicia* became a *Macedonian* province, and on the death of *Alexander* fell to the ſhare of *Seleucus*, and continued under his deſcendants till it was by *Pompey* reduced to a *Roman* province. As a proconſular province it was firſt governed by *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and after him by *Cicero*, who reduced ſeveral e ſtrong-holds on mount *Amanus*, in which ſome *Cilicians* had fortified themſelves and held out againſt his predeceſſor, for which he was ſaluted by the army with the title of *Imperator* or *General*. All *Cilicia* being thus brought under ſubjection, it was firſt divided into *Cilicia Campeſtris* and *Trachæa*; the former became a *Roman* province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the *Romans* till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when the family, of *Tracodementus* being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into *Cilicia Prima*, *Cilicia Secunda*, and *Iſauria*; the firſt took in all *Cilicia Campeſtris*, the ſecond the coaſt of *Cilicia Trachæa*, and the laſt the inland parts of the ſame diviſion; and in this f ſtate it continued till the diviſion of the empire.

Their kings.

As to the ſucceſſion of the *Cilician* kings we are almoſt quite in the dark. Thoſe we find mentioned by the ancients, are *Eetion*, who reigned before their migration into *Cilicia* and aſſiſted *Priam* againſt the *Greeks*. He was king of *Thebes* only, in the

[h] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 342. [i] HERODOT. l. iii. [k] Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. DIODOR. l. xvi. CURT l. ii.

(G) Which gave riſe to the proverbs, *Cilix haud facile verum dicit*; *Cilicium exitium*; and to the ſaying of *Pherecrates*, *Dii ſemper nobis imponunt, more Cilicium*; that is, *A* Cilician *ſcarce ever ſpeaks the truth*, Cicilian *cruelty*. *The gods, like the* Cilicians, *always deceive us*, (32)

(32) *Vide Chiliad. Eraſmi. Verbo Cilix.*

GRÆCIA ANTIQUA

prout Primitus in Regna dein in Respub: denique a Romanis in Provincias in hoc Vol: divisa legitur

a the defence of which city he was with his ſeven ſons killed, as we read in *Homer* [l], by *Achilles*. The famous *Andromache*, *Hector*'s wife, was his daughter. *Evenus* reigned in *Lyrneſſus* during the *Trojan* war, and is likewiſe mentioned by *Homer* [m]. He was ſucceeded in his petty kingdom by his ſons *Mines* and *Epiſtropus*, who ſiding with the *Trojans* were both killed by *Achilles*. *Syenneſis* I. who was contemporary with *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, as we have hinted in the hiſtories of *Media* and *Lydia*. *Horomedon* mentioned by *Herodotus* [n]. *Syenneſis* II. who aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* [o], and is greatly commended by *Æſchylus*. *Syenneſis* III. who aſſiſted, tho' much againſt his will, *Cyrus* the younger againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*. After his *Year of the*
b death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of *Cilicia*, appointed by *Flood*, 2598.
the kings of *Perſia*; whence we conclude him to have been the laſt that reigned in *Before Chriſt*
Cilicia before the country was ſubdued by *Alexander*. Of the kings that reigned ſe- 401.
veral ages after in *Cilicia Trachæa* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

[l] Homer. Iliad. Z. [m] Idem, Iliad. B. [n] Herodot. l. vii. [o] Herodot. ibid.

CHAP. XVII.

The fabulous and heroic times; Containing the hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Theſſaly, Corinth, *of* Sparta *to* Lycurgus, *and ſome others of leſs note, to their ſeverally becoming commonwealths.*

SECT. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

1 IT being the deſign of this chapter to open the way to the hiſtory of *Greece*, by tracing the ſeveral nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obſcure originals; and by pointing out the various ſteps by which they raiſed themſelves, from the loweſt beginnings, to that flouriſhing ſtate in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and *Original of*
ſciences, in politeneſs, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the *the* Greeks.
ſtrength and valour of their armies; we cannot reaſonably expect, that our readers will reſt ſatisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the beſt account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monſtrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of
b the *Grecian* writers, have ſtuffed it. We ſhall therefore ſtrive to make the beſt and ſhorteſt way we can through this long period of 900 years, whoſe ancient monuments, though diſguiſed under the tales of the moſt unnatural actions of the gods, ſuch as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits of their heroic offſpring (A); yet, when diveſted from the fable, afford at leaſt ſo much light

(A) It will not be amiſs to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha with offering ſome tolerable account for that heap of monſtrous fables under which the hiſtory of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from ſome, if not all, of the following reaſons:

1. From the genius of thoſe languages in which theſe ancient monuments were written, which was altogether

light to those dark times, that an history of this country would be justly thought a imperfect without some short account of them.

Geography of Greece.

THE limits of *Greece*, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual sending out of colonies, or by conquests which still carried their name with them, which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains, which divided it from *Macedonia*, and from the river *Strymon*, by which it was parted from *Thrace*, to the promontory of *Tenarus*, the utmost southern extent of *Peloponnesus*, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is, from the *Ægean* to the *Ionian* sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: In *Peloponnesus*, *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Messenia*, *Corinth*, *Achaia* b *Propria*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*. Out of it, or in *Græcia Propria*, those of *Attica*, *Megara*, *Bœotia*, *Locris*, *Epichnemidia*, *Doris*, *Phocis*, *Locris*, *Ozolæa*, and *Ætolia*. In *Epirus*, the *Molossi*, *Amphilochi*, *Cassiopæi*, *Dræopes*, *Chaones*, *Thesprotii*, *Almenii*, and *Acarnania*. In *Thessaly*, it contained the countries of *Thessaliotis*, *Estiotis*, *Pelasgiotis*, *Magnesia*, and *Phthia* [a]. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of *Argos*, *Attica*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, of the *Argonautic* expedition, and of the *Trojan* war [b]. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; the rest we must content ourselves with a bare mention, because we know very little except c their names.

Their various names.

FOR this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of ancient *Greece*. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of *Graioi* and *Graicoi* [c] (B). These they quickly changed for those of *Achæi* and *Hellenes* [d], by which they are generally called in ancient authors (C). Another name by which they were known in several parts of *Greece* was that of *Pelasgi*, which the *Arcadians*, who are generally reckoned the ancientest people of it,

[a] De his Vid. PTOL. HERODOT. D. SICUL. MELA, CLUVER. & al. mult. [b] PAUSAN. APOLL. & al. [c] CALLIMACH. Hymn. in Jov. SOPHOC. & al. [d] THUCYDID. l. i. ARISTOT. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. STEPH. BYZANT. &c.

altogether figurative, and whose elegance consisted in the boldest and most sublime allusions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themselves, who, being all poets, and recording these transactions in short sonnets, to be learned by heart and sung upon proper occasions, did still inhance upon their native idiom n poetic pieces, and made choice of the most strained and surprising allegories, that they might make the deeper and more lasting impression both on those who sang, and those who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or superior to other cotemporary nations, or perhaps rather from a shame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to say brutish, ancestors, who like wild beasts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the strongest arm. The consciousness of which made some of them fetch their original from certain great heroes begot by some leacherous god, either upon some kind goddess or straggling nymph, whilst others contented themselves with pretending, that they sprung like mushrooms out of their own native soil.

4. This might be also another reason, why they transformed into fictitious monsters those real ones amongst them, whose cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high esteem they had for those renowned heroes, who cleared the country of those pests of mankind. They could not, it seems, look upon the arduous, and yet successful, labours of a *Minos*, *Hercules*, or a *Theseus* in this so beneficial a province, without supposing them to have been more than mortal men, or at least without an ambition to make them pass in future ages for the offspring of some of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo, the ancient *Hebrew* heroes, both in their extraction and in their wonderful exploits, thus we find a great part of the character of *Hercules* to be a mere compound of those of a *Samson*, *Gideon*, *Jephtha*, and other *Jewish* worthies. The same may be said of several others (1).

(B) From *Græcus* the father, or, according to others, the son of *Thessalus*, who gave name to *Thessaly* (2). But by a modern critic (3) derived from *Ragau* the same with *Reu* the son of *Peleg* (4), by the transposition of a letter to soften the sound.

(C) The first supposed from *Achæus* the son of *Xuthus*, the son of *Hellen* and father of *Ion*; or, according to the fable, the son of *Jupiter* (5); the other from *Hellen* abovementioned, the son of *Deucalion* and father of *Dorus*, from whom came the *Dores*, afterwards a famous nation in *Greece*.

Thucydides observes rightly, however, that the name of *Hellenes* did not universally obtain over *Greece*; since *Homer*, who wrote so long after the siege of *Troy*, doth only call them so who followed *Achilles* from *Phthiotis* (6).

(1) *Vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet demonst. Evang. & al. mult.* (2) *Euseb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l.* xiv. *c.* 4. *Plin. Nat. Hist. l.* iv. *c.* 7. *Suid. & Steph. Bizant. in Voc.* Γραικος & Θεσσαλια (3) *Salmas. de re Hellenist. p.* 2. *c.* 1. *ap. Hind. introd. in Hist. Græc.* (4) 1 *Chron.* i. 25. *Gen.* xi. 18, 19. (5) *Vid. Byzant. sub voce* Ιωνια. (6) *Thucydid. l.* i.

it, do challenge from their pretended founder *Pelasgus*, who, we find, did get such a footing in *Peloponnesus*, that the whole peninsula was from him called *Pelasgia* [e]. We find these *Pelasgians*, for whom some critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), spread in many other parts of *Greece*, as in *Attica*, *Thessaly*, and *Epirus*; in which last they have been supposed by some [f] to have laid the foundation of the *Dodonean* oracle. But the most ancient name of all is universally allowed to be that of *Iones*, which the *Greeks* themselves derive from *Ion* the son of *Xuthus*, or, as the fable hath it, of *Apollo* by *Creusa* the daughter of *Erechtheus*, and grandson to *Deucalion* [g]. But it is more probable, as *Josephus* affirms [h]; that their original is of much older date, and that *Javan*, the son of *Japhet* and grandson
b of *Noah*, and his descendants were the first who peopled these countries, as the learned *Bochart* seems to have proved by very strong arguments [i] (E).

Iones *descended from* Javan.

It is true indeed, that among the *Greeks* themselves, only the original *Athenians* and such colonies as sprang from them were called *Iones*, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of *Greece* by that name; witness the testimony of *Hesychius* [k], and the scholiast on *Aristophanes* [l], and those passages of holy writ mentioned in the last note. We omit the names of several other people among the ancient *Greeks*, which were supposed to have been the oldest of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the first peoplers of that country; such were the *Aones*, *Hyanthes*, *Leleges*, *Dryopi*, *Caucones*, *Jemmices*, and others
c mentioned by *Strabo* [m], but which may be better supposed to have been reliques of the old *Carians*, who, *Thucydides* tells us, made frequent incursions into *Greece* [n].

The manners of the ancient Greeks.

If we look upon this infant state of *Greece* with respect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confession of their own writers, to have been one continued uncultivated desart, inhabited by savage creatures scarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at best sheltering themselves, from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts, and hollow trees [o]. The first improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholesome acorns, building themselves huts to sleep in, and covering their
d bodies with the skins of beasts. All this it seems they were beholden for to *Pelasgus* abovementioned [p], whose memory was highly reverenced among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners,

[e] Id. sub voc. Πελοποννησ. [f] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. v. Vid. & Pausan. in Attic. & Byzant. sub voce Θεσσαλια. [g] Vid. Herodot. l. viii. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. Pausan. Achaic. [h] Ant. l. i. c. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 3. [k] Sub voce Ιαονα. [l] Ap. Hind. Introduct. in hist. Græc. [m] Geogr. l. vii: [n] lib. i. [o] Vid. Horat. Satir. & Pausan. in Arcadic. [p] Id. ibid.

(D) These (7) suppose, that the descendants of *Peleg*, the fourth in descent from *Shem* the son of *Noah*, whom they suppose to have been the father of the *Scythians*, were the first who peopled *Greece*; and that they only softned the name of *Peleg*, or according to the septuagint and vulgate *Phaleg*, their progenitor, and called themselves *Pelasgians*. The last of those authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the *Hebrew* and ancient *Greek*, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the *Doric* comes nearest to the eastern tongues; and from the remainder of those tongues, especially in those places where the *Pelasgians* have been, which *Bochart* thought of *Phœnician*, but our author will rather have of *Hebrew*, extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a passage in *Epiphanius*, who says (8), that *from the age of* Therah *downward*, Phaleg *and* Ragau *removed towards the clime of* Europe *to part of* Scythia, *and were joined to those nations from which the* Thracians *came*.

This last passage, where-ever *Epiphanius* got it, has been sufficiently confuted by *Bochart* (9), who shews, that both *Phaleg* and *Ragau*, and their descendants, continued still in the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. And we have elsewhere shewn †, that the *Scythians* were the descendants of *Magog*, and not of *Phaleg* or *Ragau*. They were the sons of *Japhet* and not of *Shem*, who divided the isles of the gentiles (10). We shall therefore leave the *Pelasgians* to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the ancient *Greeks* in the following note.

(E) First from the authority of *Josephus* above quoted. 2. From the name itself of the patriarch, יון without the points, sounding more properly *Jon* than *Javan*. 3. From the authority of *Moses*, who says (11), that by these (the sons of *Japhet* were the isles of the *Gentiles* divided; which, according to the genius of the *Hebrew*, means, not islands properly so called, but all maritime countries, at any distance from *Palestine*, especially those which are along the *Mediterranean*. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call *Græcia* by the name of יון, *Jon*, or, as pointed, *Javan*. According to which the *Jews* have all along to this day called the *Greek* tongue יונית *Javanith*.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of *Elisha Javan*'s eldest son (13), which were still to be found in that of *Elis*, one of the ancient kingdoms of *Peloponnesus*.

(7) *Grot. Salmas. & Stillingfleet. orig. Sacr. l.* iii. *c.* 4. (8) *Epist. ad Acac. & Paul.* (9) *Phaleg. l.* ii. *c.* 14. † *See before, Vol.* II. *p.* 243. c. (10) *See Gen.* x. *ver.* 2. *ad* 5. (11) *Gen.* x. 5. (12) *Vid. int. al. Isai. cap. ult. ver.* 19. *Dan.* viii. 21. x. 20. (13) *Gen.* x. 4.

manners. On the contrary, they, who had no occaſion to fight for any thing but a hole to ſleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of theſe new acquiſitions. This in time put them under a neceſſity of joining themſelves into companies under ſome head, that they might either more ſafely plunder their neighbours, or preſerve what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the ſtrongeſt arm; ſo that they only lived ſafeſt and moſt quietly, who inhabited the moſt craggy and barren ſpots of ground, whilſt thoſe, who were more pleaſantly or fruitfully ſeated, were continually liable to be diſpoſſeſſed by new invaders. Hence it was, that *Greece* for a long time had no ſettled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakeſt being always ſure to be turned out by the ſtrongeſt. Their gigantic ſize and ſtrength, if we may believe *Plutarch* [s], added ſo much to their inſolence and cruelty, that they ſeemed to glory in committing the greateſt acts of violence and barbarity on thoſe that unhappily fell into their hands.

THE caſe did not alter much for the better after they came to form themſelves into regular ſocieties, and build themſelves towns and cities for ſafety. *Attica* ſeems the only place that was free from thoſe incurſions, becauſe it was deſtitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but thoſe cities fared worſt which were ſituate on the ſea-coaſts, becauſe they were in continual danger of being plundered either by ſea or land; for pirates did not leſs infeſt all thoſe ſeas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cauſe why moſt of the ancient cities of *Greece* were built at ſome diſtance from the ſhore; but even in theſe, as all their ſafety conſiſted in the reſiſtance they could make againſt an invader, ſo their inhabitants were under a neceſſity of going conſtantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

Pirates and robbers.

ANOTHER miſchief ariſing from theſe continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, ſo that men only planted and ſowed as much as was barely neceſſary for their preſent ſupport; and where there was ſuch an univerſal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any diſcoveries in other uſeful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at ſea. Hence it is alſo, that whilſt other ancient nations, as the *Jews*, the *Egyptians*, *Midianites*, and *Phœnicians*, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories, the *Greeks* alone ſeem to have been the only ſtrangers to them; inſomuch, that one may reaſonably queſtion, by *Homer*'s making oxen the ſtandard of the value of things, whether they knew the uſe of money even in his days. One art, however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they ſeemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverſe may be inferred from what the ſame poet tells us, of ſome of his heroes putting whole ſquadrons of them to flight.

Neglect of agriculture.

Trades.

Art of war.

WE ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel, that they had no letters till *Cadmus* brought them thither out of *Phœnicia*, whoſe alphabet, conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewiſe that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them; and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into *Egypt* and other kingdoms, and the *Celtes* made their frequent incurſions into *Greece* [t], that they began to have ſome knowledge and reliſh for them. We are indeed told, that *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, and ſome others, who went into the firſt of thoſe countries much earlier, did bring a great deal of the *Egyptian* divinity, and religious rites from thence [u]. But as for aſtronomy, geometry, philoſophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the firſt from *Babylon*, the next from *Egypt*, and the laſt from *Perſia* [x]; ſo ignorant we find them of the firſt of theſe ſciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by dark and light, or time of ſleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of ſowing and reaping.

Arts and ſciences.

THEIR government was ſtill more rude and barbarous; every city, and almoſt every village or obſcure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheleſs they gave the name of king. Hence that vaſt number of ſmall inconſiderable kingdoms with which this country ſwarmed, and of the greateſt part of which we know little elſe than their names, and that of one or ſometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of thoſe of more note,

Their government.

[s] In Theſeo. [t] See before, Vol. II. p. 252. c. [u] HERODOT. l. i. D. SICUL. Bibl. Hiſt. l. i. [x] Vid. TATIAN. Orat. cont. Græc.

note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conquest. Laws, *Laws.* at least a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the *Athenian* archons; till then all depended on the will and the definitive sentence of their kings; only in dubious and important cases, it was usual for them to consult some oracle, of which they had variety; the two most famous were that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* and that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, situated on the hill *Parnassus*. (F).

(F) It will doubtless be expected, that we should say at least so much of these oracles as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, since they were esteemed of such concern, that scarce any public affairs were transacted (or hardly any private ones, if the persons were in circumstances to pay for it) without consulting some of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we shall content ourselves with a short description of that of *Delphi*, as it was the most celebrated and frequented of any, either in *Greece* or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, but because *Apollo* was supposed more peculiarly to preside over, and to inspire men with, the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account also it was esteemed to outdo all others in the clearness and certainty of its answers; and by the great concourse of people who resorted to and inriched it with presents, it did likewise outshine all the rest in splendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, shall be seen in its proper place: here we shall content ourselves with a short account of the manner in which it was wont to be consulted and delivered, and by way of specimen to the rest; as for those of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he please, see them in our learned bishop *Potter*'s *Grecian* archæology.

1st, Those who consulted the oracle were to offer some considerable present to the god. 2dly, They offered also some sacrifices to him, and according as these carried a good or bad omen, so the *Pythoness* consented or refused to consult the deity. 3dly, The question to be asked was to be couched in as few words as possible. We omit some other circumstances of less moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the persons consulting, and the nature of the question to be asked.

2. The time for consulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the spring; the seventh day of that month was called *Apollo*'s birth-day, because originally the *Pythoness* gave no answers but on that day, so that they came so thick together, that they were forced to lengthen the time; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The person who delivered the answer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in case the same misfortune should happen to them, their shame might be out of danger of being discovered by pregnancy. Yet even these they obliged to go apparelled like virgins, and in a plain and homely dress, that they might give no temptation to their customers.

Pythia, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variously derived, by some, in memory of the serpent *Pytho* killed by *Apollo*, by others otherwise; but most probably from *Pytho*, which was but another name for *Delphi*, the place where this oracle was given, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this *Pythia*, having seated herself in the fountain *Castalis* at the foot of *Parnassus*, and shaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, she crowned herself with a garland of those leaves, and sometimes also did eat some of them; and then ascended the celebrated *Tripod* or *Tripus*, and sitting down upon it waited for the impulse of the god.

What kind of machine this wonderful *Tripod* was, is variously canvassed, and to as little purpose. Some take it to have been a brass pot filled with dust, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the *Pythoness*, and thence came out at her mouth; others say, it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which she conceived the mind of the deity; others say, that it was large enough for her to plunge herself into; but the most probable opinion is, that it was a table or seat on which she either leaned or sat (3).

It was called *Tripod* because it had three feet, alluding, according to some, to the three great celestial circles, *viz.* the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, past, present, and future. They had more than one of these *Tripods*. The most ancient of them was that which the people of that country caused to be set over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is said to have been wrought by *Vulcan*, and presented to *Apollo* by *Pelops* king of the *Eleans*; but the most famous one was that which the fishermen drew up with their nets, and, being adjudged by the oracle to the worthiest of the seven wise men who flourished then in *Greece*, and through modesty refused by him, was dedicated to this *Delphic Apollo*. The two first appear to have been of brass, and the last was of gold; some think also, there were likewise more than one *Pythia* at the same time, but without any good foundation (4); however, when she, who officiated as such, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, from whence she was called ἐγκατρίμβος and ἐγκρυμάντις, she began sometimes to swell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and flesh, like one in the strongest phrensy, at other times her spirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxysm has been so terrible, that it hath scared away the priests as well as the consulters, and one of them is said to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or serpent has been seen to return the answer from under the *Tripod*, and that the *Pythia* was once killed by him.

The answer was returned *viva voce*, and in hexameter or heroic verse. *Pausanias* attributes this form of answering to the famed *Phemonoe* the first *Delphic Pythia*. But the hymn of *Boeo*, a *Delphic* lady, attributes it to *Olen*, who with his *Hyperboreans* instituted this oracle, and changed their rustic prose into the smooth and heroic verse.

But though this oracle was the most famed for the clearness and truth of its answers, insomuch, that it was often applied to to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, so as to be easily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. *Herodotus* gives us some instances of this kind of amphibolious answers given to *Crœsus*, of which that unfortunate king, a most innocent votary to the *Delphic* god, justly complains,

(1) *Plutarch. Græc. Quæst.* 9. (2) *Lydius. Schol. in Aristoph. ap. Potter Archæolog. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (3) *Cæl. Rhodig. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 15. *Cf. quid* [illegible] *Plutar. de oracul.* (5. *Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac.*

Religion.

THEIR religion was ſtill worſe than all the reſt, being little elſe than a corruption, a if we may be allowed that word, of the *Egyptian* theology, brought thither at firſt by *Cecrops*, an *Egyptian* exile and founder of the *Attic* monarchy, who, according to *Pauſanias*, did firſt introduce the worſhip of *Jupiter* in his new kingdom. *Orpheus*, *Dædalus*, and *Melampus*, went and fetched new ſupplies of *Egyptic* idolatry and ſuperſtition; and *Greece* was ſoon after furniſhed with a number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this deſperate and univerſal degeneracy of the *Grecian* nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to aſcribe in ſome meaſure all the fabulous accounts, which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains b and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were *Minos*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and many more, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race, and others, laſtly, by wholeſome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and ſciences, laid the happy foundations for that politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after ages.

The chronology of this epoch.

Year of the flood, 910.

Before Chriſt, 2089.

THIS fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have ſung and hiſtorians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the ancient *Grecian* monarchies, the exploits of the *Grecian* heroes, their wars and other tranſactions from the end of the *Trojan* war and upwards, to the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom the moſt ancient of all, amounts to 905 years, that is from *A. M.* 1915. when *Ægialeus* is ſaid to have c laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the deſtruction of *Troy*, *A. M.* 2820. (G). But as under this period are contained the hiſtories of the ſeveral following monarchies; 1ſt, That of *Sicyon* abovementioned: 2. Of *Argos* and *Mycenæ*: 3. *Attica*: 4. *Bœotia*: 5. *Arcadia*: 6. *Theſſaly*: 7. *Corinth*: 8. *Sparta*, and ſome others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their ſeverally reſolving themſelves into commonwealths; this laſt circumſtance will oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha down to the times of their reſpective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each diſtinct head.

OTHER material tranſactions under this period are chiefly thoſe that follow, the *Ogygian* and *Deucalion* floods; the murder committed by the daughters of *Danaus* on their huſbands; the labours of *Hercules*; the unfortunate adventures of *Œdipus*; the *Argonautic*

[t] Vid. USSER. Ann. ſub utroque an. ex Caſtor. ap Euſeb. Chronic.

complains, as having more than once or twice miſled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may ſee a number of other inſtances of the ſame nature in *Pauſanias* (7), beſides thoſe which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the conſulters, yet ſeemed to be directed by ſome foreſeeing being, becauſe they ſtill anſwered the prediction, though in a different ſenſe. Of this nature was that which forewarned *Epaminondas* to beware of what the *Greeks* called the *Pelagos*; by which he underſtanding it to mean the ſea which they called πελαγος, forbore to go into any ſhip or gally, whereas it was the *Mantinean* wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the ſame nature is the *Carthaginian* general ſaid to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle that he ſhould be buried in *Libya*; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the *Romans* he ſhould return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of *Libiſſa* in *Bythinia* but according to our author called by the *Nicomedians* *Libya*, in which he died.

It was for this reaſon, that theſe predictions, attributed by the *Heathens* to ſome godhead, were by the primitive fathers aſcribed to the devil, who, though incapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater gueſs into it than any mortal; but we leave the diſquiſition of ſuch queſtions to divines, as well as the times and cauſes of thoſe oracles ceaſing in the heathen world, though this laſt we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to reſume the ſequel of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

(G) We need not tell our readers, that this chronology is far enough from being unqueſtionable; thoſe who have read Sir *Iſaac Newton* on this ſubject will eaſily agree with him, that the reigns of the ſeveral kings of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, &c. are ſpun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty-five and forty years apiece, which is almoſt double the time that thoſe of *Judah* and *Iſrael* reigned.

It is alſo not unlikely, that the foundation of the *Sicyonian* kingdom is vaſtly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between *Apis* and *Epaphus* or *Ecpus*, whom our author thinks to have been two names for the ſame perſon, were only feigned, and interlarded here to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told, that it began 232 years before the time of *Inachus*, or 1313 years before the firſt *Olympiad* (8); but what certainty can there be in a tradition of ſuch a length?

The ſame fault may be ſuppoſed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, ſince their foundation is likewiſe previous to the *Olympiads*, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and, in many inſtances, notoriouſly falſe.

(6) *Lib.* i. (7) *In Arcad. Vid. & cand. in Phoc.* & *Potter ubi ſupra.* (8) *Caſtor ap. Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.*

Argonautic expedition; the wars of *Minos* and *Theſeus*; the exploits and adventures of *Prometheus*, *Epimetheus*, and *Atlas*; thoſe of *Perſeus* and *Bellerophon*; the rapes of *Io*, *Europa*, and *Helena*; the war of the *Epigoni* or ſeven champions againſt *Thebes*; the *Trojan* war, ſpoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greateſt part of the *Grecian* chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in ſuppreſſing robbers and pyrates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppreſſed, and for forming the *Greek* nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbariſm, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of the antient kingdom of SICYON.

[a] *SICYON* has the firſt place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the reſt, and becauſe it boaſts a ſucceſſion of twenty-ſix kings, whoſe ſeveral reigns makes up an epoch of nine-hundred and ſixty years and upwards. Its original name was *Ægiala*, given to it by *Ægialeus*, the ſuppoſed founder and firſt monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of *Apia*, from *Apis* the 4th king from *Ægialeus*, and in proceſs of time it had that of *Sicyon* given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 740 years after its ſuppoſed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninſula of *Peloponneſus*, was called *Sicyonia*, until its diſſolution, and even beyond it[a]. *Names.*

[b] THIS little kingdom was ſituate on the north part of *Peloponneſus*, ſince called the bay of *Corinth*. It had the province of *Achaia* on the weſt, and the *Iſthmus* which joins the peninſula to the continent of *Greece* on the eaſt. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is ſuppoſed to have been ſituate upon the river *Aſopus* in about thirty-eight degrees and a half of north latitude and twenty three degrees and a half of eaſt longitude, having the bay of *Corinth* on the north, the reſt of the *Peloponneſus* on the other three points[b]. *Situation.*

[c] ITS territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, beſides ſome iron mines. It was in proceſs of time very much adorned, by *Sicyon* and his ſucceſſors, with temples, altars, monuments, and ſtatues of all their gods and ancient monarchs. It would be juſtly eſteemed the ancienteſt monarchy in the world, not excepting even thoſe of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 200 years before *Noah*'s death, as ſome have computed it from *Euſebius*, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the firſt olympiad[c]. But that miſtake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with *Terah Abraham*'s father, and to have began his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about *A. M.* 2236[d], which brings it ſomewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; beſides it is not improbable, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, that chronologers [d] have ſplit *Apis Epaphus* (the 4th in deſcent from *Ægialeus*) into two kings, and between them have inſerted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder *Ægialeus* 300 years older than his brother *Phoroneus*[e], the ſon of *Inachus* and founder of *Phoronicum*, ſince called *Argos*. The truth is, we know nothing of theſe princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The ſame indeed may be ſaid of the greateſt part of their ſucceſſors. We meet with no memorable action or conqueſt performed by any of them during the long ſpace of 960 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is ſo fruitful of the moſt ſurprizing exploits in moſt other contemporary kingdoms. However, we ſhall here ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe twenty-ſix monarchs [e] with the length of their reigns, as we find it tranſmitted to us. *Natural and artificial rarities.* *Chronology.*

Kings

[a] STEPHAN. de Urb. STRAB. [b] STRAB. MELA, & al. [c] HEYL. ex EUSEB. Chronic. [d] USSER. RAWLEIGH & al. [e] NEWT. Chronol. introd. p. 6.

Kings of *Sicyon:*

		Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.
1	*Ægialeus*	52	8 *Leucippus*	53	18 *Laomedon*	40
2	*Europs*	45	9 *Mossapius*	47	19 *Sicyon*	45
3	*Telchin* or *Selchin*	20	10 *Peratus*	46	20 *Polybus*	40
4	*Apis*	25	11 *Plemneus*	48	21 *Inachus* or *Ianiſchus*	42
5	*Thelxion* or *Thelaſion*	52	12 *Orthopelis*	63	22 *Phæſtus*	8
6	*Ægirus*	34	13 *Marathon*	30	23 *Adraſtus*	4
7	*Eurymachus al. Thurimachus*	45	14 *Marathus*	30	24 *Polyphides*	31
			15 *Æchyræus*	55	25 *Pelasgus*	20
			16 *Corax*	30	26 *Zeuxippus*	32
			17 *Epopæus*	35		

In all years 962

THERE is little elſe to be found in hiſtory worth notice concerning theſe monarchs, beſides what we hinted above. Thoſe that are the moſt remarkable in the liſt are, 1. *Ægialeus* the founder; 2. *Apis*, from whom the country was called *Apia*; 3. *Ægirus*, the ſuppoſed founder of the ancient city of *Ægira*, ſituate on a high and almoſt inacceſſible hill; once the capital of *Achaia* properly ſo called, and now ſuppoſed to be the ſmall village of *Hylocaſtro*; 4. *Marathon*, of whom the famous fields of *Marathon* had probably their name; 5. *Epopæus*, who built a ſtately temple to *Minerva* and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. *Sicyon* from whom the whole country and peninſula took the name of *Sicyonia*. He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have either built, or at leaſt enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of *Zeuxippus* the laſt king in the liſt, that ſtate is ſaid to have been governed by the prieſts of *Apollo Carneus*, five of whom held the ſovereignty only during one year each; after which *Amphictyon* held it nine years ſucceſſively, and *Charidemus* the laſt of them continued in it eighteen years [f]. After this hierarchy had laſted thirty two years the *Heraclidæ*, who were by that time returned into *Peloponneſus*, became maſters of it, or, according to *Pauſanias*, the kingdom was incorporated with the *Dores*, and became ſubject to that of *Argos* [g], the next ancient kingdom to that of *Sicyon*.

[f] EUSEB. Chron. [g] In Corinth.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of ARGOS.

WE have already hinted in the laſt ſection, that not the kingdom only of *Sicyon*, but the whole *Peloponneſus*, was called *Ægiala* and *Apia* from the firſt and fourth kings of it. There were likewiſe two kings of the ſame name in *Argos*; the one the younger ſon of *Inachus* the founder of the kingdom, and the other the ſon of *Phornutus* the elder brother of *Ægialeus* [a]. Hence theſe two have been confounded with thoſe of *Sicyon*, and their kingdom thought to have been of as ancient, if not of older, date than the *Sicyonian*, and the country to have received their name not from the *Sicyonian*, but from the *Argivic* monarch. In ſo dark a diſpute we can only ſay, that the *Argivic Ægialeus* being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, ſeeing his brother *Phornutus* left the kingdom to his own ſon, it is not ſo likely, that the country ſhould receive its name from him as from that of *Sicyon*. However, the kingdom ſoon changed its name for that of *Argolis* from *Argos*, the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Niobe*, who was ſiſter to *Apis*, upon whom the kingdom devolved, becauſe *Apis* died without iſſue. It was alſo called *Hippium* and *Hippoboton* from the neighbouring paſtures, in which *Neptune* is ſaid to have fed his horſes [b], or rather from an excellent breed of horſes which that country was famed for.

THIS

[a] APOLLODOR. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. HIND. hiſt. Greec. [b] PAUSAN. in Corinth.

THIS kingdom is situate on the north-east side of *Peloponnesus*, surrounded on the east by the two bays of *Saron*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, and of *Argos*, and has the kingdom of *Sicyon* or *Achaia Propria* and *Arcadia* on the north and west, and that of *Laconia* on the south. What its ancient limits were is hard to say; but it was very much inlarged by some of its monarchs, so that it extended itself from east to west from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. east longitude, or about seventy miles, and north and south from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles. *Situation and extent.*

ITS chief river is the *Inachus*, so called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itself into the bay of *Argos*, now called *Golfo de Engia*, near the port *Asine*. On this river was situate the metropolis, called also *Inachus* from its founder and fourth monarch, and famous among other things for the death of *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a house. Here was also the brazen tower, in which *Danae*, being confined by her father, was defloured by *Jupiter*. It was likewise much inriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of horses bred about its territory, from which the name of *Hippium* was given to it. 2. Next to *Argos* was *Mycena*, which became in process of time the seat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by *Horace* for her riches, as her rival *Argos* was for her horses. 3. *Trezen*, once the royal seat of *Pitteus* the grandfather of *Theseus*. 4. *Nemea*, famous for the *Nemean* games, supposed to have been instituted there in memory of *Hercules*'s killing a lion which infested that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the son of *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, who had been killed by a serpent, whilst his nurse *Hysipyle* went to shew the *Argives* to a spring of water. We shall have occasion to speak more fully of this adventure in the sequel. 5. *Epidaurus*, in which stood the so famed temple of *Æsculapius*, resorted to from most parts of *Europe* and *Asia* for the cure of all distempers. 6. *Nauplia*, so called from its founder *Nauplius* king of *Ebena*, and for its excellent situation and harbour, whence it had the name of *Nauplia Navale*, now *Neapolis*, from which the gulf on which it is situate hath its modern name [d]. *Natural and artificial rarities.*

THE government of *Argos*, and afterwards of *Mycena*, continued altogether monarchical from its first foundation to its establishing itself into a downright democracy. *Pausanias* indeed observes, that the *Argives* were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long succession of princes; the *Heraclidæ*, who were of the family of *Perseus*, recovered the kingdom from that of *Pelops*, about eighty years after the taking of *Troy*, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that space that they gained so much ground upon their kings, that they left them little else than the bare name; but by what laws they were anciently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far these monarchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to say. *Government.*

THIS kingdom, *Eusebius* tells us out of *Castor* [c], was founded 1080 years before the first olympiad, that is, according to *Usher*, in the year of the world 2148, so that *Inachus* the founder of it was cotemporary with *Abraham*, and with *Thurimachus* the 7th king of *Sicyon*. It continued under the name of the *Argolic* kingdom till the reign of *Acrisius* the 14th king of it, who transferred the seat of it to *Mycena* a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of *Mycena*, till the dissolution which happened about the year 2920, when the *Heraclidæ* made themselves masters again both of this and of the whole peninsula, after it had stood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty-one monarchs. The *Argolic* kingdom, properly so called, retained likewise its own kings after this division until the *Heraclidæ*, whose family had been set aside by that of *Eurystheus*, the implacable enemy of *Hercules* and all his race, above an age before. These dividing the peninsula into three kingdoms, that of *Argos* had not continued above forty years, before *Meltas* their last king, having made a push to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the lowest pitch, lost both his kingdom and life, after which the *Argivic* government was changed into a democracy. *Year of the flood*, 1143. *Before Christ*, 1856. *The chronology of* Argos.

A LIST

[c] STEPH. de Urb. [d] MELA, HEYL. CLUVER. [e] Chronic.

A LIST of the Kings of *Argos* before its Tranſlation to *Mycena*.

1 *Inachus*
2 *Phoroneus*
3 *Apis*
4 *Argus*
5 *Piraſus, al. Criaſus*
6 *Phorbas*
7 *Triophas*
8 *Crotopus*
9 *Sthenelus*
10 *Danaus*
11 *Lynceus*
12 *Abas*
13 *Prætus*
14 *Acriſius*
15 *Perſeus*

Founder of the kingdom of *Mycena*.

16 *Talaon*
17 *Adraſtus*
18 *Ægialeus*
19 *Diomedes*

Kings of *Mycena*.

1 *Perſeus*
2 *Euryſtheus*
3 *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes*
4 *Agamemnon*
5 *Ægiſthus*
6 *Oreſtes*
7 *Tiſamenus al. Penthilus*

Kings of the *Heraclidæ* at *Argos*, after they had recovered *Peloponneſus* and divided it into three kingdoms.

1 *Temenus*
2 *Ciſus*
3 *Lacidaus*
4 *Meltas*

Inachus. 1. *Inachus*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys* (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his ſiſter *Meliſſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Phoroneus* and *Ægialeus*: he is ſuppoſed to be the father of *Io*, and therefore the *Greeks* are ſometimes called from him *Inachi*.

Phoroneus. 2. *Phoroneus* ſucceeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before diſperſed about the country into one city, which was called from him *Phoronium* [f]; he is ſaid to have had a ſon, by the nymph *Laodice*, named *Apis*; and a daughter named *Niobe*, who became the firſt paramour of the luſtful god *Jupiter*, hy whom ſhe had a ſon named *Argos*. From *Phoroneus*, his ſuppoſed ſiſter *Io* is ſometimes called *Pheronis* by the poets [g].

Apis. 3. *Apis* ſucceeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed againſt him, which was upheld by *Thekim* or *Thelxion* king of *Sicyon* (B), to whoſe treachery he was ſacrificed. Some affirm, that he fled into *Egypt*, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worſhipped under the title of *Serapis* and in the form of an ox. We have already obſerved in the hiſtory of that kingdom †, that *Serapis* was worſhipped under a human form, bearing a buſhel on its head. As for their *Apis*, though he was indeed worſhipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of *Argolic* extraction. We meet with ſeveral of the name, one in *Sicyon*, one in *Argos*, and this in *Egypt*; all of them ſo confounded by *Mythologiſts*, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. 4. *Argos*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Niobe*, ſucceeded him; he is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name [h]. He is ſaid to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by

[f] PAUSAN. in Corinth. [g] HORAT. & al. † See before, Vol. I. p. 205. e. 206. c. [h] APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 1.

(A) Or rather becauſe he came thither by ſea. We have had occaſion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the deſcendents of thoſe firſt founders of kingdoms of raiſing them ſuch fabulous genealogies, in order to diſguiſe the obſcurity of their origin, by aſcribing it to ſome god, to the ſea, rivers, nymphs, and ſuch like extraordinary progenitors. We ſhall refer the reader to the caution we gave them there concerning theſe miraculous offſprings †.

(B) This ſhews how little dependence there is in the writings of this epocha, ſince even this laſt reigned, according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, near 100 years before *Inachus* the founder of the *Argolic* kingdom, unleſs they have miſtook him for *Peratus*, who flouriſhed about the latter end of *Apis*'s reign.

† *Vid ſup. Vol. II. p.* 287. *ſub. fin. not.*

by the *Grecians* before his reign, who came from that time to be called *Argivi* from him.

5. *Criasus*, by others called *Peirasus*, the son of *Argos*. Criasus.

6. *Phorbas* the son of *Criasus*, supposed to have been cotemporary with *Atlas* and *Prometheus*. Phorbas.

7. *Triopas* the son of *Phorbas*, whose brother, named also *Phorbas*, settled himself in the island of *Rhodes*. Triopas.

8. *Crotopus*, in whose times the *Argives* felt the dire effects of *Apollo*'s anger on the following occasion: that God had had a private amour with *Psamathe* the king's daughter; and she to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the rushes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. *Apollo*, to punish the *Argives* for this crime, sent the monster, or fury, *Pene*, who snatched their children from their mothers bosoms, and destroyed them. This monster being killed at length by *Carebus*, *Apollo* sent them a grievous pestilence. *Carebus*, having consulted the oracle how his anger might be appeased, was forbid to return to *Argos*, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god where-ever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did. Crotopus.

9. *Sthenelus*, son of *Crotopus*, reigned sixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his son *Geleanor*, was outed the kingdom by *Danaus* an *Egyptian*. Sthenelus.

10. *Danaus* had been driven out of *Egypt* by his brother *Ægyptus*, for refusing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty sons of his brother. His pretence for refusing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he should be killed by a son-in-law. Being therefore expelled *Egypt*, he came to *Argos*, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being descended from *Epaphus* the son of *Io*, who, as was hinted above, was the daughter of *Inachus*. Both he and *Sthenelus* agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the second meeting of the assembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was grasing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen against the present possessor. *Sthenelus* was supposed to be meant by the bull, and *Danaus* by the wolf, because he was a stranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king [i].

As soon as *Ægyptus* heard of this election, he resolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and strengthening himself by so many alliances against him. He raised a powerful army, and sent it with his fifty sons at the head of it, against the new king of *Argos*; and these reduced him to such extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to stab their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named *Hypermnestra*, who privately conveyed her bridegroom *Lynceus* to *Lyncæa*, a town not far from the metropolis. *Danaus* was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he would have put her to death for it; but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane *Argives*, was again received into favour, and *Lynceus* declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

11. *Lynceus*, the son of *Ægyptus*, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the *Argives* having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to *Venus*, and the *Argives* instituted a feast in memory of the signal *Hypermnestra* had given to her husband of his being out of danger, and called it *the feast of Flambeaus*. Lynceus.

12. *Abas* was the son of *Lynceus* and *Hypermnestra*, and father of *Prœtus* and *Acrisius*, by *Ocalea* the daughter of *Mantineus*. These two sons, who were twins, are said Abas.

[i] Pausan. ubi supra.

(C) This fable, some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which *Danaus* built at *Argos*, with water, and probably also those of the city, which, according to the description an ancient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river *Inachus*, yet by reason of its nearness to the gulf, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

(1) *Strab. Geogr. l.* viii.

said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a sure presage of that more fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other.

Prœtus. 13. *Prœtus* found means to step first upon the throne, and held it about seventeen years. It was in some part of this time, that *Bellerophon* king of *Corinth*, having committed manslaughter, came to *Argos* to be expiated by *Prœtus*, whose queen *Stenobœa*, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, sollicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuse him to her husband of having attempted her chastity. *Prœtus*, not suspecting the truth of the accusation, sent immediately the young *Corinthian* prince to his father-in-law *Jobates*, with letters, in which he desired him to make away with the innocent stranger. *Jobates* sent him upon several dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithstanding, *Bellerophon* came off victorious, as we shall see when we come to speak of the kings of *Corinth* [l]. In the mean time *Prœtus* met with something to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother *Acrisius*, who, proving too strong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law *Jobates* king of *Lycia*. These two soon returned into *Argos* with an army, took the city of *Tyrins*, and obliged *Acrisius* to agree to a treaty, by which *Prœtus* had *Tyrins*, and other maritime, and *Acrisius Argis*, and the inland towns [m]. *Prœtus* had forty-three daughters by his wife *Stenobœa*, or, as she is called by *Homer*, *Antœa*; and they, with the rest of the women of that country, were seized with a distemper which they called *the fury of Bacchus*; but were cured by an excellent physician and soothsayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his skill. *Melampus*, that was the physician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother *Bias*; but *Prœtus* had soon after this partition, a son named *Megapenthes*, who succeeded him in the other third called *Tyrins*; but it is likely, that these three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of *Argos* after the death of those philosophers, as we shall see after we have ended the history of the kings of *Mycena*, whose part from that time makes the most considerable figure.

Acrisius *king of* Mycena. 14. *Acrisius*, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife *Eurydice* called *Danae*, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that she would have a son, by whom he should be killed. To prevent therefore that young princess having any conversation with mankind, he caused her to be close confined in a strong brasen tower, and under such strict watch, that she might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not *Jupiter* melted himself, as the poets feign, into a golden shower, which, sliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution (D) [n].

THE fruit of these stolen embraces was *Perseus*, who was no sooner born, than *Acrisius* ordered him and his mother to be put into a chest, and thrown into the sea; but *Jupiter* took care to convey them safe to *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, the brother of *Polydectes* king of that island, brought *Perseus* up as his own son. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her son prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this opposition, and resolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, sent him into *Africa* to fetch the famous *Gorgon*, *Medusa*'s head, not doubting, but the attempt would cost him his life. But to his surprise he saw the young prince return with the *Gorgon* (E), and crowned with a two-fold success, having in that expedition saved *Andromeda*,

[k] PAUSAN. in Argolic. APOLLOD. l. 2. c. 2. [l] Idem, ibid. OVID. Metam. &c. [m] PAUSAN. ubi supra. APOLLOD. ubi supra. [n] APOLLOD. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden shower seems to have been only some considerable bribe to those who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle *Prœtus* who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an ancient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, *Medusa* had succeeded her father *Phorcas* in his kingdom, which was situate along the lake *Tritonis*, and that she was a *Virago*, who, for want of other employment, was much used to hunting and to fight with her *African* subjects; and that *Perseus*, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choicest forces of *Peloponnesus*, surprised and beheaded her, and carried her head away into *Greece*, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may see what has been said of it by the judicious author last quoted.

(2) *Vid. Paus. in Argol. Apollod. l.* ii. *pass. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. l.* iv. *& al.* (3) *Pausan. ubi supra & Corinth. Ch.* xxi.

2 *dromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* king of *Joppe* a maritime town in *Phœnicia*, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which ſervice ſhe was given to him in marriage.

At his return into *Seriphus*, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the luſtful and inhoſpitable king. Here he found, that his mother and *Dictys* had been forced to run into a ſanctuary to ſkreen themſelves from his brutiſh violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into ſtones at the ſight of the *Gorgon*, ſet up *Dictys* upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother *Danae* and his wife *Andromeda*, into *Argos*; but *Acriſius*, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed ſuch noble exploits, had retired b into *Lariſſa*, a city of *Pelaſgia* ſituate on the river *Peneus*, whoſe king *Tantalus* having ſoon after cauſed ſome funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceaſed father, *Perſeus* came thither among a great concourſe of *Grecian* princes, and by an unfortunate caſt of the diſk (G) which fell upon *Acriſius*'s foot, who was there preſent, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him [o].

15. *Perſeus*, though next heir to the kingdom of *Argos* in right of *Danae* his Perſeus. mother, yet choſe to exchange it with his couſin *Megapenthes* for that ſmall one of *Tyrins* which had been left to him by his father *Prætus*, rather than to return to *Argos* after this unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm, that *Perſeus* reſtored his grand-father to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but c that is inconſiſtent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with *Megapenthes*, *Perſeus* went and built the city of *Mycena*, and made it the ſeat of the kingdom. That of *Argos* was therefore ſaid to have been tranſlated thither, becauſe this new metropolis became in a ſhort time more populous and opulent than the other. After *Acriſius*'s death, the kingdom being thus divided into ſeveral pieces and among different families, *Perſeus*, having reigned about eighteen years in that of *Tyrins*, left it to his ſon *Alcæus*, and he to *Amphitryon*, by whoſe wife *Alcmena* *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Hercules*, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more ſtrength to the child [p]. In the mean time *Amphitryon*, having unawares killed *Electryon*, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was d forced to fly to *Thebes*. Here the child *Hercules* began to give ſuch early proofs of his courage, extraordinary ſtrength, and fierceneſs, that he was ſent to be brought up among ſome ſhepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age (H) [q].

16. *Euryſtheus* the ſon of *Sthenelus*, who was come to the crown of *Mycena*, or, Euryſtheus. as others have it, ſucceeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed ſon of *Amphitryon* his couſin-german, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time find means to diſpoſſeſs him of it. His fear and hatred of him ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of him. *Hercules*, who was not inſenſible of it, becauſe he e was ever engaging him upon ſome deſperate expedition, went to conſult the oracle, and being anſwered, that it was the pleaſure of the gods that he ſhould ſerve *Euryſtheus* twelve years, was caſt into ſo deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madneſs, during which, among other deſperate deeds, he put away his wife *Megara*,

[o] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. ubi ſupra.
[q] Apollod. ibid.

[p] Id. ibid. Diodor. Biblioth. hiſt. l. iv.

(F) This whale is ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe than a ſhip ſo called, into which *Phœnix* had ſeduced her in order to carry her away (4).

(G) The diſk was a round piece of iron, lead, braſs, or ſtone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gameſters uſed to exerciſe their ſtrength and ſkill. He who could throw it fartheſt won the prize (5).

(H) We have already obſerved, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. *Diodorus* and *Euſebius* mention three: *Diodorus* aſcribes all theſe fabulous actions to the youngeſt who was the ſon of *Alcmena* (6). *Servius* ſpeaks of four, and *Varro* of forty-four; but the moſt remarkable of theſe are the ſix mentioned by *Tully*; as follows (7):

The firſt, begot by the moſt ancient *Jupiter* and *Lyſito*, who contended with *Apollo* for the tripod.

The ſecond, the ſon of *Nile* and an *Egyptian*, was the inventor of the *Phrygian* characters.

The third was a native of *Crete* (and the ſon of the *Celtic Jupiter*): he was one of the *Idæi Dactyli*, or *Curetes* of mount *Ida*.

The fourth was the ſon of the ſecond *Jupiter* and *Aſteria* ſiſter to *Latona*, and father of *Carthago*; he was worſhipped by the *Tyrians*.

The fifth was the *Indian Belus*. And

The ſixth was this *Hercules* the ſuppoſed ſon of *Amphitryon*, but begot by the third *Jupiter* upon *Alcmena*.

(4) *Conon. Narrat.* 40. *Roſſ. Myſtag. Poetic. Hind. Hiſt. Greec.* 21. *p.* 443. (5) *Potter. Archæolog. Vol. I. Ch.* (6) *Hiſt. l.* iv. (7) *De Natur. Deor. lib.* iii.

Megara, and murdered all the children he had had by her, which are ſuppoſed to have been twelve, becauſe the king impoſed the ſame number of labours upon him, as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his ſenſes [r]. Theſe labours being for the moſt part fabulous, and ſome of them, as we have obſerved more than once, being probably ſtolen from the hiſtory of *Sampſon* and other *Hebrew* worthies, we ſhall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our hiſtory of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I). a

Atreus. 17. *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops*, and grandſon of *Tantalus* king of *Lydia*, aſcended the throne of *Mycenæ*, after the death of *Euryſtheus* who left no iſſue. As for the line of *Perſeus* it only ſubſiſted in *Hercules*. *Atreus* is always joined with his brother *Thyeſtes* as partner of the kingdom. Theſe two are juſtly branded, the one for his inceſt, and the other for his horrid murders. *Thyeſtes* for defiling his brother's wife; and *Atreus* for murdering his brother's ſons and feaſting him with their fleſh (K). b

It was in his reign that the *Heraclidæ*, for ſo were called the ſons and deſcendants of *Hercules*, came under the conduct of their champion *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules*, and claimed the kingdom of *Mycena*, from which they had been driven by *Euryſtheus*. The controverſy was to be decided by ſingle combat and under theſe conditions, that if *Hyllus* killed *Euchemus*, who had undertook to be champion for *Atreus*, then this laſt ſhould relinquiſh his kingdom to the *Heraclidæ*; and if *Hyllus* was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into *Peloponneſus* till fifty years were expired. It happened, that *Hyllus* was killed by his antagoniſt, ſo that *Atreus* obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the *Heraclidæ* went to *Tricorinthus*, and others to *Dorus*, to whoſe father *Hercules* had left the region of *Heſtiæotis* in truſt for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the *Dores*. Their grandmother *Alcmena*, diſappearing about this time, as ſhe was returning to *Thebes*, had divine honours inſtituted and paid to her [s]. *Atreus* was ſoon after their departure killed by *Ægyptus*, and ſucceeded by his own ſon. c

18. *Aga-*

[r] Diodor. Apollodor. ubi ſupra.

[s] Pausan. Apollod. ubi ſupra & al.

(I) The firſt labour impoſed upon him was the killing of a lyon in *Nemea* a wood of *Achaia*; whoſe hide was proof againſt any weapon, ſo that he was forced to ſeize him by the throat and ſtrangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his ſkin about his ſhoulders.

In the ſecond he killed the *Hydra*, a monſter with two heads, one of which was no ſooner cut off, than two ſprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the *Erymanthian* boar alive upon his ſhoulders, at the ſight of which the king is ſaid to have been ſo frighted, that he ran and hid himſelf in a braſen hogſhead. It was likewiſe in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (8).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious ſwiftneſs.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanſe *Augeæs*'s ſtable in one day, which he did by turning the river *Alpheus* into it.

In the ſixth he chaſed away the miſchievous birds of the lake *Stymphalis*, who are feigned to have lived upon human fleſh, and to have been at length deſtroyed by *Hercules*'s arrows, or, according to others, to have been only ſcared away from thence (9).

His ſeventh was to fetch a famous bull from the iſle of *Crete*, with which *Paſiphae* the wife of *Minos* is ſaid to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped *Jupiter* to overcome the *Titanick* giants, he reconciled *Prometheus* to him, and looſed him from mount *Caucaſus*.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which were tied with iron chains to braſen mangers, and were fed with the fleſh of the ſtrangers that paſſed by that way. *Hercules* firſt threw their inhuman maſter to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to *Euryſtheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*. Their breed is ſaid to have continued till *Alexander*'s time. Betwixt this and his next taſk he is ſuppoſed to have gone upon the *Argonautic* expedition, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the *Amazons*; and

In the tenth the oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia* or *Spain*, in the furtheſt parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmoſt limits of the then-known world. Theſe ten labours he atchieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewiſe affirmed to have killed *Antæus*, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who, when weary with wreſtling or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of *Tangier*. *Hercules* overcame him in wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him the tyrant *Buſiris* in his way through *Egypt*. This bloody man uſed to ſacrifice all his gueſts and ſtrangers upon his altars, and deſigning to have done the ſame by *Hercules*, was ſlain by him together with all his attendants.

His two laſt taſks were fetching *Cerberus* out of hell, and the *Heſperian* golden apples kept by a dragon, which laſt is interpreted to have been ſome fine herd of cattle kept by ſome ſtout man, and brought out of *Africa* to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(K) The poets feign, that the ſun went back at the ſight of this horrid feaſt. As for *Thyeſtes*, he went to conſult *Apollo* how he might be revenged on his brother, and was anſwered, that if he would lie with his own daughter *Pelopea*, he would beget a ſon that ſhould murder both *Atreus* and his ſon *Agamemnon*. He did ſo, and *Ægiſthus*, the fruit of this ſecond inceſt, fulfilled the prophecy.

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. in Arcadic. c. 22.* (9) *Apollod. l.* ii. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv.

18. *Agamemnon*, who was reckoned at that time the wealthieſt and moſt powerful
a potentate in all *Greece*. His dominion extended not only through a conſiderable part of *Peloponneſus*, but alſo to ſeveral neighbouring iſlands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of ſea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his cotemporary kings. This was the main reaſon of his being choſen general of the *Trojan* expedition for the recovery of *Helena* his brother *Menalaus*'s wife.

THE ſucceſs of that expedition, the ſacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and other circumſtances relating to this prince, have been ſeen in a former chapter †. After taking of that city, beſides ſeveral other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the diſpoſition of their forces, and the like, a fatal
b quarrel aroſe between *Agamemnon* and his brother. The latter was for ſailing homewards out of hand, and the other for ſtaying to ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The conſequence was, that they parted in great anger. *Agamemnon* having weathered ſeveral ſtorms, which the goddeſs *Pallas*, as the poets feign, had ſent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at laſt at *Mycena*, where he was murdered by his couſin-german *Ægiſthus* and his wife *Clytemneſtra*, who during his abſence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

19. *Ægiſthus* was the ſon of *Thyeſtes*, begot on his daughter *Pelopeia* by the Ægiſthus.
advice of the oracle mentioned in the laſt note. His mother, to conceal the foulneſs of her pregnancy, expoſed him in the woods, where a ſhepherd finding him,
c nurſed him with goats milk, from which he was called *Ægiſthus*. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with *Clytemneſtra*, during *Agamemnon*'s abſence, made them both fear leſt they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore ſoon determined to the fact, and having murdered *Agamemnon* ſeized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour was at length murdered by *Oreſtes Agamemnon*'s ſon.

20. *Oreſtes*, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately Oreſtes.
conveyed to *Strophius* in *Phocis* by *Electra* his father's ſiſter; but as ſoon as he was come to riper years, he returned to *Mycena*, and, having murdered the uſurper and
d his own mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and of that of *Argos*, whoſe throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of *Diomedes* into *Italy*, after his return from the ſiege of *Troy*. The occaſion of this flight we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the remaining kings of *Argos*, after its being parted from that of *Mycena*. *Oreſtes* ran raving mad ſoon after the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by furies. Being again reſtored to his ſenſes, and vexed to find, that *Hermione*, his uncle *Menelaus*'s daughter, whom her grandfather *Tyndareus* had promiſed to him in marriage, had been eſpouſed to *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*, he went and killed him in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and married *Hermione*, by whom he got alſo the kingdom of *Sparta* *.

e WITH *Oreſtes* we may mention here his faithful and conſtant friend *Pylades* the ſon of *Strophius*, with whom he had been brought up. Theſe two are famed for having been ſo like each other in face, ſhape, temper, and affection, that they ſeemed to have had but one ſoul, and were not to be diſtinguiſhed from one another. Inſomuch, that when *Thoas* king of *Taurica* would have put *Oreſtes* to death, they both affirming to be the ſame perſon, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not poſſibly find out which was the right perſon, but admired their extraordinary friendſhip, which was indeed ſuch, that it paſſed into a proverb.

21. *Penthilus*, or according to others *Tiſamenus*, ſucceeded his father *Oreſtes* in both Penthilus.
kingdoms; but in leſs than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought
f againſt the *Achæi*, whom he had driven from *Argos* and *Mycena*, and had reduced to the neceſſity of driving the *Ionians* out of *Ægialea* into *Attica*. After his death the *Heraclidæ*, who had already got the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*, made themſelves maſters of theſe two kingdoms alſo, which they held until the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Macedonians* †.

AFTER the parting of the kingdoms of *Mycena* and *Argos*, and of the latter Adraſtus in
into three parts, as we have ſeen above; we find *Adraſtus* the ſon of *Talaon* and *Eu-* Argos.
rynome reigning in *Argos*, and deſcending from *Perſeus*. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to *Polynices* prince of *Thebes*, and the other to *Tydeus*, upon

† See before, Vol. II. p. 318. & ſeq. * APOLLOD. † PAUSAN. & ubi ſupra.

upon the following accident. Theſe two princes were come to *Argos*, the former to beg the kings aſſiſtance againſt his brother *Eteocles*, who had deprived him of his yearly ſhare in the government, and the latter was fled thither from *Calydonia* for man-ſlaughter. Theſe two happened to have a ſquabble in ſome of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed *Adraſtus*, and forced him to come and enquire the occaſion of the diſturbance. He had formerly been adviſed by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubtleſs very much puzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out he found, to his joy and ſurprize, an agreeable ſolution of it. *Polynices* bore a lion, and *Tydeus* a boar upon his ſhield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters to them, *Argia* to the former, and *Deipyle* to the latter, whoſe ſon ſucceeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

Soon after this, being reſolved to aſſiſt *Polynices*, he raiſed a good army, and procured the beſt commanders he could to accompany him. Among thoſe was one *Amphiaraous*, a good officer and great ſoothſayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till *Polynices* bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem. They offered to make his wife *Eriphyle* umpire whether he ſhould go or not, and having bribed her beforehand with a coſtly bracelet, ſhe decided in the affirmative; upon which *Amphiaraous*, who foreſaw that none of the chief officers would eſcape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithleſs wife, left ſtrict charge with his two ſons before he departed, that, as ſoon as they were come of age, they ſhould kill her, and make war againſt the king of *Thebes*[u].

Adraſtus, marching with his army through the wood of *Nemea*, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of *Thoas* king of *Lemnos*, whom ſhe had ſaved, when the reſt of the *Lemnian* women had killed by one conſent all the males of that iſland with an intent to turn *Amazons*. For this her filial piety, they had ſold her to pyrates, who brought her to *Lycurgus* king of the country about *Nemea*, whoſe ſon *Archemorus*, or as others call him *Opheltes*, ſhe was nurſing, and had then in her arms. The *Argives* deſired her to direct them to ſome water, and ſhe laying down the boy went to ſhew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a ſerpent, ſhe went and hid herſelf for fear of her maſter's anger, and *Amphiaraous* ſent her ſons word ſoon after where their mother was. The *Argives* killed the ſerpent, and, in memory of the dead child, they are ſaid to have inſtituted the games called *Nemean*, in which *Adraſtus* won the race by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe *Arion*. *Tydeus* got the prize at whorlbats, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Amphiaraous* at running and quoits, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and *Laodicus* at darting[w].

From the *Nemean* woods they went and encamped at the foot of *Citharon*, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the prieſteſſes of *Bacchus*, to whom the hill was conſecrated, uſed to keep there. Here they ſent *Tydeus* to *Thebes*, to demand of *Eteocles* the performance of the contract between *Polynices* and him. Upon his refuſal, *Tydeus*, deſirous partly to ſhew his own courage, and partly to try that of the *Thebans*, gave ſeveral challenges to their moſt noted champions, in which he ſtill came off conqueror. The *Thebans*, envious of his ſucceſs, ſent fifty of their choiceſt men to way-lay him in his return to *Citharon*, who were all killed except one, whom he ſent back to *Thebes* to acquaint *Eteocles* with his courage and ſucceſs. The *Argives* on the other hand hearing what had paſſed, reſolved upon the ſiege of the city; the ill ſucceſs of which we ſhall ſee in its proper place. All that needs be ſaid here is, that *Adraſtus* owed his eſcape to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and *Amphiaraous* is ſaid to have been ſwallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horſes, near the river *Iſmene*, or perhaps drowned altogether in that river. The other five generals did likewiſe loſe their lives, ſo that it proved even as *Amphiaraous* had foreſeen, that *Adraſtus* alone ſhould ſurvive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the *Athenians*, and to beg their aſſiſtance, that the *Argives* might at leaſt be enabled to recover the dead bodies of their ſoldiers and ſubjects, which the *Thebans* refuſed to deliver up. The *Athenians* readily granted his requeſt, and forced the *Thebans* into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

He

[u] Diodor. Bibl. l. iv. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Id. ibid.

Ægialeus.

a HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ægialeus*, who, about ten years after the defeat before *Thebes*, entered into a confederacy with *Diomedes*, the ſon of his brother-in-law *Tydeus*, and with the five ſons of the other generals who had loſt their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the *Thebans*, and if poſſible to level that city with the ground. Thence theſe ſeven captains were called *Epigoni*. The oracle being conſulted promiſed them ſucceſs, provided they choſe *Alcmæon* the ſon of *Amphiaraus* their general. They did ſo, and came off victorious accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

Diomedes.

b AFTER this *Diomedes*, the ſon of *Tydeus* the ſon-in-law of *Adraſtus*, who was alſo king of *Ætolia*, came to the crown of *Argos* in right of his wife, and was the laſt king of it. After his ſucceſsful enterpriſe againſt *Thebes*, he liſted himſelf in that againſt *Troy*, and was one of that ſmall number of princes which returned ſafe home. Upon his arrival at *Argos*, he found that his wife *Ægiale*, whom *Venus* had plagued with a *furor uteri*, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the ſiege of *Troy*, had entertained a criminal familiarity with *Cometes* the ſon of *Sthenelus*, one of the heroes that went to the ſiege of *Troy*. When ſhe found that her huſband had diſcovered her intrigue, ſhe attempted to kill him, but he firſt retired to the temple of *Juno*, and thence into *Apulia*, then a ſmall kingdom in *Italy*. Here he found *Daunus* the king of it ſtraitly beſieged, who promiſed him part of his kingdom if he could beat his enemies. *Diomedes* did it with ſucceſs, and built a city there,
c which he called *Argos Hippium*, whence in proceſs of time it changed its name into *Argyrippa*. He was afterwards killed by *Daunus*, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into ſwans, or birds very much like them.

IN the mean time the *Heraclidæ*, ſince their firſt expulſion out of *Peloponneſus* by *Euryſtheus* king of *Argos*, had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to regain it. The firſt, as we have ſeen, was in *Atreus*'s time under *Hyllus*; another under his ſon *Clæodeus*; a third under his grandſon *Ariſtomachus*. This laſt prince left three ſons, *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*, who, when they came of age, conſulted the oracle con-
d cerning the ſucceſs of a new invaſion, and received this ambiguous anſwer, that it would ſucceed if they went by the way of *Stenygrus*; but they thinking the narrow paſſage of the *Iſthmus* to be meant by it, invaded it by that way, and *Ariſtomachus* loſt the battle and his life in the attempt [x].

THE *Pythoneſs*, being upbraided with it by his ſons, made anſwer, that their anceſtors had brought their misfortunes upon themſelves by miſtaking her words. Thus when *Hyllus* was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he miſtook it, the third crop; and that now by *Stenygrus* was not meant the neck of land, but the deep ſea on the right hand of the peninſula. Upon this anſwer they went to build a navy at *Ætolia*, ſince called upon that account
e *Naupactus*. During their ſtay here, *Ariſtodemus* the youngeſt of the three was killed by lightening, and left two twins, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*. Soon after this a more ſevere misfortune befel them, for their fleet was deſtroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afreſh, and anſwered, that *Apollo* had ſent thoſe plagues upon them, becauſe they had murdered his prophet *Carnus*. There had indeed been ſuch a man among them whom *Hippotes* killed, becauſe he took him to be ſome magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be baniſhed ten years.

THE *Heraclidæ* were alſo promiſed better ſucceſs, provided they put themſelves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find ſuch a one was the difficulty; at length they met an *Ætolian* named *Oxylus*, who was return-
f ing from *Peloponneſus* into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horſe, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, upon which they choſe him for their general, and promiſed him the country of *Elis* as a recompence [y]. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninſula at the *Iſthmus*, which drew all the *Peloponneſian* forces thither, and ſailing up the *Stenygrus*, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at *Molycrium* without any oppoſition.

THREE

[x] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. & ſeq. PAUSAN. in Bœotic. [y] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. c. viii.

THREE of the kingdoms of *Peloponneſus* they challenged as their undoubted right, namely *Argos*, *Mycena*, and *Lacedemon* (L). The firſt of theſe they got with ſome difficulty, and *Tiſamenus* the king of it was either killed [z], or eſcaped by flight [a]. *Mycena* they conquered with the ſword, and expelled all the *Neſtorian* family, who went and ſettled at *Athens*, where *Alcmæon* and *Pæon* became the heads of two conſiderable families in that city [†]. As for *Lacedemon*, *Sparta* being betrayed to them by one *Philonomus* [b], they entered it with the ſound of the flute, which inſtrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks [c]. They alſo kept their promiſe with their three-eyed general, who being deſcended from *Ætolus* had a right to the country of *Elis*, from which the latter had been baniſhed by *Salmoneus* king of the *Ephei*, who were now in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe agreed with the *Heraclidæ*, that the pretenſions of *Oxylus* ſhould be decided by ſingle combat, according to the *Grecian* cuſtom, and the *Ephean* champion being killed, *Elis* was reſtored to its right owner. After theſe ſucceſſes the three brothers, having raiſed three altars to *Jupiter Patrius*, reſolved to divide their conqueſt by lot. *Creſphontes* is ſuppoſed by ſome juggle to have made the kingdom of *Mycena*, the richeſt and moſt fruitful of the three, to fall to his ſhare. *Temenus* had *Argos*, and *Lacedemon* was divided between *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* the ſons of *Ariſtodemus* [d], as ſhall be ſeen in its place.

Temenus *at* Argos.

Temenus, now fixed in *Argos*, betrayed ſuch an extraordinary fondneſs for his ſon-in-law *Deiphontes*, who was deſcended from *Cteſiphus* the ſon of *Hercules* by *Dejanira*, that his other ſons, who had reaſon to fear he would appoint him his ſucceſſor, hired the *Titans* to murder their father. *Temenus* being dead; our author tells us, the army, abhorring the parricides, ſet the crown upon *Deiphontes* and his wife [e]; but *Pauſanias* tells us, that it fell to his eldeſt ſon *Ciſus*.

HOWEVER that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to loſe ground very faſt, as we obſerved before. To *Ciſus* ſucceeded *Lacidamus*, who had little elſe than the title of a king. His ſon *Meltas*, impatient of ſuch reſtraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to reſtore it to its ancient dignity, but the people were by that time grown ſo powerful and headſtrong, that as ſoon as they found out his deſign, they put an effectual ſtop to it and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [f].

THE kingdom of *Mycena*, or *Meſſenia*, was not much longer lived. For though theſe two did outvie that of *Sparta* by far at firſt, yet the latter ſoon grew to ſuch a height of power and ſplendor, as both to eclipſe and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we ſhall defer the further account of them till we come to ſpeak of *Sparta*. All that need be added here is, that *Creſphontes*, who, as we obſerved before, had juggled himſelf into *Mycena*, ſoon loſt his new-gotten kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his ſons, for his extraordinary largeſſes to the people. His third ſon *Ægyptus*, or rather *Æpytus*, fled to *Cypſelus* king of *Arcadia*, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide, and when of age obtained his aſſiſtance to regain his kingdom, killed the uſurper of it, and by wiſely dividing his favours and largeſſes between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to ſuch a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called *Heraclidæ*, were from thenceforth called *Æpytidæ* in honour of him [g]. But this popular liberality, though now ſo ſucceſsful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the ſubjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the exciſion of monarchy and a total change of government.

SECT.

[z] PAUSAN. Eliac. STRAB. Geogr. lib. x. [a] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. [†] PAUSAN. Argol. [b] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. STRAB. lib. x. [c] Id. l. viii. [d] POLYÆN. Stratagem. Vid. HIND. hiſt. Græc. lib. ii. [e] POLYÆN. ubi ſupra. APOLL. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. in Meſſenic. [f] APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. [g] Vid. PAUSAN. in Meſſenic.

(L) The firſt of theſe was their right, as being the deſcendants of *Perſeus*; whereas the then king *Tiſamenus*, who was of the race of *Pelops*, had no right to the crown. *Mycena* and *Lacedemon* they claimed in right of *Hercules*, who, having conquered them, had left the firſt to *Neſtor*, and the laſt to *Tyndareus*, in truſt for his own children (3).

SECT. III.

The history of the ancient kingdom of ATTICA.

Geography.

2 ATTICA was ſituate along the north coaſt of the gulph of *Saron*, bounded on the weſt by *Megara* and part of *Bœotia*, on the north by the *Euripic* gulph, now *Stretto de negro ponte*, and on the eaſt by the *Ægean* ſea. It reached in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about ſixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. eaſt longitude. Its breadth from north to ſouth, where it was broadeſt, was about fifty-ſix miles, and decreaſing as it came nearer to the ſea [a].

Natural and artificial rarities.

THE ſoil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable induſtry of the people; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quietneſs, when other more fruitful countries were expoſed to frequent incurſions. So that having above all others preſerved its ancient inhabitants, gave riſe to their extravagant notion, that they, like inſects, were the ſpontaneous product of the
b ſoil, and as a badge of it, *Thucydides* tells us, they wore a golden graſhopper in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantagiouſly ſituated for commerce, having ſeveral good ports, the chief of which was that of *Pyræus*, whoſe haven, diſtant from *Athens* the metropolis of *Attica* about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each ſide with two ſtrong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the ſecurity of the merchandiſe that went up to the capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ſhips [b]. There were ſome other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief *Cities.*
of which next to *Athens* was *Eleuſis*, on the ſame gulph, and near the coaſts of *Megara*,
c upon which account it had been once ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable (A). 2. *Rhamnus*, famed for the temple of *Amphiaraous*, and the ſtatue of *Nemeſis* (B). But the largeſt and moſt opulent was the metropolis, called at firſt *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* the founder of it; but afterwards *Athens* from the goddeſs *Minerva* (C), Athens.
whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whoſe honour were inſtituted the yearly games called *Panathenæa*. It was chiefly famed, beſides for its ſtrength, beauty, and opulence; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence *Fides Attica* became a common proverb; 2. For being the nurſery of the beſt ſcholars and orators, choiceſt wits, and greateſt philoſophers; and 3. For having produced the greateſt number of brave generals of any city in the world, *Rome* not excepted, upon all which accounts it was juſtly eſteemed one of the
c eyes of *Greece* [c].

THE chief river in this kingdom is the *Aſopus*, which flowing from the lake *Copais*, through *Bœotia* and *Attica*, and ſplitting itſelf into two ſtreams, which divide the famous plains of *Marathon*, empties itſelf into the *Ægean* ſea.

Government.

THE government from its firſt foundation to the *Archontes*, continued altogether monarchical, under a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. What is moſt remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a diſlike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep reſpect to the laſt monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generouſly

[a] MELA, CLUVER. BYZANT. & al. [b] THUCYDID. l. ii. [c] JUSTIN. lib. ii. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Attic.

(A) This city is ſaid to have been built by one *Eleuſus*, who having entertained *Ceres* there, when ſhe went in ſearch of her daughter, ſhe taught him agriculture as an acknowlegdment for his hoſpitality. Hence that goddeſs is ſometimes called *Eleuſina* by the poets (1).

(B) The goddeſs of Juſtice, called alſo *Rhamnaſia* from this town where her temple ſtood (2).

(C) The occaſion of it, as the ſtory goes, is, that *Cecrops* not knowing what name to give to his new-built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horſe, appeared. The oracle being conſulted, anſwered, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of *Minerva*, and the fountain (or horſe) that of *Neptune*; and that that which they eſteemed the moſt beneficial to mankind ſhould adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being aſſembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddeſs, and the city was called from her *Athene*. *Neptune*, in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it, and the men to appeaſe his anger paſt three votes againſt the women, the one, that they ſhould not be called *Athenians*, but *Atticans*; the ſecond, that they ſhould have no vote in public matters; and laſtly, that no children ſhould thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embelliſhed this ſtory after their way, by pretending, that thoſe deities did viſibly contend for thoſe places, as they did alſo for ſeveral others, and that either *Jupiter*, or themſelves, left the arbitration of the diſpute to ſome proper judges. We ſhall meet with ſome further inſtances of this kind of contention in the ſequel (3).

(1) *Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc.* (2) *Id Plutarch. &c.* (3) *Apollod. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Attica.*

generouſly ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his ſubjects, the grateful *Athenians* reſolved, a that no man from thenceforth ſhould bear the title of king, and gave that of *Archon* to his ſon and ſucceſſor [b], which continued during ten ſucceſſions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the *Archontic* government was, that the former deſcended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that theſe were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches. THE riches of this kingdom, occaſioned by its great commerce and frugality, are ſaid to have amounted to 1200 (*Attic*) talents a year [d]; this vaſt income gave them a conſiderable ſuperiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to *Coin.* keep a greater army and navy than they, but alſo as they could make uſe of it to gain any other ſtates to their ſide; and as their coin was commonly ſtamped with b the figure of an ox, hence was the phraſe ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen †. Hence alſo came the common proverb, *Bovem habet in lingua*, when a man was thought bribed to ſpeak contrary to his own ſentiments.

Chronology. THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cecrops* an *Egyptian*, who brought hither a colony of *Saits* [e], a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the *Nile* called *Saiticum*, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to *Euſebius*'s chronology, 780 years before the firſt olympiad (D). It continued under its monarchs 487 years, according to the ſame chronology, during which c time it doth not appear that the *Athenians* felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The *Archontic* government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their laſt king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a commonwealth, *A. M.* 3412, there elapſed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from *Cecrops* to *Solon* amounts to 960 years.

The ancient Kings of *Athens*:

								d
1 *Cecrops*	5 *Pandion*	9 *Ægeus*	12 *Demophon*	15 *Thymætes al.*				
2 *Cranaus*	6 *Ereƈtheus*	10 *Theſeus*	13 *Oxyntes*	*Thymedes*				
3 *Amphiƈtyon*	7 *Cecrops* II.	11 *Mneſtheus*	14 *Amphydas*	16 *Melanthus*				
4 *Erichtonius*	8 *Pandion* II.			17 *Codrus*				

The Names of the thirteen *Archons* who ſucceeded theſe kings were.

1 *Medon*	} the ſon of	*Codrus.*	8 *Phereclus*	} the ſon of	*Diagnetus.*	c
2 *Accaſtus*		*Medon.*	9 *Auritthon*		*Phereclus.*	
3 *Archyppus*		*Accaſtus.*	10 *Theſpiæus*		*Auritthon.*	
4 *Therſippus*		*Archyppus.*	11 *Agameſtor*		*Theſpiæus.*	
5 *Phorbas*		*Therſippus.*	12 *Æſchylus*		*Agameſtor.*	
6 *Megacles*		*Phorbas*	13 *Alcmæon*		*Æſchylus.*	
7 *Diagnetus*		*Megacles*				

1. *Cecrops* built the city of *Athens*, as we ſaid before, married the daughter of *Actæus*, ſuppoſe to have been king of *Attica* before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who deified *Jupiter*, and ordained ſacrifices to be offered to him [f] as the ſupreme deity. He is likewiſe

[d] THUCYDID. ubi ſupra. † Vid. PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ. [e] DIODOR. SIC. lib. i. [f] PAUSAN. in Attic.

(D) Some authors, who make *Ogyges* to have been king of *Attica* at that time in which it was deſtroyed by the deluge which bears his name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom ſtill further off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this *Ogyges* was, is not eaſy to gueſs: Some make him an *Egyptian*, and ſome an *Arcadian*: Some think he reigned in *Attica*, and others at *Thebes*. Under this uncertainty we chuſe to date the foundation of the kingdom from *Cecrops*, who, if *Ogyges* had really reigned there, may at leaſt be reckoned the reſtorer of it, and the perſon from whom the ſucceſſion of *Attic* princes is derived.

We muſt own, however, that according to this ſuppoſition of his being the firſt founder of the kingdom, thoſe of *Thebes* and *Sparta* will ſtand foremoſt in point of antiquity, though in no other reſpect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at firſt in our plan of this work.

This *Cecrops* is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly ſerpent or dragon (5), that is, according to *Juſtin* (6), becauſe he was the firſt that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to *Demoſthenes* and the reſt of the vain *Grecians*, becauſe he had the wiſdom of a man and the ſtrength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of *Egypt* and poliſhed himſelf into a man in *Greece*; but more probably, either as he was the firſt inſtitutor of marriage, or becauſe he underſtood the *Egyptian* and *Greek* tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the *Red-Sea* with *Pharaoh*'s hoſt in whoſe time he lived (6).

(4) *De hoc vid. Hellanic. Caſtor Thal. Polybiſt. Euſeb. & al. Apollod. l.* ii. (5) *lib.* ii. *c.* i. (6) *Euſeb. Chron. vid. Polybiſt. Rawleigh. Heyl. & al.*

likewiſe affirmed to have been the firſt who ſet up altars and idols, offered ſacrifices, and inſtituted marriage among the *Grecians*, who before his time, it ſeems, lived promiſcuouſly, and coupled as their fancy led them. *Pauſanias* tells us, that he forbad ſacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any ſort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the *Athenians Palanous*, and in *Greek* Βους, which ſignifies likewiſe *an ox*. This led *Euſebius* into the miſtake which we find in the firſt book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that *Cecrops* was the firſt who ſacrificed an ox to *Jupiter*; whereas that creature, ſo eſteemed by the *Athenians* on account of its ſerviceableneſs in agriculture, was not ſacrificed by them till the time of *Erectheus*, who offered one to *Jupiter Polieus*, or *protector of the city*; and then *Pauſanias* tells us, that
b the prieſt who knocked it down, being ſeized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of *Attica*. From *Cecrops* the *Athenians* affected to call themſelves *Cecropidæ* during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of *Erechthydæ*, in honour of *Erectheus* their ſixth monarch. *Cecrops* reigned fifty years, according to *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, and left only three daughters, *viz. Herſe*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandroſos*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a following note. As for his ſon *Eryſicthon*, he died before his father. So that after *Cecrop*'s death, *Cranaus*, one of the wealthieſt citizens of *Athens* and in the greateſt credit, found means to aſcend the *Attic* throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. *Cranaus* enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having Cranaus.
c unfortunately married one of his daughters named *Attis* to *Amphictyon* the ſon of *Deucalion*, he was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of *Lamprea*, where he led a private life to the laſt, and where the *Lampreans* ſhewed his tomb. From his daughter *Attis* the country, till then called *Actæa*, took the name of *Attica*.

3. *Amphictyon* (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laſt quoted Amphictyon.
authors, twelve years, was himſelf depoſed, and outed by

4. *Erichthonius*, who was the reputed ſon of *Vulcan* and *Tethys* (F). He is ſaid to Erichthonius.
have been the firſt inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet: He reigned fifty years.

5. *Pandion*, the ſon of *Erichthonius*, and father of *Progne* and *Philomela*; whoſe Pandion.
hard fate, ſo famous among the poets, is ſuppoſed to have broke his heart after he
d had reigned about forty years.

6. *Erectheus*, *Pandion*'s ſon, was reckoned the moſt powerful prince of his time; Erectheus.
wherefore *Boreas* king of *Thrace*, who ſought his alliance, demanded his daughter *Orithia* in marriage, and being denied carried her away by force. *Erectheus*, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle againſt the *Eleuſians*. He left ſeveral ſons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the deciſion to their brother-in-law *Xuthus*, who adjudged the kingdom to *Cecrops* who was the eldeſt. For this the other two brothers bore *Xuthus* ſuch ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from *Theſſaly* by his brethren.

e 7. *Cecrops* II. the eldeſt ſon of *Erectheus*: this prince is generally allowed to have Cecrops II.
been the firſt who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houſes and cottages, ſcattered here and there without order or regular diſtance; but he was, after forty years reign, outed the kingdom by his two diſcontented brethren *Metion* and *Pandorus*, and forced to fly into *Ægialea*, and died there.

8. *Pandion* II. the ſon of *Cecrops* II. was likewiſe driven out of *Athens* by the ſons of Pandion II.
his uncle *Metion* who took the adminiſtration for ſome time. *Pandion* fled into *Megara*, where *Pylas* then reigning gave him his daughter *Pelia*, and afterwards made him his ſucceſſor. During his abode there he had four ſons, with whom he came into *Athens* (G), whence

g Apollod. l. iii. c. 3.

(E) Not that *Amphictyon* who was the firſt inſtitutor of the court of the *Amphictyons* or common council of *Greece*, but his uncle.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have ſprung *ex ſtermate Vulcani in terram delapſo*, by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva* who alſo brought him up. The fable adds, that ſhe having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to *Cecrops*'s three daughters, with expreſs orders not to open it upon any account. *Pandroſos* obeyed the goddeſs; but her two ſiſters, more curious than ſhe, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with ſuch a phrenſy, or, according to the fabulous phraſe, ſo tormented with furies, that they flung themſelves down the ſteepeſt place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

(G) It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into *Athens*, but that after his ſons were grown up, he ſent them to recover that kingdom from the *Metionidæ*, ſo that having all ſhared alike the danger, they thought it reaſonable to ſhare alike in the conqueſt.

The ſpace therefore of twenty-five years, allowed by chronologiſts (7) to their father's reign, ſeems rather deſigned to mark the interval of the interregnum or uſurpation, from *Cecrops*'s expulſion to his grandſon *Ægeus*'s reign.

(7) *Pauſan. Apoll. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.*

whence he expelled the ſons of *Metion*, and, after he had reigned a ſhort time, a either left the kingdom among his four ſons, or they agreed to divide it among themſelves after his death; notwithſtanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldeſt [h] *Ægeus*.

9. *Ægeus*, when he came to the crown, finding himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, becauſe he could get no children by his wives, and ſometimes inſulted by his brother *Pallas*, who by that time had got no leſs than fifty ſons beſides daughters, went to conſult the *Delphic* oracle, and was anſwered, that he muſt forbear the uſe of women till his return into *Athens* [i]. This puzzling anſwer forced him to apply himſelf to *Pittheus* king of *Trœzen*, who was then famed for his extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in expounding oracles, where this prince eaſily prevailed with him to lie with his b daughter *Æthra* whom he got with child. As none but theſe three were privy to the ſecret, *Ægeus*, before his return to *Athens*, hid a ſword and a pair of ſhoes under a ſtone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princeſs, that if the child proved a boy, ſhe ſhould ſend him to *Athens* with thoſe tokens, as ſoon as he was able to lift up the ſtone. He charged her moreover to uſe all imaginable ſecrecy, leſt the ſons of his brother *Pallas*, getting knowledge of it, ſhould way-lay and murder him in his way to *Athens*.

Æthra being ſoon after delivered of a ſon, *Pittheus* gave out, that *Neptune* was the father of it; and when he was ſixteen years old, ſhe brought him to the ſtone, which ſhe ſaw him lift up with eaſe, upon which ſhe diſcovered to him the whole ſecret c of his parentage, bade him take up the ſword and ſhoes, and prepare himſelf to go to his father. Both ſhe and *Pittheus*, however, adviſed him to go by ſea, alledging, that ſince *Hercules*'s departure, who had been the great ſcourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again ſo infeſted with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. *Theſeus*, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time ſhewed uncommon marks of courage and ſtrength, no ſooner heard *Hercules* named upon ſuch an occaſion, than he was fired with a deſire to imitate ſo noble a pattern; ſo that all their intreaties could not diſſuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to *Athens*, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be beſt ſeen in the margin (H). d

WHILST *Theſeus* was ſtill at *Trœzen*, his father laboured under no ſmall perplexities from his ſubjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almoſt driven him to deſpair. *Androgeus*, the ſon of *Minos* king of *Crete*, who was come to *Athens* to be preſent at one of their feaſts, had unhappily contracted ſuch an intimacy with the fifty ſons of *Pallas*, that the jealous old king, fearing ſome fatal conſequences from it, had cauſed that prince to be privately murdered. Others ſay, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the *Marathonian* bull, was killed by it. However that be, *Minos*, having received the news of his ſon's death and made ſeveral vain attempts to revenge it on the *Athenians*, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the *Athenians* were puniſhed with peſtilence, e famine, and ſeveral other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they muſt expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the *Cretan* king. *Minos*, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed a yearly tribute upon them of ſeven young men and ſeven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur* (I), during the ſpace of ſeven [k], or, according to others, nine years [l], theſe

[h] PAUSAN. APOLLOD. ubi ſupra. [i] PLUTARCH. in vit. Theſ. [k] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [l] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra.

(H) His firſt encounter after he left *Trœzen* was with *Periphetes* the ſon of *Vulcan*, ſirnamed alſo *Corynetes*, or *Club-bearer*, from the club he uſed to fight with, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was *Sinnis* the ſon of *Polyphemon*, ſirnamed *Pityocamptes*, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying paſſengers between the oppoſite branches, which, by their ſudden return, did tear them in pieces: him *Theſeus* put to the ſame death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce *Cromyonian* ſow called *Phæa*, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for thefts, murders, and lewdneſs.

Sciron a famous robber, who uſed to throw paſſengers down a ſteep rock after he had made them waſh his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next ſignalized himſelf in the *Eleuſin* games by killing *Cercyon* a famous *Arcadian* wreſtler, he went to *Termione*, where he killed *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe called *Procruſtes*, by diſtending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he uſed to do to thoſe who unhappily fell into his hands.

Laſtly, He went and fetched the famed bull of *Marathon* and brought him alive to *Athens*, where he ſacrificed him to *Apollo* (8).

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Paſiphaë* *Minos*'s queen; and who as ſoon as born was [illegible]

(8) *Philochor. ap. Hinl. Hiſt. Græc. lib. i.*

a these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that *Ægeus*, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that *Minos* had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when *Theseus*, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous inchantress *Medea*, in her flight from *Corinth*, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. *Theseus*, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by *Medea*,
b who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, *Theseus*, willing to give his father an agreeable surprise, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hasted to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of *Theseus*, did so quash the sanguine hopes of *Pallas* and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

After this *Theseus*, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from
c the bloody *Cretan* tribute, having incouraged his old father with hopes of killing the *Minotaur*, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and imbarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at *Crete* he offered himself to *Minos*, and demanded the liberty to fight the *Minotaur*, or rather his champion *Taurus*, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect, that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. *Theseus* after this had all the success he could wish: He killed his enemy, released all the *Athenian* captives, prevailed upon *Minos* to remit the tribute,
d and obtained his daughter *Ariadne* in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent; but she, having been an eye-witness of his valour and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her, however, in the isle of *Naxos*: and some add, that, after the conquest of the *Minotaur*, *Minos* fell in love with *Peribea*, one of the seven virgins which *Theseus* had brought with him, and would have detained her. *Theseus* strenuously opposed it, which so exasperated the *Cretan* king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the son of *Neptune*, unless he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the sea. *Theseus* immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which *Amphitrite* had put upon his head. *Minos*, however, would not be
e pacified without *Peribea*, and *Theseus*, still persisting in his denial, was by his order cast into the labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* used to be kept; but he stayed not long there, before *Ariadne* furnished him with a clue by the help of which he extricated himself out of it, and setting out with his fleet for *Athens*, left *Ariadne* behind at the island above-mentioned, where *Bacchus* fell in love with her and carried her off, whilst *Theseus* sailed homewards towards *Athens*. Unfortunately for them and for *Ægeus*, their extraordinary joy for their late success made them forget to display the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to espie them from a high rock, observing the ship afar off still hanging out its sable colours, doubted not, but that his son had like the rest fallen
f a victim to the *Minotaur*; and, in a fit of sudden despair, threw himself into the sea, which from him was since called the *Ægean* sea; so that when *Theseus* landed at

king's order thrown into labyrinth and fed with human flesh; but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been firnamed *Taurus* or *Bull*. He seems also to have been in great power at the *Cretan* court, either for his constant victories at the games which *Minos* had instituted in memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all the *Athenian* captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) *Plutarch, ubi supra.*

at *Athens*, he found the city divided between grief, for *Ægeus*'s death, and joy, for the ſafe return of his valiant ſon and ſucceſſor. *Ægeus* reigned forty years.

10. *Theſeus* was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great *Hercules*, to ſpend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; ſo that he began, upon his firſt acceſſion to it, to think how to diveſt himſelf of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of *Attica* into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he diveſted himſelf of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianſhip of their laws. The reſt he committed to proper magiſtrates, choſen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, huſbandmen, and artificers. The firſt he inveſted with the power of interpreting and executing the laws and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two choſe their inferior magiſtrates from among themſelves, to take care of whatever related to their ſeparate orders: ſo that the kingdom was in ſome meaſure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greateſt poſt; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the huſbandmen had the greateſt profit; and the artiſt excelled them in number. He inſtituted two annual feſtivals, the *Panathenæa*, in memory of the *Athenians* being now united into one, and that called the *Metoecia*, beſides the famous *Iſthmian* games in honour of *Neptune*, which we have mentioned formerly, and were ſo called from the *Iſthmus* in which they were celebrated. All theſe were chiefly deſigned to draw a concourſe of ſtrangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and ſettle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewiſe aboliſhed all their diſtinct courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called *Prytaneum*, a ſumptuous building which ſtood for many ages [m]. We obſerved before, that the *Athenian* money was ſtamped with an ox; this coin was ſuppoſed to have had that figure, either in memory of *Theſeus*'s killing the bull of *Marathon*, or the *Minotaur*, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was moſt ſubſervient.

After he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of *Megara* to his own, in right of his grandfather *Pandion* the ſecond, who had ſucceeded *Pylus* his father-in-law, as we have ſeen above. It was then, that *Theſeus* erected that famous pillar in the *Iſthmus*, which ſhewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inſcription on the one ſide, *This is not* Peloponneſus *but* Ionia; and on the other, *This is* Peloponneſus *not* Ionia. What we read concerning his two expeditions againſt the *Amazons*, is ſo blended with fable, ſo differently related [n], and ſo uncertain, that we ſhall give it in a ſhort note, becauſe they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of *Athens* (K).

Sometime after theſe expeditions, *Theſeus* contracted an intimacy with *Pirithous* the ſon of *Ixion*, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of *Centaurs*, or rather *Theſſalian* horſemen, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, who in their cups had offered violence to their female gueſts; and drove the reſt out of the country. Theſe two went from thence to *Sparta*, and ſtole away the famed *Helena* out of the temple of *Diana Ortia*, where ſhe happened to be dancing [o]. This princeſs was the reputed daughter of *Jupiter* by *Leda*, the wife of *Tyndarus* king of *Oebalia* in *Peloponneſus*; and though then but nine years old was already famed for the greateſt beauty in the world; inſomuch, that though *Theſeus* was then, as is reckoned, above

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vid. & Thucydid. l. ii. [n] Conf. Herodot. Plutarch & Meurs. in Theſ. Justin, l. ii. c. 4. [o] Plutarch. ubi. ſupra. Apollod. Pausan. in Attic.

(K) The firſt expedition was only undertaken in favour of *Hercules*, whoſe companion in all ſuch exploits *Theſeus* always affected to be. As a reward therefore for his aſſiſtance, that victorious hero gave him *Antiope* one of the *Amazonian* queens whom he had taken priſoner. *Juſtin* ſays, *Hippolyte* the other queen, and that *Hercules* kept *Antiope* for himſelf.

However, this gave occaſion to a ſecond expedition, in which ſome affirm, that the *Amazons* made a deſcent into *Attica* to recover their loſt queen, having with them beſides their own forces obtained a powerful ſupply of horſemen from *Sagillus* king of *Scythia*, with his ſon *Panaſagorus* at their head, who did afterwards upon ſome miſunderſtanding withdraw his troops and left them in the lurch. Others ſay, that *Theſeus* went and attacked them near the *Caſpian* ſea: however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of theſe two expeditions he took the queen *Hippolyte*, whom he afterwards married. After this the *Amazons* were forced to clap up a peace with the *Athenians*, and theſe, either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of *Tellus Olympia*.

a above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof againſt her charms. However variouſly the time, and place, and circumſtances of this rape are reported, we have followed *Plutarch*'s account of it as the moſt allowed. According to him the two raviſhers were purſued as far as *Tegea*; but they happily made their eſcape out of *Peloponneſus*, and thinking themſelves now ſecure of their prey, they agreed to caſt lots for her, upon condition, that he to whoſe lot ſhe fell ſhould help the other in getting ſome other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for *Theſeus*, he aſſiſted his companion in the like attempt upon *Proſerpina*, daughter of *Aidoneus* king of the *Moloſſi* in *Epirus*, who being the next beauty to *Helena* was guarded by the dog *Cerberus*, and was not to be won but by the death of that mon-
b ſter. However, when the king underſtood that they deſigned to ſteal her away, he threw *Pirithous* to be torn in pieces by *Cerberus*, and *Theſeus* into priſon, from which he was afterwards releaſed at the interceſſion of *Hercules*.

During his abſence *Mneſtheus*, the ſon of *Peteus* grandchild of *Erechtheus*, had taken care to ingratiate himſelf ſo far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which *Caſtor* and *Pollux* waged againſt him for the recovery of their ſiſter *Helena*, räiſed a more powerful faction againſt him: and as ſoon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, *Mneſtheus* harangued the citizens, and told them, that, ſince their quarrel was only againſt *Theſeus*, their ſafeſt way was to open their gates to
c them, and *Theſeus*, finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent, conveyed himſelf and family away privately, after he had pronounced a ſolemn curſe againſt his faithleſs ſubjects, which did not go unheard (L). His deſign was to have ſailed into *Crete*, and to have obtained either a ſuccour or ſanctuary there from *Deucalion* the ſon of *Minos* and his now brother-in-law (M); but he was unfortunately caſt by a tempeſt upon the iſland of *Scyros*. Here he was at firſt kindly received by king *Lycomedes*, but was ſoon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some ſay, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is moſt likely, at the inſtigation of his *Athenian* rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, tho' others ſay, that, that place being
d his uſual walk after ſupper, his foot unfortunately ſlipt in the dark. We omit for brevity's ſake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in *Plutarch*'s life of him. All we ſhall add here is, that the *Athenians* did ſometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that *Cimon*, the famous ſon of *Miltiades*, did raze the whole iſland of *Scyros* in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to *Athens*, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

11. *Mneſtheus* or *Meneſtheus* was the ſon of *Peteus*, and great grandſon of *Erechtheus* the ſixth king of *Athens*, and conſequently had a better right to the crown than *Theſeus*, whoſe father was uncertain, and who was at beſt but the ſon of *Ægeus*, and this but the adopted ſon of *Pandion*, as we have ſeen above. Whilſt therefore *Theſeus* was either purſuing his amours, or was impriſoned for the rape of *Proſerpine*, it was eaſy for his rival to perſuade the *Athenians* to raiſe him to the Throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, taking the advantage of *Theſeus*'s confinement, came and beſieged *Aphidne* a town in *Attica*, where he had ſent his mother and his wife *Helena*; and theſe two heroes, having taken and reſcued their ſiſter, out of revenge to her raviſher helped his competitor to mount the throne.

Meneſtheus

(L) The ungrateful *Athenians*, who expreſſed more joy for their new king than grief for their old one, were in proceſs of time made ſo ſenſible of the effects of his curſe, that to appeaſe his ghoſt they appointed ſolemn ſacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation againſt them was from thenceforth called *Aratherion*, or *the place of curſing*. (10).

(M) *Theſeus* had a ſon by the *Amazonian* queen named *Hippolytus*, and having ſoon after married *Phædra*, the ſiſter of *Deucalion* the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Minos*, by whom he had two ſons, he ſent *Hippolytus* to be brought up by his own mother *Æthra* [illegible] of *Troezen*; but he coming afterwards to be preſent at ſome *Athenian* games, *Phædra* fell in love with him, and having ſollicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of reſentment accuſed him to *Theſeus* of having made an attempt upon her. The fable ſays, that *Theſeus* prayed to *Neptune* to puniſh him by ſome violent death, and that as *Hippolytus* was riding along the ſea-ſhore, *Neptune* ſent two ſea-calves who frightened the horſes, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the luſtful queen hanged herſelf for grief, but as for *Hippolytus*, *Diana*, being taken with his chaſtity, and pitying the ſad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon *Æſculapius* to reſtore him to life, to be a companion of her diverſions.

(10) *Plutarch. in Theſ.*

Meneſtheus, being thus choſen, was in no great care about the ſons of *Theſeus*, but a dreaded his known valour, in caſe he ſhould ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed ſo far upon the *Athenians*, what with gifts and careſſes, that they would not ſuffer him to come into *Attica*. And as ſoon as he heard, that he was retired into the iſland of *Scyros*, he prevailed on *Lycomedes* to diſpatch him by the ſtratagem we lately mentioned. *Meneſtheus* reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the ſiege of *Troy*, where having loſt his life, the kingdom of *Athens* returned again to the *Theſean* line.

12. *Demophon*, one of the ſons of *Theſeus* by *Phædra*, ſucceeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the *Athenian* forces that were before *Troy*. He was one of thoſe that came back ſafe from that ſiege: in his return he landed in *Thrace*, b where *Phyllis*, king *Lycurgus*'s daughter, entertained him for ſome time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promiſed to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the *Ephetæ*, conſiſting originally of fifty *Athenians* and as many *Argivi*, for trying of wilful murders and lying in wait to kill. The occaſion of erecting this court, and of the *Argives* being admitted to ſit as judges in it, was as follows: *Agamemnon*, others ſay *Diomedes*, returning with his forces from *Troy*, was driven one night into an *Athenian* port called *Phalerus*, and thinking themſelves in an enemy's country, began their uſual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the ſurpriſed *Athenians* fell upon them and killed a con- ſiderable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the c ground among the ſlain, by which they knew that they were their friends the *Argives*. The oracle, having been conſulted, ordered them to give the ſlain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to *Minerva*, and to ſet up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court ſhould be erected to try all caſes of murder, manſlaughter, and chance-medly. It conſiſted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of ſenſe and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its firſt ſetting up, *Agamemnon* inſiſting that there ſhould be an equal number of *Athenians* and *Argives* to ſit in it, the *Athenians* readily granted it. *Demophon* ſubmitted himſelf afterwards to be tried d by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his ſubjects by the turn of his horſe, as he was coming from *Troy*. It ſubſiſted a conſiderable time in the ſame form; but *Draco*, one of their *Archons*, new-modelled it, excluded the *Argives* out of it, and made it conſiſt of fifty-one *Athenians*, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age [p]. *Demophon* reigned thirty-three years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, or, according to others, his brother

13. *Oxyntes*, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his ſon

14. *Aphydas*, who was murdered by *Thymætes* in the firſt year of his reign.

15. *Thymætes*, the baſtard-ſon of *Oxyntes*, betrayed his baſe nature in many things beſides the murder of *Aphydas*, by which he got the crown. We ſhall only mention the laſt inſtance of it which juſtly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight e years, when *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia* had a conteſt with him about one of their frontier towns. *Xanthus* offered to decide the matter in ſingle combat, and *Thymætes* as cowardly declined it. It happened, that *Melanthus*, a noble *Meſſenian* who had been driven out of his country by the *Heraclidæ*, was come to *Athens* about this time, and offered to anſwer the chartel. Upon their very firſt onſet *Melanthus* called to his adverſary, and aſked him why he brought a ſecond along with him contrary to their articles, and whilſt *Xanthus* turned about to ſee who followed him, he ran him through with his lance [q]. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did ſo pleaſe the *Athenians*, that they not only depoſed their puſillani- f mous king, who was the laſt of the line of *Erechtheus*, and ſet their *Meſſenian* champion upon the throne; but inſtituted a feaſt in memory of this action, and called it *Apatheria* from the ſtratagem that gave occaſion to it [r].

16. *Melanthus*, as ſoon as he had mounted the throne, perſuaded the *Athenians* to receive the baniſhed *Meſſenians* and *Neſtoridæ*, and after a reign of thirty-ſeven years left the kingdom to his worthy ſon *Codrus* [s].

17. *Codrus* reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ* had regained all *Peloponneſus* and were entering into *Attica*. *Codrus* was informed, that

[p] EUSEB. Chron. lib. i. [q] Vid. FRONTIN. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5. [r] POLYEN. Stratag. l. i. c. 9.
[s] PAUSAN. Achaic.

a that the oracle had promiſed them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the *Athenians*, and that they had taken all proper precautions againſt it; but he, who had reſolved to ſacrifice his life to the ſafety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them: he diſguiſed himſelf like a peaſant, went into his camp, fell a quarrelling with ſome of the *Dorian* ſoldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceaſed not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were ſo terrified, that they decamped without ſtriking a blow [t].

With *Codrus* ended the regal ſucceſſion and title of kings of *Athens*. His ſubjects conceived ſuch veneration for that magnanimous prince, that they eſteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of b the eſtates to elective magiſtrates, to whom they gave the title of *Archons*, and choſe *Medon* the eldeſt ſon of *Codrus* to that new dignity. His election, however, was oppoſed by his brother *Nileus*, who pretended, he could not ſubmit to *Medon*'s authority, becauſe he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it [u], all the *Archons* that ſucceeded him were from him ſurnamed *Medontidæ*, becauſe they were all choſen by ſucceſſion: ſo that the *Athenian* government continued in the family of *Codrus* under twelve perpetual *Archontes*, ſomewhat above the ſpace of two-hundred years.

Their names need not be repeated here, having added them to the liſt of the *Athenian* kings: neither ſhall we dwell upon the tranſactions which happened under c each ſeveral archonſhip; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did ſhew from time to time their diſlike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a reſemblance to monarchy, and giving its poſſeſſor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give ſome marks of their diſcontent under their firſt *Archon*. *Attica* had enjoyed ſo much quiet during a long ſeaſon, that it ſwarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harraſſed with wars, ſo that they were forced to diſcharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coaſts of *Leſſer Aſia*. Upon the very firſt of theſe expeditions *Nileus* and the reſt of *Codrus*'s ſons, who could not brook to be under their brother *Medon*, drew a great number of *Athenians* to them, joined with the *Ionians* and *Thebans*, and left *Athens* for *Leſſer Aſia*, where they diſperſed themſelves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. *Epheſus*, *Miletum*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Myus*, *Teos*, *Lebedos*, *Clazomenæ*, *Erithræ*, *Phocæa*, *Chios* in the iſle of that name, and *Samos*. Theſe were at firſt each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be ſeen in due time.

This perpetual archonſhip, however, upheld itſelf ſo long, in ſpight of the people's diſlike to it, that it paſſed through thirteen hands, from *Medon* the ſon of *Codrus* to *Alcmon* the laſt who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his ſhort reign, which laſted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: ſo that *Charops* the ſon of *Æſchylus*, was forced to accept of it upon thoſe terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the ſeventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which *Hezekiah* king of *Judah* was born. This new decennial dignity had ſcarce paſſed through four hands, before they began again to call for a freſh reduction of it; for *Hippomenes* the laſt of *Codrus*'s line, in whoſe archonſhip this tumult happened, had ſcarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his ſon and daughter (N), cauſed him to be depoſed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued ſtill through three different hands, till at length *Eryxias* the laſt of them, either dying, or being depoſed in the laſt year of his archonſhip, the *Athenians* appointed new archontes to be choſen from among the moſt conſiderable citizens for birth, wealth, and intereſt, and voted that dignity annual from thenceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which *Solon* did afterwards new-model and confirm, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Year of the flood, 2247. *Before Chriſt*, 752.

SECT.

[t] Just. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 6. [u] Castor. ap. Euseb. ubi ſupra.

(N) He cauſed his ſon to be torn in pieces by horſes for adultery, and his daughter he ſhut up with a horſe without food to be devoured alive, for having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous puniſhment, *Suidas* (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called Ιππο-και-χειρης, *Hippo kai Kyres*, in memory of the horſe and the young lady.

(11) *Sub voc.* Ἱππομενος.

SECT. IV.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Bœotia *and* Thebes.

Ancient names. WE find two ancient kingdoms called by the name of *Bœotia*, the one, and by far the more ancient and conſiderable of the two, founded, or rather reſtored, by *Cadmus*, and named by him *Bœotia* from *the ox* which is ſaid to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of *Thebes*. The other was in *Theſſaly*, and is ſaid to have been founded by *Bœotus*, the ſon of *Neptune*, and brother of *Æolus*, by *Arne* the daughter of *Æolus* king of *Æolis*. This laſt having ſent his daughter to *Metapontium* a city of *Italy*, ſhe was there delivered of thoſe two ſons, the eldeſt of whom ſhe called after her father's name *Æolus*; and he poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands in the *Tyrrhenian*, now *Tuſcan* ſea, and built the city of *Lipara*. *Bœotus* the younger ſon went to his grandfather and ſucceeded him his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city *Arne* from his mother. All that we know of theſe is, that they held this ſettlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the *Theſſalians* did expel them from it, and forced them to ſeek for a new one; upon which they came and poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which had been till then called *Cadmeis*, and gave it the name of *Bœotia*. *Diodorus* and *Homer* tell us, that theſe *Bœotians* did ſignalize themſelves at the *Trojan* war, and the latter adds, that five of *Bœotus*'s grandſons, *Peneleus*, *Leitus*, *Prothoenor*, *Arceſilaus*, and *Clonius*, were the five chiefs who led their *Bœotian* troops thither. a

According therefore to *Diodorus* *, this laſt country, though founded into a kingdom, at leaſt ever ſince the time of *Cadmus*, was not called *Bœotia* till the baniſhed ſons of *Bœotus* gave it that name, about three-hundred years after the building of *Thebes*; but the moſt current account, eſpecially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by *Cadmus* himſelf in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither, according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had ſeveral other names, according to thoſe of its ſuppoſed founders; thoſe who aſcribed it to *Ogyges* called both it and its capital *Ogygia*; others called it *Cadmeis* from *Cadmus*, *Aonia* from *Aon* the ſon of *Neptune*, and *Hyanthis* from *Hyas* the ſon of *Atlas*; but the far greater part ſay, it was originally called *Calydna* from *Calydnus*, the firſt founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called *Stramulippa*, and *Thebes* its ancient capital *Stibes* or *Stives*. b

Geography. It bordered on the eaſt to *Attica*, and was in time joined to it, as we have ſeen in the laſt article, and was parted from it by the mountain *Cithæron*. On the north to the ſtreight *Euripus*, now called the *Negroponte*, ſaid to flow ſeven times in twenty-four hours, or rather, according to *Livy*, ſuppoſed to do ſo, becauſe its tides are boiſterous and uncertain. On the weſt it had the kingdom of *Phocis*, and on the ſouth the gulph of *Corinth*. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the ſame length from north to ſouth; but coming near to a point eaſtward [a]. Here is the large lake *Copais* about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two conſiderable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eaſtward. Theſe are the *Aſopus*, which divided the territories of *Thebes* from thoſe of the *Plateans*, and running through thoſe of *Attica* falls into the *Ægean* ſea; and the *Iſmenus*, which empties itſelf into the *Euripus* abovementioned. The country is partly hilly, eſpecially *Aonia* properly ſo called; the reſt is low and flat, abounding with excellent paſturage; but whoſe air is ſo thick and foggy, that *Horace* thought it the occaſion of the inhabitants being ſuch famous dunces.

Natural rarities.

Places

* Bibl. lib. iv.

[a] Strab. Mel. & al.

(A) The fable goes, that *Cadmus*, tired with going in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, whom *Jupiter*, in the ſhape of a bull, or, as is ſuppoſed, in a ſhip, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into *Crete*, was adviſed by the oracle of *Delphos* to follow the track of the firſt ox he ſaw, and where he reſted himſelf to build there the city of *Thebes*, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) *Pauſan. in Bœot. & al.*

Places of note.

a PLACES of note in *Bœotia* were; 1. The *Trophonian* cave (B), and the oracle, said to have been there given by *Jupiter* whence he was ſirnamed *Trophonius*. 2. *Theſpia*, a town ſituate on the river of that name, and ſhadowed on the north by the famous *Helicon*, whence the muſes to which theſe were dedicated were called *Theſpiades*. 3. *Aulis*, a ſea-port on the *Negropont*, famous for being the place where the *Grecian* chiefs ſwore the deſtruction of *Troy*. 4. The famed ſtreights of the mountain *Oeta*, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* from the hot waters of that neighbourhood; but the moſt famed place was the city of *Thebes*, ſituate near the river *Iſmenus*, and ſirnamed *Heptapylos* from its ſeven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by *Cadmus*, as
b we obſerved before, and to have been made by him the capital of the *Bœotian* kingdom, from which his ſucceſſors, who did adorn it with many ſtately temples, palaces, and other ſumptuous buildings, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention by and by, were alſo called kings of *Thebes* [b].

Laws and cuſtoms.

THE government was altogether monarchical like thoſe we have ſeen already, but perhaps more deſpotic here than in the reſt, and having no other laws than the king's will; ſome of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their ancient cuſtoms, except what *Plutarch* tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree
c of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to underſtand, that ſhe was fixed with her huſband for life, and muſt not expect to return to her parents. The

Chronology.

foundation of this ancient kingdom we ſhall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by *Cadmus*, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and concerning which, whether we make *Ogyges* or any other hero to have reigned in *Bœotia*, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable writers. Even the times which elapſed between *Cadmus* and the celebrated war between the two contending ſons of *OEdipus*, and which is the moſt ancient piece of hiſtory that we have of all *Greece*, are ſo ſtuffed with the vileſt and moſt abſurd fables of gods turned into ſatyrs and devils, and of men turned into
d monſters of cruelty and luſt, that we hope we ſhall be excuſed for ſkipping over all that has not ſome affinity with the hiſtory itſelf. The time in which chronologiſts place the rape of *Europa* being about the year of the world 2550 [c], and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of *Thebes* may be ſuppoſed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally deſtroyed by the *Epigoni* it had ſtood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the *Cadmean* race, but uſurpers. After this there reigned in *Thebes* two kings more of the race of *OEdipus*, and three of the race of *Peneleus* the great grandſon of *Bœotus*. Beſides theſe we find *Homer* mentioning *Æetion* as king of *Thebes*. We have ſpoken of him in another place †, and ſhall omit him here in our liſt, becauſe it doth
e not appear that he was of the *Cadmean* race, nor is he mentioned by *Pauſanias* among the *Theban* kings, though he may have ſignalized himſelf in the defence of that city *.

Of the flood 1545

The LIST of the Kings of *Thebes*, according to our Author, is as follows:

1 *Cadmus*	*Lajus* reſtored	12 *Tiſamenes*
2 *Polydorus*	7 *OEdipus*	13 *Auteſion*
3 *Labdacus*	8 *Eteocles* and	14 *Damaſichton*
4 *Lajus*	9 *Polynices*	15 *Ptolomeos*
5 *Amphion* àn uſurper	10 *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*.	16 *Xuthus*
6 *Zethus* his brother	11 *Therſander* ſon of *Polynices*.	

f After this laſt the *Thebans*, grown weary of kingly government, reſolved themſelves into a commonwealth, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

Cadmus, according to the *Greeks*, was the ſon of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, or, according to others, of *Tyre*; but according to the *Sidonians* his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook: theſe add, that his wife *Hermione* was likewiſe a mere minſtrel

[b] PAUSAN. in Bœot. † Vol. II. p. 342. f. [c] Vid. HIND. Hiſt. Græc.

(B) So called from an old ſoothſayer, who inhabited it, and uſed to be conſulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many waſhings, anointing, and the like ſuperſtitious preparations. It is added that thoſe who had once been in it, were never ſeen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholy, *he has been in the* Trophonian *den*.

* The authors of this hiſtory have inadvertently placed *Æetion* in the number of the kings of the *Bœotian Thebes*; whereas he was king of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*, and ſlain by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* war.

miniſtrel at court, with whom he ran away into *Greece* †. The former tell us, that his father, ſending him and his two brothers in queſt of *Europa*, had forbid them to return without her. *Cadmus* therefore, having ſought her far and long in vain, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, came into *Bœotia*, where, as we have ſeen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at firſt oppoſed by the *Hyantes* and *Aones*, who were then in poſſeſſion of that territory: the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into *Locris*; but the latter he admitted, upon their ſubmitting themſelves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he built the city of *Thebes*, and a citadel, which he called by his own name *Cadmea* [d], which name it retained many ages after.

The fable adds, that when *Cadmus* married his wife *Hermione*, whom the poets make the daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, the gods came to *Cadmus* and aſſiſted at his wedding; and that he had by her one ſon named *Polydorus* and four daughters, *Semele* the mother of *Bacchus* by *Jupiter* (D), *Ino*, *Autonoe*, and *Agave*. After this the *Enchelæ*, who were at war with the *Illyrians*, being commanded by the oracle to chuſe him their general, he left *Thebes* to his ſon *Polydorus*, and headed them; and here it was, that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into ſerpents (E), or, as ſome interpret it, to have degenerated from their priſtine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another ſon, whom he either called *Illyrius* from the name of the *Illyrians*, his new-conquered ſubjects, or elſe that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece.

Cadmus is univerſally allowed to have introduced the uſe of letters into *Greece* from *Phœnicia*. The alphabet at firſt had but ſixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He alſo was the firſt that ſet up ſchools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and braſs had the name of *Cadmean* given it in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the uſe of it into thoſe parts [e].

Cadmus being retired to *Illyrium*, as we have ſeen, left the *Theban* government to his ſon *Polydorus*, in whoſe reign his great favourite and nephew, *Pentheus* the ſon of *Echion* by *Agave*, having had the inſolence to prophane the rites of *Bacchus*, was torn in pieces by his mother and ſiſters. *Polydorus*, whoſe ſon *Labdacus* was yet under age, when he found himſelf dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to *Nycteus*, whoſe daughter *Antiope* (F), the greateſt beauty then in all *Greece*, being ſoon

† Vid. Athenæus. l. xiv. c. 22. [d] Pausan. ubi ſupra. [e] Vid. Herodot. l. v.

(C) Who and whence thoſe people were, whom *Cadmus* brought hither, is variouſly conjectured: ſome think, that he and they came from *Thebais* in *Egypt* (2), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of *Phœnicians*; but we think *Bochart*'s conjecture (3) the moſt reaſonable, that they were *Canaanites* driven out of their land by *Joſhua*, whoſe time falls in with *Cadmus* exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the *Cadmonites* mentioned by *Moſes* (4), who were the ſame with the *Hivites*, and were called *Cadmonim*, or *Eaſterlings*, becauſe they inhabited mount *Hermon* the moſt eaſtern part of *Canaan*, from which the ſame author ſuppoſes *Cadmus*'s wife to have been called *Hermione* or *Harmonia*.

The fable of theſe two being turned into ſerpents, he thinks to have ſprung from their retaining their common name of *Hivites*, which in the *Syriac* ſignifies *a ſerpent*.

Theſe conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital *Thebes*, for the above quoted book mentions a city of the ſame name in the land of *Canaan* (5), and written in the plural Θηβαι by *Joſephus* (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of thoſe who derive it from *Thebe* the daughter of *Prometheus* (7).

(D) The reaſon why the poets make *Cadmus* grandfather to *Bacchus*, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into *Greece*: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of thoſe who make *Bacchus* to be the ſame with *Nimrod* and of thoſe who make him the ſon of *Jupiter Ammon*, ſince in either opinion he muſt have been vaſtly more ancient (8).

However, *Bacchus* is feigned to have been the firſt who found out the uſe of wine, to have gone upon a three-years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into *India*, even to the utmoſt parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the *Barbarian* inhabitants of thoſe parts: and laſtly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great ſerpent, he ſtrowed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting againſt each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called *Victoria Cadmea*.

(F) This young princeſs, who was married to *Zethus*, is ſuppoſed to have been carried off by her own conſent, becauſe her dying father gave him orders to puniſh her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that ſhe was pregnant, he contented himſelf at firſt with divorcing her, though he was afterwards perſuaded by his next wife to clap her into a priſon, out of which ſhe was afterwards releaſed by her two ſons (10).

(2) *Vid. Uſſer. an. ſub. A. M.* 2549. (3) *Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 19. *See before, Vol. I. p.* 395. & *ſeq.* (4) *Gen.* xv. 19. (5) *c.* ix. 50. (6) *Ant. l.* v. *c.* 5. (7) *Vid. Steph. Byzant. ſub Thebæ.* (8) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupra, Ch.* xviii. (9) *Vid. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* iv. (10) *Pauſan. in Corinth. c.* v.

soon after carried off by *Epopeus* king of *Sicyon*, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother *Lycus*, whilst he undertook a war against the raviſher of his daughter. He went ſoon after him at the head of his *Theban* troops, and a bloody fight enſued, in which *Nyctæus* received a mortal wound and loſt the battle, upon which he cauſed himſelf to be brought back to *Thebes*, where he left once more his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on *Epopeus*, and to reſcue his daughter *Antiope*. In the mean time *Epopeus*, flushed with his victory (G), neglected a ſlight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death ſome time after, and put an end to the war. *Lycus* recovered his niece, and as ſhe was coming back to *Thebes*, ſhe fell in labour, and was delivered of two ſons, *Amphion* and *Zethus* (H), of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak by-and-by.

2. *Labdacus*, when of age, finding that *Laomedon*, who had ſucceeded *Epopeus* in *Sicyon*, was attacked by two powerful enemies, *Archandes* and *Architeles*, the ſons of *Achæus*, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt *Antiope* to be reſtored; and *Laomadon*, though then aſſiſted by *Sicyon*, whom he had invited from *Athens* (I), yet choſe rather to deliver up that princeſs, than to exaſperate the *Theban* king by a refuſal*. We have ſeen what reception ſhe met with in a late note. *Labdacus*, dying ſoon after, left his ſon *Lajus* and the government to the care of *Lycus*.

4. *Lajus* being then very young, *Amphion* and his brother *Zethus*, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. *Lycus* having made it his firſt care to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, the only ſurviving one of the *Cadmean* race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and loſt the day. *Amphion* ſeized the *Theban* crown, and called its metropolis, or at leaſt the lower city, *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt by the mother's ſide (K), whilſt the upper city or citadel retained its ancient name of *Cadmea*. It is to theſe two heroes that *Homer* attributes the incloſing and fortifying of the former with a famous ſtrong wall, with ſeven gates, and a number of ſtately towers at a convenient ſpace from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long againſt the *Theban* forces (L). A grievous plague raged ſoon after which deſtroyed great multitudes, and among the reſt *Amphion* and his family. His brother *Zethus*, who ſucceeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only ſon was killed by his own mother, the grief of which ſhortened his days, and gave the *Thebans* an opportunity of ſetting *Lajus* again upon the throne.

Lajus having married *Jocaſta*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Epicaſte*, the daughter of *Creon*, was forewarned by *Apollo*'s oracle, that if he had a ſon by her, he ſhould be killed by him. *Œdipus* was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom *Lajus* therefore

* Pausan. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is ſaid to have built a temple to *Minerva*, as an acknowledgment for his late ſucceſs, and that when it was finiſhed, he prayed to the goddeſs, that if ſhe accepted of it, ſhe would ſhew ſome particular token of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) Theſe twins, *Homer* ſays (12), were begot, not by *Epopeus*, but by *Jupiter*, who fell in love with *Antiope*. Their firſt exploit was to murder *Lycus* and his wife, and to reſcue their mother out of her confinement. After this they ſeized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

Antiope is alſo called *Nyctеis* from her father *Nyctеus*, and the ancient *Samotic* poet celebrates her in verſes to this purpoſe; *That ſhe had* Aſopus *for her father*; Epopeus *and* Jupiter *for her gallants*; *and* Amphion *and* Zethus *for her ſons* (13).

(I) Who, the *Sicyonians* ſay, was not the ſon of *Marathon*, the ſon of *Epopeus*, but of *Metion* the ſon of *Erectheus* (14). *Heſiod* makes him the ſon of *Erectheus*, and another of *Pelops* (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may ſee what we ſaid of him in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

(K) Some pretend, that ſhe was one of the three daughters of the river *Aſopus*, or rather of *Aſopus* the *Phliaſian*, from whom that river had its name: but the *Bœotians* affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of *Aſopus* the *Bœotian*, probably the ſame which was alſo called *Nyctеus* the father of their mother *Antiope*, whom *Aſius* above quoted calls *Aſopus*.

(L) What the fable adds, concerning the miraculous effects of *Amphion*'s lyre in the building of thoſe walls, is ſo well known, that we need not ſay any thing further about it, than that *Amphion* had firſt brought muſick into *Greece*, from *Lydia*, where he had learned it (16), and that it was ſo admired for its novelty and excellence, that he eaſily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilſt he diverted them with the muſick of his harp; and probably alſo by his eloquence, which he was no leſs a maſter of, perſuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live ſociably and in community.

(11) *Id. ibid.* (12) *Odyſſ. l.* ii. (13) *Aſius ap. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (14) *Id. ibid.* (15) *Ibyc. apud eund.* (16) *Vid. Plin. lib.* vii. *Ch.* lvi. *Pauſan. in Bœotic. & al.*

fore gave to a ſhepherd to be ſlain (M); but he, moved with compaſſion, left him a expoſed in a place, where he was ſoon after taken up by the herdſman of, and preſented to, *Polybus* king of *Corinth*, who healed his feet, and, from the ſwelling which the boring and anguiſh had left in them, called him *Œdipus*, and brought him up as his own [f]. When he came of age, and underſtood that he was not the ſon of the *Corinthian* king, he went to the oracle of *Delphos* to enquire after his parents, and at the ſame time *Lajus* led by his fate went likewiſe to enquire what was become of his ſon. They met at *Phocis*, and, ſome ſcuffle happening between them, *Œdipus* unwittingly killed his father and went to *Thebes*, where he married his mother *Jocaſta*, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the *Sphinx*'s riddle (N). *Eteocles* and *Polynices* were the unhappy fruit of their inceſtuous embraces (O). Some add, that he had alſo two b daughters by her, but others ſay they were by another woman.

As ſoon as *Œdipus* was appriſed, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and inceſt, the horror of his guilt threw him into ſuch a fit of diſtraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having curſed his unhappy poſterity, was led by his daughter *Antigone* to *Attica*, where he took ſanctuary in *Eumenides*'s grove, and ſoon after ended his miſerable life. As for *Jocaſta*, ſhe hanged herſelf for grief even before he left the kingdom.

His two ſons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them ſhould reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but *Eteocles* having refuſed c to reſign after he had reigned his year, *Polynices* went to *Argos*, where having married *Adraſtus*'s daughter, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, he ingaged that prince to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his right: theſe two came ſoon after with a powerful army, and beſieged *Eteocles* at the ſeven gates of his capital. *Eteocles* at the ſame time put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, and went and conſulted an old blind *Theban* ſouthſayer about the ſucceſs of the war; and was anſwered, that victory would infallibly fall on his ſide, if *Menecæus*, the ſon of *Creon* and the laſt of the *Cadmean* race, would voluntarily ſacrifice himſelf to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his country [g]. This did not, however, prevent hoſtilities being carried on with the utmoſt fury, and with ſuch terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes ſhould decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, which they did with ſuch deſperate fury, that both fell by each other's ſword. The *Argives* ventured to give the *Thebans* a ſecond battle, wherein both ſides loſt ſeveral of their brave commanders, and ſuch a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almoſt ruined by it. A treaty was then expoſtulated by the *Argivic* king for burying of their dead, but *Creon*, who had then taken the government upon him, was ſo exaſperated againſt them, that he not only abſolutely refuſed it, but cauſed the princeſs *Antigone* to be buried alive, becauſe ſhe had cauſed the body of her brother *Polynices* to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was ſoon after killed by *Theſeus*, who came with an army againſt him, and obliged the *Thebans* to permit the *Argives* to bury their ſlain, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

In

[f] Conf. Plutarch. in Theſ. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. Pausan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & al. [g] Id. ibid. Vid. & Cicer. Stat. & al.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beaſts.

(N) This was a miſchievous monſter which infeſted the neighbourhood of *Thebes:* it had a face and body like a dog, and deſtroyed all the paſſengers that could not expound her riddle. *Creon* the father of *Jocaſta* ruled then at *Thebes*, and having conſulted the oracle, was anſwered, that there would be no end of this miſchief till ſomebody gave her a ſolution; whereupon he cauſed it to be proclaimed through *Greece*, that the man that expounded it ſhould have *Jocaſta* to wife; and *OEdipus* proved the perſon who gained the fatal prize, and from that inceſtuous marriage had the two ſons who were the occaſion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at leaſt the account which all the ancient poets, except *Homer*, have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raiſe the greater compaſſion for that unhappy couple and their progeny; but *Homer*, on the contrary, who introduces *Ulyſſes*, ſaying, that he had ſeen in hell the fair *Epicaſte*, who through imprudence had married her own ſon, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father and huſband of his mother, makes him add, that *the gods, by haſtening this prince's death*, prevented the ſad effects of that inceſtuous marriage. For, as *Pauſanias* juſtly obſerves (17), how could they be ſaid to ſtop the courſe of that inceſt, if *OEdipus* had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled *OEdipiad*, or *the adventures of* OEdipus, that he had thoſe children by *Euriganea* the daughter of *Hyperbaſi*.

(17) *In Bœotic. cap.* vi.

a In the mean time the ſons of thoſe ſeven generals, who fell before *Thebes*, reſolving to revenge themſelves on that city for the ill ſucceſs of the laſt expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called *Epigoni*, and renewed the ſiege afreſh. *Laodamas* the ſon of *Eteocles*, who by this time came to age and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed *Ægyaleus* one of their chiefs. But being himſelf ſoon after killed, or forced to fly into *Illyrium* [h], the *Thebans* began to ſue for a treaty, and whilſt that was tranſacting, conveyed themſelves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of *Hæſtiæa*, leaving *Thebes* to the mercy of the *Epigoni*. Some ſay, that theſe, being appriſed of their flight, plundered the city, and quite eraſed her b walls. Others affirm, that *Therſander Polynices*'s ſon diſſuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; ſoon after which he led them to the *Trojan* war, and in the way ſignalized himſelf at *Myſia*, and was killed by *Telepus*. His ſon *Teſamenes*, being then too young to command the *Theban* forces, *Peneleus* was choſen their chief, and was alſo killed there by *Eurypylus* the ſon of *Telepus*. After his death *Teſamenes* took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough; but the fates, which purſued the unfortunate offspring of *Œdipus*, did not prove ſo favourable to his ſon *Auteſion*, who, we are told, was ſeized with ſuch a dreadful phrenſy, or, according to the poetic phraſe, was perſecuted by the furies to ſuch a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the *Dorians*.

c After his departure the *Thebans* raiſed *Damaſichton*, the grandſon of *Peneleus*, to the throne, who left it to his ſon *Ptolomeos*, and he was ſucceeded by *Xanthus*, who was the laſt who enjoyed the regal dignity in *Thebes*, and was treacherouſly killed by *Melanthus* in ſingle combat, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Athens*. After his death the *Thebans*, weary of a kingly government, reſolved to put it into many hands, and to ſettle themſelves into a commonwealth [i], as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

[h] Conf. Pausan. Bœotic. & Apollod. l. iii. c. 7. [i] Pausan. ubi. ſupra.

SECT V.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Arcadia.

Names. *Arcadia*, ſo called from *Arcas* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Caliſto*, was anciently called *Pelaſgia*, being inhabited by the ancient *Pelaſgi*, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from *Pelaſgus* their pretended founder, of whom we have ſpoken in a former ſection of this chapter †, as having been ſuppoſed by a late author to be the ſame with *Peleg* the ſon of *Eber* in ſcripture. The *Pelaſgians* did alſo ſurname him *Autochton* [a], which was a name the *Grecians* gave to thoſe whoſe original was not known. It is true, we find the *Pelaſgians* in ſeveral other parts of *Greece*, as was there obſerved; but their chief and primitive ſeat is generally ſuppoſed to have been this of *Arcadia*, whoſe inhabitants are univerſally allowed the ancienteſt people in *Greece*, and boaſted themſelves to be older than the moon.

Geography. This country was ſituate in the heart of *Peloponneſus* (A), having *Elis* on the weſt, *Argolis* on the eaſt, *Laconia* and *Meſſenia* on the ſouth, and *Sicyon* and *Corinth* on the north [b]. Its ground, which afforded excellent paſturage, made it famous for the vaſt number of herds it bred; for the tuneful ſtrains of its ſhepherds, who excelled all others in their paſtoral performances, and the ſweetneſs of their vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and for the extraordinary worſhip that was paid here to their god *Pan*. Here was alſo a famous temple of that deity in the city of *Tegea*, and another

† See before, Vol. II. p. 345. a. [a] Xenoph. Strab. Mel. & al. [b] Strab. D. Sicul. Pausan. Mela, & al.

(A) The *Arcadians* were conſequently at a diſtance from the ſea, and accordingly *Homer* tells us, that they had neither ſhips, nor any knowledge of ſailing (1); ſo that when they are ſaid to have imbarked for the ſiege of *Troy*, we muſt underſtand it of *Agamemnon*'s fleet, which tranſported them thither.

(1) *Iliad. lib.* ii.

Natural rarities.

other dedicated to *Minerva* in the city of *Stymphalus*, ſituate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here alſo bred upon the lake *Stymphalis* a kind of fowl, called from it the *Stymphalian* birds, which grew to ſuch a ſize and number, that they darkened the ſun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infeſted this territory; till they were all either killed or driven hence by *Hercules*, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

Here was alſo the famed lake *Phenaus*, from which ſprings the river *Styx*, famous for the coldneſs of its water which chills them to death that drink it; it is alſo of ſuch corroſive nature that it will eat iron and braſs [c]. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whoſe name is ſo ſacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had ſworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the uſe of *Nectar* for a hundred years.

The *Arcadians* were at firſt a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by *Pelaſgus* to build huts, live ſociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-maſt (B), and to cloath themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts. They began afterwards to give themſelves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their ſoil. But as this country abounded with excellent paſture grounds, ſo it was expoſed to continual incurſions from thoſe, who were either forced out of their own country, or were diſcontented with it. And this put them upon the neceſſity of exchanging the crook for the ſword, and to inure themſelves to ſome warlike diſcipline in their own defence, who would otherwiſe in all likelihood have preferred a paſtoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, eſpecially the highlanders, became ſuch excellent ſoldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other ſtates. They commonly uſed to come to the wars clad with the ſkins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they uſed with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length ſuch expert warriors, eſpecially in a defenſive war, that they have ſometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other ſide: witneſs that famous expedition of the *Lacedemonians* againſt *Tegea*, when, fluſhed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they ſhould take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle diſcomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambuſh, and their king *Charilaus* with a great number of his men bound with thoſe very chains they had brought with them [*]. Having therefore ſuch brave females to defend their country in caſe of invaſion, they uſed to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring ſtates, in the ſame manner as the *Suizzers* are now; and this made them ſome amends for their want of commerce, occaſioned by their diſtance from the ſea.

This extraordinary change in ſo rude a nation was as quick as it was ſurprizing. *Lycaon* the ſon of their founder, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the following note, improving what his father had done towards civilizing his ſubjects, by introducing the worſhip of *Jupiter* among them, though not with the ſame prudence that *Cecrops* had done among his *Athenians* (C). His ſons, of whom he had a conſiderable number, ſet themſelves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names, and which we ſhall mention in their proper places [d]. In theſe they gathered

[c] Id. ibid. [*] Herodot. l. i. & Pausan. in Arcad. [d] In Arcad. ch. iii.

(B) which kind of food, *Pauſanius* tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, inſomuch, that the *Lacedemonians* conſulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage againſt them, received this anſwer from the pythoneſs, that though *Jupiter* and the gods were on their ſide, yet could they expect no ſucceſs againſt a warlike people, whoſe chiefeſt dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(C) *Cecrops*, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, forbad the ſacrificing of any living creature, whereas *Lycaon* is reported to have ſacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its riſe only from the ſavage nature of that prince implyed in his name, λυκος, ſignifying *a wolf*: the account which *Ovid* gives of him is as follows:

Jupiter, deſirous to know whether the wickedneſs of men anſwered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to *Lycaon*'s palace, where having made himſelf known, the people were going to ſacrifice to him. *Lycaon*, not believing his gueſt to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having miſſed his blow, he killed and dreſſed a *Moloſſian* youth, whom he kept as a hoſtage, and ſet him before his gueſt to eat, for which the exaſperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightening, and turned his inhuman hoſt into a wolf.

(2) *In Arcadic. ch.* i.

a gathered the people into bodies, and brought them ſtill nearer to a ſocial life; and in the next reign they began to ſow corn, make bread, ſpin wool, and to make themſelves garments of it [e]. Another author adds [f], that they learned the uſe of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making of cheeſe, of oil, and ſome other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations, the *Arcadians*, from being but one remove from wild beaſts, became civilized, induſtrious, inured to ſociety, huſbandry, and a regular government. To all theſe we may add, that theſe advantages, which expoſed them to frequent invaſions from abroad, put them likewiſe upon the neceſſity of cultivating the martial arts, firſt in their own defence, and afterwards for intereſt and gain, whence they became ſuch brave ſoldiers and expert b warriors, as we obſerved they were. Hence it was, that moſt of the *Grecian* princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but eſpecially the *Meſſenians*, with whom they ſeem to have maintained an inviolable friendſhip. But *Hercules*, of all the antient heroes, had the greateſt confidence in them, inſomuch, that we ſeldom find him ingaged in any extraordinary exploit without having ſome *Arcadian* forces to aſſiſt him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their paſtoral life, for which they have been ſo highly celebrated by the poets above all other *Grecians* [g].

Arts and huſbandry.

THEIR government, like that of all their neighbours, was at firſt altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the ſubjects began to claim ſomething c like a negative power, eſpecially in matters of great moment, ſo that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, ſuch as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their conſent. This may perhaps be one main reaſon why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other ſtate of *Greece*; but this will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. We ſhall confine ourſelves here within our epoch, and to that ſeries of kings which that nation pretended to be deſcended from *Pelaſgus* their firſt founder, and which *Pauſanias* has given us from their traditions and records. And herein if he differs ſometimes from *Apollodorus*, *Juſtin*, and other ancient writers, we may ſuppoſe he had his reaſons for ſo doing, and, if we except the remoteſt times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkneſs, the ſtanding monuments of each d country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it ſometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his ſons, and continued ſo, till want of iſſue, alliances, or ſome other circumſtance united it again. Beſides this, the ſeveral cities, built by the ſons of *Lycaon*, ſeem to have been divided into cantons under their ſeveral chiefs; but whether always under one ſovereign or not, is not ſure. Hence it is, that we read of theſe cantons, as of ſeperate people, who made alliances, not only among themſelves, but with foreign ſtates, and ſignalized themſelves during ſeveral centuries under their reſpective names, ſuch as *Tegeans*, *Trapæzans*, *Mantineans*, *Peretheans*, and many more, which we ſhall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their be- e ing miſtaken in the ſequel of the *Grecian* hiſtory for ſo many diſtinct people from the *Arcadians*.

Government.

THE

[e] Id. ibid. [f] JUSTIN, ex Trog. l. xiii. c. 7. [g] APOLLOD. D. SICUL. PAUSAN. &c.

(D) This laſt author, ſays, that *Ariſtæus*, who taught the *Arcadians* all theſe things, was the ſon of *Jupiter* by *Cyrene*, a beautiful *Theſſalian* princeſs, whom that luſtful god carried off to the top of mount *Pelion*, and of whom he got four ſons, the three firſt of which ſettled in *Theſſaly*, and the other, viz. *Ariſtæus*, came and reigned in *Arcadia*. This ſtory, however, is contradicted by *Pindar* and *Siculus*, who affirm, that ſhe had but one ſon by *Jupiter*, namely *Monius*, who was alſo ſurnamed *Agrius*, as being a lover of hunting and feeding cattle; and *Pauſanias* ſays, that this *Ariſtæus* inſtructed *Arcas* the 4th king of the country, without taking any notice of his reigning there. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more of this *Cyrene* when we come to ſpeak of *Theſſaly*.

The ſucceſſion of the kings of *Arcadia*, who reigned from their founder to *Ariſtocrates*, who was murdered by his ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians* [h]; is as follows.

1 *Pelaſgus*	8 *Aleus*	14 *Cypſelus*	20 *Æginetes*
2 *Lycaon*	9 *Lycurgus*	15 *Lajus*	21 *Polymeſtor*
3 *Nyctimus*	10 *Echemus*	16 *Bucolion*	22 *Echmis*
4 *Arcas*	11 *Agapenor*	17 *Phialius*	23 *Ariſtocrates* I.
5 *Clitor*	12 *Hyppotheus*	18 *Simus*	24 *Hicetas*
6 *Azan*	13 *Epytus* II.	19 *Pompus*	25 *Ariſtocrates* II.
7 *Epytus* I.			

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning. If *Pelaſgus*, the ſuppoſed founder of this monarchy, were the ſame with *Phaleg* or *Peleg* the ſon of *Eber*, in whoſe days the earth is ſaid to have been divided [i]; it muſt have begun at leaſt as early as *Terah*'s time; but we hope we have ſufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore †, as well as the other conjecture of the ſame learned man, that *Peleg* was the father of the *Scythians**. Thoſe who place the foundation of it about *Moſes*'s time ſeem ſtill to have antedated it [k], neither would we venture to place it before the expulſion of the *Canaanites* out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in ſearch of ſome more peaceful habitations. But whether in *Joſhua*'s time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Pelaſgus* was cotemporary with *Inachus*, *Cecrops* I. *Lelex*, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of *Egypt*; according to him this was about 1120 years before Chriſt, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Chriſt 1556, at which time we have placed the foundation of *Athens* by *Cecrops*. And it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that *Pelaſgus* could be of recenter date than he, if we conſider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the ſucceſſions of their kings; and that *Pauſanias* thinks, that *Lycaon* was cotemporary with the *Athenian* founder [l]. Upon this ſuppoſition therefore, that they began near about the ſame time, it will follow, that this of *Arcadia* laſted in the line of *Pelaſgus* about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and firſt of the 28th olympiad, in which *Ariſtocrates* II. and the laſt of that race was ſtoned to death. This is the utmoſt we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whoſe beginning is ſo dark and remote. We ſhall in the next place ſubjoin what we find moſt material concerning theſe monarchs.

We have already ſaid all we know concerning *Pelaſgus* and his ſon *Lycaon*, except that this laſt built a city on the mountain *Lycæus*, and called it *Lycoſura*, cauſed *Jupiter* to be worſhipped there under the name of *Jupiter Lycæus*, and inſtituted the *Lycæan* games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous iſſue, the reader may ſee them in the margin (E). Among ſo many ſons *Lycaon* had but one daughter named *Caliſto*, with whom *Jupiter* having had

[h] Pausan. ubi ſupra. ch. ii. & ſeq. [i] Gen. x. 25. vid. & Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. 5. † See Vol. I. p. 169. d. * Vol. II. p. 243. & ſeq. [k] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hiſt. of the world, l. ii. c. 6. ſect. 4. [l] Arcad. c. i.

(E) Theſe cities were *Pallantium* built by *Pallas*, *Oreſthaſium*, by *Oreſtheus*, *Phigalia* by *Phigaleus*, afterwards called *Phialia* from *Phialus* the ſon of *Bucolion*, *Trapezonte* from *Trapezeus*, and ſo of the reſt which were built by his other ſons *Daceates*, *Macareus*, *Heliſſon*, *Acacus*, (from whom this laſt tribe pretends *Mercury* has that ſurname in *Homer* which ſignifies *without evil*, implying, that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and *Thochmus*. *Hypſus* built *Hypſuntes*, *Menelea*, and *Thyrea*, *Menalus*, *Tegeates*, and *Mantineus*, the three cities of their name. The reſt of thoſe cantons, bearing their founders names, are the *Cromians*, *Chariſians*, *Tricolones*, *Peretheans*, *Aſeatians*, *Lyceatians*, *Sumatians*, *Hereans*, and *Alipholians*. *Orchomenos* the father of the *Orchomenians*, the richeſt canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of *Methydion* †. The youngeſt of *Lycaon*'s ſons called *OEnotrius*, inſtead of following the example of the reſt, obtained a ſum of money and forces from his brother *Nyctimus*, who ſucceeded *Lycaon*, ſailed into *Italy*, and ſettled there, and was the firſt who brought a colony from *Greece* thither (3). Hence that of *Virgil*:

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ (4).
OEnotrii coluere viri.

† *De his Vid. St. Byzant. ſub. voc. & Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (3) *Pauſan. in Arcad. ch.* iii. (4) *Vid. Gedoyn. Not. in eund. ch.* iii.

had an intrigue, *Juno* turned her into a ſhe-bear, and *Diana*, to pleaſe that jealous goddeſs, ſhot her to death (F). *Lycaon* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

3. *Nyctimus*, and he dying, we ſuppoſe childleſs, left the kingdom to

4. *Arcas*, the ſon of *Caliſto* by *Jupiter*, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved husbandry. He had three ſons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called *Erato* (G), beſides a natural ſon he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. *Azan* the eldeſt called his portion by his name *Azania*. *Aphydas* had the canton of *Tegea*, and *Elatus* had mount *Cyllene* (H), from which he went afterwards and ſettled in *Phocis*, and built a city which he called by his name.

5. *Azan* was ſucceeded by his only ſon

6. *Clitor*, who inſtituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the powerfulleſt prince of his time, but died childleſs; ſo that his ſhare of the *Arcadian* kingdom fell to

7. *Epytus*, eldeſt ſon of his brother *Elatus*, who was bit to death by a venomous ſerpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his couſin

8. *Aleus*, the ſon of *Aphydas*. This prince made *Tegea* his metropolis, and built in it a temple to *Minerva Alea*. He had three ſons, *Lycurgus*, *Amphidamus*, and *Cepheus*; and a daughter named *Auge*, whom he condemned to be drowned for her criminal converſe with *Hercules*, during his abode at *Tegea* (I). He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

9. *Lycurgus*, whoſe two ſons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to *Echemus*, the great grandſon of *Aleus*.

10. *Echemus* aſſiſted *Atreus* the ſon of *Pelops* againſt the *Heraclidæ*, who firſt entered *Peloponneſus* with a powerful army, and with *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules* at their head. We have ſpoken of this expedition in a former ſection, and of the ſucceſs of *Echemus* againſt that champion whom he killed in ſingle combat, he left his kingdom to a ſon of *Ancæus* the ſon of *Lycurgus*, named

11. *Agapenor*, who commanded the *Arcadian* troops at the ſiege of *Troy* (L), and in his return thence, being, like the reſt of the ſurviving *Grecian* chiefs, toſſed about by contrary winds and tempeſts, was caſt at length upon the coaſts of *Cyprus*, and ſettled at *Paphos*, where he built a temple to *Venus*, who, till then, if we believe *Pauſanias*, was only worſhipped at the ſmall city of *Golgos* [m]. From him the kingdom paſſed to the line of *Stymphalus* the ſon of *Elatus*, who was the youngeſt ſon of *Arcas*.

12. *Hippothous* the great grandſon of *Stymphalus* was the perſon who ſucceeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom from *Tegea* the ancient metropolis to *Trapeza*; he was ſucceeded by his ſon

13. *Epytus*

[l] Arcad. c. ii. [m] Arcad. c. v.

(F) The fable adds, that *Mercury*, out of compaſſion to the young princeſs, and by *Jupiter*'s order, ſaved the infant ſhe was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where ſhe became a conſtellation, or, if you pleaſe, that conſtellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muſe of that name who preſides over matters of love; but a wood-nymph, ſuch as they call *Dryades*. Thoſe who inhabited the mountains were called *Oreades*; thoſe of the water *Nereides*; and thoſe of ſprings and rivers *Naiades* (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from *Cyllen* the ſon of *Elatus*. This is the ſame mountain on which *Jupiter* is ſaid to have begot *Mercury* on *Maja* the daughter of *Atlas* †.

(I) This princeſs having captivated the famous *Hercules* whilſt he was at *Tegea*, was left with child by him, which her father no ſooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a cheſt with her child and flung into the ſea; ſhe was taken up about the mouth of the *Caicus* by *Teuthras* king of *Myſia*, who was ſo charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her ſon *Telephus* as his own, and made him his ſucceſſor (6).

Others ſay, that *Aleus* committed his daughter to *Nauplius*, to be drowned in the ſea, and that ſhe being delivered in her way to *Nauplia*, an *Argolic* port, ſhe left her child there, and that he, inſtead of drowning the mother, ſold her to *Teuthras*. The child was ſuckled by a deer, from which he was called *Telephus*, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into *Myſia*, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(K) Theſe were *Ancæus*, who, being returned from the *Argonautic* expedition, was killed by the *Calydonian* wild boar, and *Epochus*, who was carried off by ſickneſs.

(L) Moſt probably as an auxiliary hired by *Agamemnon*, by whoſe ſhips they were tranſported to and from that ſiege, as we obſerved in a former note.

(5) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c.* iv † *See before, Vol. II. p.* 263. *b.* (6) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Apollod. l.* ii. *Diod. Sicul. l.* iv. *Pauſan ubi ſupra.*

13. *Epytus* II. in whoſe days *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, being warned by the oracle, retired into *Arcadia*, and died, and was buried in or near the city of *Tegea* [n] (M). *Epytus* was afterwards ſtruck blind for his preſumption in venturing into the temple of *Neptune* at *Mantinea*, and dying ſoon after it left the crown to his ſon

14. *Cypſelus*, in whoſe days *Creſphontes*, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of *Meſſenia*, was murdered with two of his ſons. The third named *Æpytus*, by others *Ægyptus*, fled to *Cypſelus*, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide (N), and by his aſſiſtance regained the *Meſſenian* kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the uſurper *Polyphontes*. We find nothing conſiderable during the reigns of his four next ſucceſſors, *Lajus*, *Bucolion*, *Phialius*, and *Simus*, except that in the time of this laſt, an ancient ſtatue of *Ceres*, ſurnamed the *Black*, was ſet on fire, which was looked upon as a preſage of that monarch's ſpeedy death, which happened accordingly ſoon after: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

19. *Pompus*. This prince, by the help of the *Æginetæ*, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the ſea-port of *Cyllene*, to and from which the merchandizes uſed to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved ſo beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude to thoſe iſlanders *Pompus* called his ſon and ſucceſſor by their name *Æginetes*. This laſt was ſucceeded by his ſon

21. *Polymeſtor*, in whoſe days happened that fierce invaſion we ſpoke of at the beginning of this ſection, in which the *Lacedemonians*, being come againſt *Tegea*, were diſcomfited by the help of the *Arcadian* women, and both they and their king *Charilaus* bound with the chains they had brought for the *Tegeans*: however, *Charilaus* was ſoon after releaſed, upon his oath and promiſe, that the *Lacedemonians* ſhould not fight againſt them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of *Minerva Haliea*, where they ſtill continued in *Herodotus*'s time [o]. *Polymeſtor* was ſucceeded by his brother

22. *Echmis*, who aſſiſted the *Meſſenians*, the old and conſtant allies of the *Arcadians*, againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and was ſucceeded by his own ſon

23. *Ariſtocrates* I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, prieſteſs of *Diana Hymnia*, a deity highly reverenced by the *Arcadians*, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and raviſhed her at the very altar of the goddeſs. For this fact he was ſtoned to death by his ſubjects, who, to prevent the like ſacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from thenceforth none but married women ſhould be admitted to the prieſtly function.

We know nothing concerning his ſon *Hicetas*, except that he was father to

25. *Ariſtocrates* II. the laſt of the royal line of *Cypſelus*, and with whom we ſhall cloſe this ſection; he was ſtoned to death by his own ſubjects for his treachery to the *Meſſenians* his allies, whom he betrayed to the *Spartans*, with whom they were at war.

[n] Vid. Herodot. l. i. c. 66. Pausan. ubi ſupra. [o] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(M) *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Lacedemonians*, having proved unſucceſsful againſt the *Arcadians*, were told by the oracle, that they would continue ſo, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to conſult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable anſwer, as it is engliſhed by *Littlebury*.

In the Arcadian *plain lies* Tegea,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form reſiſts form, miſchief on miſchief ſtrikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's *ſon*,
Carry him off, and be victorious.

The ſolution of this puzzling anſwer was afterwards accidentally found out by *Liches*, an eminent *Spartan*, who being one day at *Tegea*, and obſerving, with ſome attention, a ſmith working at his ſhop, was told by him, that in the ſinking of a well, he had found a coffin ſeven cubits long, and that having had the curioſity to open it, to ſee if the body anſwered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches, comparing the place he was in, and the anſwer of the oracle, did eaſily conceive, that by the ſmith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the double miſchief thoſe which are cauſed by *Iron*; upon which, having acquainted the *Spartans* with this diſcovery, it was agreed, that he ſhould be baniſhed for ſome fictitious crime, that he might be the leſs ſuſpected, and return to *Tegea*, which he did accordingly, and having with ſome difficulty hired the ſmith's incloſure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to *Sparta* (8).

(N) About the beginning of his reign the *Dorian* fleet having invaded *Peloponneſus*, not by the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of *Rhion*, *Cypſelus* was forced to make an alliance with *Creſphontes*, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head againſt them, in conſideration of which, his ſon helped *Æpytus* to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(8) *Herodot. l.* iv. *c.* 66.

(9) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

war. We ſhall ſee the ſequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we ſhall add here is, that the *Arcadians*, not content with his death, caſt his body out of their territories, left it expoſed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount *Lycæus*, on which they cauſed an inſcription to be ingraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it engliſhed by Mr. *Hind* in his *Grecian* hiſtory [P].

[P] p. 167. Vid. & PAUSAN. ubi ſupra, & in Meſſenic.

(O) The baſe betrayer of *Meſſene*'s ſtate
Has met at length a well-deſerved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors juſtice ſhun;
Hail, mighty *Jove*! ſave the *Arcadian* throne.

SECT. VI.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Theſſaly, *with a ſhort account of that of* Phocis.

Name.

THESSALY is ſuppoſed to have received its name from *Theſſalus*, [a] the father [b], or, according to others [c], the ſon of *Græcus*, an ancient king of an obſcure village, from whom the *Greeks* are ſaid to have been deſcended [d]. It was alſo anciently called *Æmonia*, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of *Deucalion*, or perhaps rather from *Æmon* the ſon of *Chlorus*, the father of *Theſſalus* and grandſon of *Pelaſgus* [e]. From this laſt it was alſo called *Pelaſgia*, and *Pyrrhæa* from *Pyrrha Deucalion*'s wife; but it was moſt commonly known by that of *Theſſaly*, as it is now by that of *Janna*.

Diviſion.

IT was anciently divided into four diſtricts, or perhaps kingdoms. *Theſſaliotis*, *Iſtiæotis*, *Pelaſgiotis*, and *Phthiotis*. *Deucalion* was king of this laſt when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which deſtroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only ſuch as happily eſcaped into the high mountains of *Theſſaliotis*, and *Deucalion* and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and reſted at length upon *Parnaſſus*, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of ſtones behind them [f]. However, the name of *Theſſaly* and *Theſſalians* in time prevailed, and came to ſignify all the four parts. Sometimes it included *Magneſia* and *Phthiotis*, and ſometimes not; ſometimes it was joined with *Macedonia*, and ſometimes ſevered from it, and again rejoined to it [g].

Situation and extent.

Theſſaly, properly ſo called, had on the eaſt the provinces of *Magneſia* and *Phthia* abovementioned, and theſe two were bounded by the *Ægean* ſea. On the weſt it had *Illyricum* and *Epirus*, now *Albania*; on the north *Macedonia* and *Mygdonia*, and on the ſouth *Grecia Propria*. It extended from weſt to eaſt about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

Natural rarities.

IT was famous for its twenty-four hills, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe that follow:

1. *Olympus*, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. *Othrys*, where king *Pirithous* reigned over the *Lapithæ*: 3. *Pelion*: 4. *Oſſa*, which with *Nephele* were, according to the fable, inhabited by *Centaurs*, who were afterwards killed or driven away by *Hercules* for their luſtful attempt upon the women that aſſiſted at *Pirithous*'s nuptials. Here were alſo the plains of *Pharſalia*, and the delightful valley of *Tempea*, about ſix miles in length and five in breadth, ſo pleaſantly ſituate between the mountains of *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, and *Olympus*, ſo beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river *Peneus* which ran through the midſt of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muſes. On the ſouth borders of *Theſſaly* were ſeated the *Dolopes* and *Myrmidons* (A), whom *Achilles* led to the *Trojan* war.

THE

[a] STEPH. BYZANT. ſub voce Θεσσαλ. [b] EUSEB. Chronic. vid. & not. SCALIG. in eund. [c] Vide BYZANT. ſub voce Γραικος. [d] Id. ibid. & CLUVER. lib. iv. c. 8. [e] BYZANT. ſub voce Αιμον. [f] OVID. Metam. init. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. [g] CLUVER. ubi ſupra. MELA, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

(A) The latter were ſo called from μυρμηξ a *piſmire*, not, as the poets feign, becauſe *Æacus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, ſeeing his country diſpeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a freſh ſupply of ſubjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but becauſe, as *Strabo* ſays, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the piſmires in their diligence and œconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other huſbandry from that inſect.

Rivers.

The whole kingdom of *Theſſaly* was very pleaſant and fruitful, being watered by a ſeveral great rivers which run quite acroſs the country. The chiefeſt of them are the *Peneus* abovementioned, the *Aliacmon*, *Erigon*, and *Axius*; all which empty themſelves into the *Ægean* ſea by the gulph of *Theſſalonica*, anciently called *Sinus Thermeicus*. This country ſeems alſo to have been above others productive of poiſonous weeds and drugs. Hence *Plautus* makes uſe of the word *Theſſalus* to expreſs *a poiſonous thing*; but upon the whole it was ſo fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the ſame rich nature, it was ſeldom free from foreign invaſions from ſome neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note.

Cities of note were; 1. *Lariſſa*, famed for giving birth to *Achilles*, called from thence *Lariſſeus* (B). Its ſituation was excellent, being near the gulph above- d mentioned, and upon the river *Peneus* near the foot of *Olympus*, and at one end of the valley of *Tempea*: 2. *Demetrias*, ſituate on the *Sinus Pelaſgicus*, now *Golfo dell Armiro*, and ſtrongly fortified by art and nature: 3. *Pegaſa* on the ſame gulph, famous for being the place where the ſhip *Argo* was built, which carried the *Argonauts* to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. *Pythion*, celebrated for the *Pythian* games, which were inſtituted here in honour of *Apollo*, and, as ſome ſay, in memory of his killing the ſerpent *Python* (C). The metropolis of *Theſſaly* was, according to *Heliodorus* [h], called *Hypatha*, and ſituated near the *Sinus Maliacus*, now *Golfo de Ziton*, and at a ſmall diſtance from mount *Oeta*, upon which *Hercules* ended his life, after he had put on the poiſoned ſ ſhirt.

Rarities.

Theſſaly was famous, among other things, for ſuch an extraordinary breed of oxen, that *Neleus* king of *Pylus* refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to *Melampus* king of *Tiryas*, except he procured him ſome of them, which he ſoon after did by the help of his brother *Bias* (D) [i]. What fine horſes they bred, and how expert they were in the uſe and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, ſince the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them [k]. This fable, however, reflects no leſs a brand upon them for their brutiſh incontinency, than it commends them for their skill in horſemanſhip. The attempt which they made upon the women at the nuptials of their neighbours, by *Pirithous* d king of the *Lapithæ*, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the hiſtory of their wars with other nations afford us a conſtant proof of the latter, ſo that in ſpight of their debauchery they have ſtill ſhewed themſelves a warlike nation, and as ſuch their alliance, as well as aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers, And indeed, if we conſider how liable the pleaſantneſs and fertility of their country made them to foreign invaſions, it will be no wonder they ſhould be ſo well inured to the trade of war.

Nor

[h] Hiſt. Æthiop. ap. Heylin. [i] Pausan. in Meſſenic. c. xxxvi. [k] Oſor. Serv. Vattabl. & al.

(B) Others ſay, that he was born at *Phthia*, eſpecially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearneſs of thoſe two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his reſidence in the other.

(C) We have already ſpoken of ſome others inſtituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in ſeveral parts of *Greece*. The four moſt conſiderable were, the *Iſthmian*, the *Olympic*, the *Nemean*, and the *Pythonian*; theſe made four annual meetings for all the *Grecians*, who reſorted to thoſe places in great number, but which were ſtill much more eſteemed for the concourſe of the nobleſt and greateſt youths, who came to ſignalize themſelves there, ſome for their ſtrength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accompliſhments.

The prize, which was given to the victors at theſe *Pythian* games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may ſee the fuller account of all theſe games in *Potter*'s antiquities (1).

(D) We have already ſpoken of theſe two brothers in a former ſection, and ſhewn how they came to their ſhare of the *Argolic* kingdom †. Our author adds, that *Bias*, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from *Theſſaly*, was caught in the attempt, and flung into priſon. But being a famous diviner, he plied his art ſo well with *Iphiclus* the owner of them, by foretelling many ſurprizing events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary ſkill. *Bias* brought them to *Melampus*, who preſented them to *Neleus*, and he left them to *Neſtor*, who cauſed them to be kept in a ſtable under ground, which was ſtill to be ſeen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horſe, and to have been the monſtrous offſpring of *Ixion*, when he embraced a cloud inſtead of *Juno*. The ground of this ſtory was, that theſe people did manage their horſes ſo well, that they were ſuppoſed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the moſt famous of them dwelt in a canton called in *Greek* Νεφέλη, which ſignifies *a cloud*; hence came the fable of their being begotten of *Ixion* on a cloud.

(1) *ch.* xxi & *ſeq.* † *Sect.* iii. *p.* 354. c. *de his vid.* & *Pauſan. in Meſſenic. ch.* xxxviii.

a Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that any thing but their extraordidary valour could have ſaved them from being ſwallowed up by ſome of their neighbours, conſidering, that their ſcanty territories conſiſted only of four ſmall kingdoms or diſtricts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reaſon we ſhall not pretend to give here a liſt of their kings, much leſs of thoſe petty tyrants, who reigned, ſome over one or more, others over all the four diſtricts; but ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning what we find moſt remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all muſt be placed the celebrated *Argonautic* expedition, which happened in the reign of *Pelias* king of *Theſſaly* about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred *Year of the flood* 1714.
b years before the taking of *Troy*. We do not, however, pretend, to ſettle this epoch *Before Chriſt* 1285.
with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop *Uſher*, without entering into the difference between Sir *Iſaac Newton* and him. The occaſion of this expedition was as follows:

Æſon, the third in deſcent from *Æolus*, being either worn out with age or weary of *Argonautic expedition.*
government, whilſt his ſon *Jaſon*, whom he had by *Polymela*, or according to others by *Alcimede*, was yet very young, appointed *Pelias*, his brother by the mother-ſide, guardian of the kingdom till his ſon came of age. *Pelias* on the other hand, who had reſolved to ſecure the government to himſelf, ſent to conſult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one ſhoe. It happened ſome time
c after, that as he was ſacrificing to *Neptune* he called his nephew to him, who was on the other ſide of a rivulet, and *Jaſon*, making more haſte than good ſpeed to croſs the brook, dropped one of his ſhoes, and gave him occaſion to think, that he was the perſon pointed at by the oracle. He then aſked him what courſe he would take with a perſon of whom the oracle had bid him beware, and *Jaſon* readily anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchis* in ſearch of *the Golden Fleece* (G). His uncle took him at his word, and ſent him immediately upon that enterprize [1]. *Jaſon* made no difficulty to obey, and having engaged a conſiderable number of young noblemen, the flower of all *Greece*, to this expedition; he procured a ſhip to be built for his purpoſe at *Pegaſa* by one *Argus*, from whom he called it *Argos*, and hence he and his
d gallant company were called *Argonautæ*.

These adventurers, after many ſtrange difficulties and exploits which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived at length at the land of *Colchis*, where the golden

[1] lib. i.

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we muſt not omit the rape of *Cyrene* a beautiful virgin, daughter to *Hypſeus* king of *Theſſaly*, by *Jupiter*, who conveyed her from the mountain of *Pelion* to that of *Cyra*, upon which *Battus*, ſo called from his ſtammering, ſettled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princeſs, after which he is ſaid to have recovered the free uſe of his ſpeech, as the oracle had obſcurely foretold (2). There is alſo a fountain of the ſame name near that city, which was dedicated to *Apollo* (3).

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in poſſeſſion of *Æetes* king of *Colchis*, a country lying between the *Euxine* ſea and *Iberia*, and now called *Mengrelia*. It then had ſome conſiderable mines of gold which gave riſe to the fable of the fleece. The countrry abounding alſo with poiſonous drugs and plants, which *Medea*, king *Æetes*'s daughter, knew how to prepare and make uſe of; the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantreſs. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of *Mars*, and was guarded by a dragon who never ſlept.

(H) The firſt place they touched at was the iſland of *Lemnos* in the *Ægean* ſea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their huſbands in order to lead an *Amazonian* life, yet were ſo charmed with theſe brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They ſailed next to the country of the *Deliones*, where they were kindly received by their king *Cyzicus*, but looſing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were miſtaken for *Pelaſgians*, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement enſued, in which *Cyzicus* and a great number of his men were killed on the ſpot. The return of day-light having diſcovered the unhappy miſtake, they only ſtayed to bury the dead, and ſailed to *Myſia*, a country in *Aſia Minor* near the *Helleſpont* †.

Here *Hercules* plying his oar with more might than ſkill, unluckily broke it, and whilſt he was gone into the wood to cut himſelf a new one, *Hylas*, his beloved boy, was ſtolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, ſo that whilſt he and his brother-in-law's ſon *Polyphemus* went in ſearch of him, the *Argonautæ* left them behind and ſailed into *Bithynia*.

Here *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune*, king of the country, a man of prodigious ſtrength, having obliged them, as he did all ſtrange comers to fight with him at hurlebats, was killed by *Pollux* one of the *Argonautic* heroes. The *Berbraces* ſeeing their king fallen would ſoon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions reſcued him from the danger, after which they ſailed immediately to *Salmydeſſus* a city in *Thrace*, where they conſulted the famous blind ſoothſayer *Phinæus*, concerning the ſucceſs of their expedition.

This perſon, who, according to the fable, was continually infeſted with *Harpyes*, a monſtrous kind of bird

(2) *Juſtin. l.* xiii. *c.* 7. (3) *Pauſan. in Lacon.* † *See before, Vol. II. p.* 323. b.

golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where *Jason* acquainted *Æetes* king of the country with *Pelias*'s command, and demanded the fleece of him. *Æetes* promised to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own single strength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brasen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been presented to him by *Vulcan*),and plow the ground with them, sowing it with the dragons teeth which *Minerva* had given him, and were the remainder of those which *Cadmus* had sown at *Thebes* [m].

Jason, perplexed how to perform these conditions, was happily relieved by *Medea* the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promised him, that if he would marry her she would assist him in it, and he had no sooner agreed to it, than she gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof against the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, she taught him how to tame those fierce creatures, so as to be able to yoke and make use of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to sow would presently spring up into armed men, which would infallibly destroy him, unless he raised an immediate dissension among them by throwing stones at them, during which he might easily cut them off. *Jason*, having successfully performed the task, went and demanded the fleece according to *Æetes*'s promise, whilst he, instead of delivering it, was contriving how to destroy him, and his company and burn their ship. To prevent this mischief, *Medea* went, and by her inchantments cast the watchful dragon into a deep sleep, stole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her desire, also her brother *Absyrtus*, into his ship, and sailed away immediately with his companions. *Æetes*, who was soon informed of his daughter's treachery, pursued immediately after them, which when she perceived, she cut her brother in pieces, and scattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to stop his further pursuit, as it actually did. For the disconsolate king, surprized at her unnatural barbarity, stayed to gather up the fragments of his sons body, and buried them in a place called from thence *Tomi*, and in the mean time she and the *Argonauts* escaped into *Thessaly*, not without having first felt the effects of *Jupiter*'s anger for the murder of *Absyrtus* (I), and after having spent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING his absence, *Pelias*, who never expected his return from *Colchis*, had taken some means to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himself and his son *Acastus*, and the old king, being apprised of his plots, had poisoned himself by drinking a draught of bulls blood. His queen likewise, oppressed with grief for his death, and the supposed loss of her son and kingdom, had hanged herself, so that *Pelias* now thought himself secure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, *Jason*

[m] Id. ibid. Vid. HIND. ubi supra, l. i.

bird with womens faces and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his provisions, and poisoned the rest with the stench they left upon it,promised to direct them safely to *Cholchis*, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the *Simplegades*, two rocks, or, according to others, two islands, about half a league distant from the straits of *Bosphorus*, and so near together, that at a distance they seem to run against each other, and which, the poets say, were often pushed so close by the force of the winds, that they shut up the passage. He therefore advised them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the straight, unless they saw him got safe to the other side; they followed his advice with some success, the pigeon having lost only one part of his tail, and the ship received a small bruise on its hinder part.

From this straight they sailed to the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, and were honourably received by *Lycus* king of that country. Here *Idmon*, the son of *Apollo* and *Asteria*, and a southsayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. *Typhis* their pilot did likewise die here,and was succeeded by *Ancæus*. At length, having crossed the river *Thermodon* and mount *Caucasus*, they arrived safe at *Colchis*, which was the end of their Journey *.

(I) The fable adds, that *Jove* having pursued the *Argonauts* with dreadful storms, and cast them upon unknown coasts, the ship *Argos*, to their great surprise, spake to them, and assured them, that that god would never be appeased, till they were cleansed from their murder by *Circe*, a famed sorceress, supposed to have been the daughter of *Sol* by the nymph *Perse*, who lived in the island of *Æea*. They had no sooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, sailing by the coasts of the *Syrens*, they were delivered from the danger of their inchanting music, by the more charming voice of *Orpheus*. Thence they sailed between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* invironed with the fire and smoke, which seemed to issue out of those and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger also, by *Tethys* and the *Nereids* at *Juno*'s command, and came at length to *Corcyra* the island of the *Phæaces*, where *Alcinous* then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the *Colchians*, whom *Æetes* had sent in pursuit of them. These went immediately to the king, and demanded *Medea* to be delivered to them, which he promised to do in case she was not already married to *Jason*. But his queen, being apprised of this promise, went and married them privately and out of hand, so that the *Colchians*, being forbid to return home

* *Apollon. Argonaut. l.* ii. *Apollod. l.* i. *Vid. Hind. Hist. Græc.*

a *Jaſon* returned ſucceſsful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had ſo well ſtrengthened himſelf in it, that *Jaſon*, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing againſt him openly. *Medea* was forced to have recourſe to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as ſome ſay, reſtored *Jaſon*'s father to life. After this ſhe perſuaded *Pelias*'s daughters to boil their old father, on pretence ſhe would reſtore him to life and youthful vigour, but upon her non-performance *Acaſtus* mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obſequies, baniſhed *Jaſon* and his wife from *Theſſaly*, who went and dwelt at *Corinth*, where we ſhall find them again in the next ſection.

Acaſtus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his
b wife *Hippolyta*, or, as ſhe is called by others, *Cretheis*; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with *Peleus* the ſon of *Cacus*, and had ſolicited him in vain for ſome time, till inraged at length at his conſtant refuſal, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband for having made ſome attempts upon her honour. *Acaſtus*, believing her and endeavouring to kill *Peleus*, was himſelf and his unchaſte wife ſlain by him.

The next *Theſſalian* prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated *Achilles*, the ſon of *Peleus* and *Tethys* the goddeſs of the ſea. This hero was king of *Pthya*, one of the four provinces of *Theſſaly*, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river *Styx* (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which ſhe held him. After this ſhe
c ſent him to be brought up by the centaur *Chiron*, where he learned muſic, arms, and the riding of the great horſe. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the *Trojan* war he ſhould meet with his death there, ſhe diſpatched him privately in woman's apparel to *Lycomedes* king of *Scyrus*, an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea and one of the *Cyclades*, where, among other exploits, he debauched *Dejanira* one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated *Pyrrhus*, afterwards king of *Epirus*. This tranſaction, as *Pauſanias* obſerves, ſeems to have been deſignedly omitted by *Homer* as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preſerved by all the other poets.

In the mean time, the *Grecian* chiefs being likewiſe forewarned by an old prophecy,
d that their enterpriſe againſt *Troy* would prove unſucceſsful unleſs they had *Achilles* with them, *Ulyſſes* undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. *Tethys*, finding that her ſon was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of *Troy* to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon *Vulcan* to make him an unpenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold *Myrmidons* to the fatal ſiege. Here he forbore acting for ſome time, upon a pique he had taken againſt *Agamemnon* on account of a beautiful female captive; but his reſentment being at length ſwallowed up in the death of his dear friend *Patroclus*, who had been killed by *Hector*, *Achilles* thenceforth ſought nothing but to revenge it, which he ſoon after did. *Hector* was not only ſlain, but moſt barbarouſly uſed by him
e after his death, he having cauſed his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of *Troy*. This inhumanity did not go long unpuniſhed, and *Priam*

home without her, were forced to ſettle in this iſland, whilſt the *Argonauts* ſailed towards *Crete*.

Here *Medea* was again forced to make uſe of her inchantments to deliver the ſhip from being ſunk by the ſtones, which *Talus*, a man of braſs and the preſent of *Vulcan* to *Minos*, then king of that iſland, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was cloſed with a braſen pin; hence they pretend, that *Medea*, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others ſay, ſhe poiſoned him with ſome deadly potion. From *Crete* they came to *Ægina*, an iſland inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, whom they were forced to fight to get a ſupply of freſh water. Hence ſailing by *Eubœa* and *Locris*, they arrived at length at *Jolcos*, the place whence they firſt ſet out *.

(K) We have obſerved already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was underſtood ſome mines in the country of *Colchis*. Theſe are ſuppoſed by ſome mythologiſts to have been contiguous to ſome of thoſe torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of mount *Caucaſus*, and to have brought down with them ſome quantities of gold duſt, which the inhabitants ſaved by ſetting fleeces of wool acroſs ſome of the narrow paſſages of thoſe currents. This is indeed the moſt rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards diſguiſed after their cuſtom, and embelliſhed with the ſtories of dragons, braſen bulls, dreadful ſeas, dangerous paſſages, and many ſuch difficulties which attended the ſearch after that precious metal.

As for the account which *Suidas* gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of ſheeps-ſkin, and in which was written the whole ſecret of tranſmuting all metals into gold; it ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already ſpoken of this river in the hiſtory of *Arcadia*.

* *Id. ibid. vid. & Pauſan. Paſſ.*

Priam having redeemed his ſon's ſhattered remains at an exceſſive price, *Paris*, another of his ſons, ſoon after ſhot *Achilles* in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable *. a

THE two moſt memorable things, which the *Theſſalians* are ſince recorded for, are, their driving the *Eæotians* from their country of *Arne* a ſmall territory in *Theſſaly*, ſo called from its metropolis built by *Bæotus* the ſon of *Neptune* by *Arne*, the daughter of *Æolus* (M) the ſecond of that name, who was the ſon of *Hyppotes* and grandſon of *Mimas* king of *Æolis*; and their conſtant wars againſt the *Phocians*. The former of theſe happened, according to *Thucydides*, ſixty years after the taking of *Troy*, and about a hundred after their firſt ſettlement in that territory; when the *Bæotians*, being driven thence, went and poſſeſſed themſelves of a country then named *Cadmeis*, and called it by their name *Bæotia*. We have elſewhere ſpoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader. b

As for their wars with the *Phocians* (N), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcileable hatred intailed between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the *Theſſalians*, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies, witneſs thoſe ſtatues of *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, and other trophies, which, *Pauſanias* tells us, they ſet up, both on their borders and at the temple of *Delphos*, in memory of their ſignal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of *Phocis* was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, ſo that the *Theſſalians*, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our readers pretty near in his own words [n]. The *Phocians* having got intelligence, that the *Theſſalians* were invading them by the road of *Hyampolis* (a city ſituate near the mount *Parnaſſus*), they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and potſherds, which they covered, however, ſo well with earth, that the *Theſſalian* horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it, till they were ſo intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them [o]. Their deſire of revenge ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the *Phocians*, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the *Delphic* oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The anſwer they received was, *That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight*; *that both would come off victorious*; *but that the mortal would get the better*. Upon receiving this anſwer, they ſent *Gelon* with 300 men in the night to obſerve the motions of the *Theſſalians*, but with expreſs orders not to engage with them, but to return by ſome by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horſes, or put to the ſword. The news of this threw the *Phocians* into ſuch conſternation, that they reſolved either to conquer or periſh to the laſt man. Their firſt care was to ſecure their wives and children, the ſtatues of their gods, and what elſe they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all theſe to ſome thirty of their moſt reſolute men, with orders, that if they loſt the day, they ſhould murder their wives and children, and ſet fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it. c

THIS deſperate reſolution, which gave riſe to the proverb of *the Phocian deſpair*, was no ſooner taken, than they marched directly againſt their enemies, and the remembrance d e

* See before Vol. II. p. 321. c. [l] lib. i. [m] In Phocid. c. xiii. [n] Ibid. c. 1. Vid. & HERODOT. l. i. & viii. JUSTIN. DIOD. & al. [o] HERODOT. l. viii. PAUSAN. in Phocid.

(M) This *Æolus* finding his daughter pregnant, is ſaid to have ſent her to *Metapontium*, a city in *Italy* (4), whre ſhe was delivered of two ſons *Æolus* and *Bæotus*, the former of whom poſſeſſed himſelf afterwards of the iſles in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, ſince called by his own name *Æolides*, in one of which he built the city *Lipara*. *Bæotus* went to *Æolis* to his grandfather and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, calling the country *Arne* from his mother, whilſt his people retained that of *Bæotians* from him (5).

(N) The *Phocians* were a people who inhabited the tract of land, which lies between the ſouth border of *Theſſaly* and the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*. It ſeems therefore that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We ſhall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the cloſe of this ſection.

(4) *Id. ſub voc.* ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤ. (5) *D. Sicul. c.* 4.

a remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the ſucceſs of this combat, made them engage with ſuch deſperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which ſoon unfolded the meaning of this oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the *Theſſalian* word for the onſet was *Minerva Itonia*, and that of the *Phocians* was the name of *Phocus* their founder; in gratitude therefore to the *Delphic* god, they erected a ſtatue to him, together with thoſe of their moſt famous heroes and generals, in his temple at *Delphos* [p].

THE *Theſſalians* were ſtill more ſtrangely outwitted upon another expedition againſt the *Phocians*, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount *Parnaſſus*, they were routed by the following ſtratagem, deviſed by *Telias*, a famous diviner, who was then in the *Phocian* army and highly eſteemed amongſt them. They took ſix-hundred choſen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaiſter, and ſent them into the *Theſſalian* camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaiſtered over like themſelves. Theſe in their march being firſt perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and miſtaken for ſome ſtrange army of ghoſts, threw their enemies into ſuch panic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the ſpot, routed the reſt, and got a conſiderable ſpoil, the tenth of which they ſent to the *Delphic Apollo*, together with one-half of the ſhields of the ſlain; the other-half was hung up as a trophy in the city of *Aba* [q]. Theſe frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred againſt them, inſomuch, that they never ceaſed their hoſtilities againſt each other till each ceaſed to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other ſtates of *Greece*, will be beſt ſeen in the following chapter.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

HAVING ſaid ſo much of the *Phocians* war againſt the *Theſſalians*, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconſiderable indeed with reſpect to the ſmallneſs of them, yet richly deſerving our notice upon ſeveral accounts, though not worth being treated of in a ſeparate ſection, conſidering how little we know of its original foundation, ſucceſſion of kings, government, and laws, and other ſuch-like particulars.

Situation and limits.

¶ *Phocis* was ſituate in *Græcia Propria*, and, as we lately obſerved, between *Theſſaly* and the bay of *Corinth*, having the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth. On the weſt it was bounded by *Ætolia*, *Locris*, and *Ozolea*, and on the eaſt by *Bœotia* and *Megaris*, ſo that it was hemmed in from the ſea on all but the ſouth ſide. Its greateſt length was from north to ſouth, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from eaſt to weſt, ſcarcely extending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the wideſt, but about 20 miles towards the *Corinthian* bay, and much narrower ſtill towards the north [r].

Name.

THIS country is generally allowed to have took its name from *Phocus* the ſon of *Ornytion*, a native of *Corinth*; but having been ſoon after invaded by the *Eginetæ*, under the conduct of another *Phocus*, who was the ſon of *Æacus* king of *Ænopia* (O), the memory of the firſt did inſenſibly give way to that of the ſecond.

Mountains.

Phocis is famed for ſeveral celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of *Parnaſſus*, ſacred to *Apollo* and extolled by all the poets. Its height was ſuch, that *Deucalion* and his wife *Pyrrha* with many others are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time and has ſince gone by his name. 2. *Helicon*, and 3. *Cytheron*, both conſecrated to the muſes, and on that account highly celebrated alſo by the poets. They are ſaid to contend with that of *Parnaſſus* for height and bigneſs [s]. *Phocis* had no rivers of any note except the *Cephiſus*, which runs from the foot of *Parnaſſus* northward, and empties itſelf into the *Pindus*, which laſt was near the boundary of that kingdom.

IT

[p] Id. ibid. [q] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [r] STRAB. PAUSAN. MELA. CLUVER. &c. [s] Id. ib. Vid. & VIRG. OVID. PERS. &c.

(O) This *Æacus* was the reputed ſon of *Jupiter* by *Ægina* queen of *Ænopia*, called afterwards from her *Æginea*. He is recorded to have been a prince of ſuch ſtrict juſtice, that after his death, *Plato* appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his ſon *Phocus*, whom he had by his ſecond wife, who was the daughter of *Nereus*, one of the gods of the ſea, did quite eclipſe and obliterate the fame of his predeceſſor.

IT had ſeveral conſiderable cities, the chief of them was that of *Delphos*, or *Delphi* a (P), famous for the temple of *Apollo*, whoſe oracle was reſorted to from all parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. We have had occaſion to ſpeak ſomething of the name, antiquity, richneſs, and magnificence of it in a former ſection, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was conſulted and delivered; and ſhall now add ſuch other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that *Apollo* was the deity who preſided over it. How he came by it is variouſly reported, and may be ſeen in the margin (Q). Its firſt diſcovery was owing to ſome goats who were feeding on mount *Parnaſſus*, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. Theſe goats having been obſerved by the goat-herd, whom *Plutarch* calls *Coretas*, to friſk b and leap after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, and to have uttered ſtrange and unheard-of ſounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curioſity to go and view it, and found himſelf ſiezed with the like fit of madneſs, ſkipping, and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were poſſeſſed with ſuch phrenetic enthuſiaſm, that they threw themſelves headlong into the vorago; inſomuch, that they were forced to iſſue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being ſeated received and returned the anſwers of the deity in the manner we have elſewhere deſcribed c. We meet with ſome different accounts of this wonderful place, which c *Pauſanias* has given us upon the credit of the *Phocians*, and which the readers may ſee in that author d. This miraculous place was ſoon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the ſame author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the *Phocian* tradition, was ſucceeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of ſolid copper, and ſaid to have been the workmanſhip of *Vulcan*. This laſt was deſtroyed by an earthquake according to ſome, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a ſumptuous one, all of ſtone, was erected by *Agamedes* and *Trophimus*,

Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of *Greece* and *Peloponneſus*, contended for being d ſituate in the middle, or, as the *Greek* expreſſes it, the navel of the world (R) e, becauſe the navel is in the middle of the body. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituated, being rather in the heart of *Greece* than of the world, that it became in time a ſeſſions-town for all the *Grecian* ſtates. Here ſat the court of the *Amphictyones*, choſen out of the prime cities of *Greece*, and called ſo from *Amphictyon* the firſt founder of this high court f. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn; cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of *Grecia*, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. We ſhall have frequent inſtances of the power of this court in the courſe of the *Grecian* hiſtory. The following one which relates to the *Phocians* ſhall ſuffice for the preſent.

THE *Phocians*, having preſumed to plow the territories of *Cyrra*, which were conſecrated to the *Delphic* god, were ſummonned by the other *Grecian* ſtates before this court, and had a conſiderable fine impoſed upon them for their ſacrilege. They refuſed

c Vid. DIOD. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. iv. d PAUSAN. in Phoc. e Vid. STRAB. Geogr. l. ix. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. & Corinth. f PAUSAN. in Phocid. ch. ii.

(P) So called, as is ſuppoſed, from the *Greek* Ἀδελφοὶ, *brethren*, becauſe *Apollo* and his brother *Bacchus* were both worſhipped there. The fable ſays, that *Bacchus*, having been terribly torn and mangled by the *Titans*, was brought to *Apollo*, who both reſtored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

(Q) ſome ſay, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and uſed to give its anſwers by dreams. Others, that *Neptune* and the earth were at firſt partners in it, but that he reſigned his ſhare to the earth, who was ſucceeded by her daughter *Themis*, the ſame who was conſulted, according to *Ovid*, by *Deucalion* and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repeople the earth. *Themis* in time reſigned it to her ſiſter *Phœbe*, and ſhe to *Apollo* (1).

Some ancient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come ſo fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for which ſhe was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not *Jupiter* come to his aſſiſtance (2), who ſeems on all hands to have confirmed the poſſeſſion of the oracle to him.

(R) The fable ſays, that *Jupiter*, deſirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let looſe two eagles, *Pindar* ſays crows, and others ſwans, the one from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt, and that they met in this place. The city of *Pytho* and ſome others pretend to the fame; but *Strabo* places it in the middle of *Greece* (3).

(1) *D. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *Pauſan. in Phocid.* (2) *Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiaſt. in Lycophr.* (3) *Geogr. l.* ix. *Vid. & Pauſan. in Corinth.*

a refuſed to pay it on pretence that it was too large, and the next ſeſſion their dominions were adjudged confiſcated to the uſe of the temple. This ſecond ſentence did but exaſperate the *Phocians* the more, who, at the inſtigation of one *Philomelus*, or, as he is called by *Plutarch*, *Philomedes*, went and ſeized upon the temple, plundered it of its treaſure, and held the ſacred depoſitum for a conſiderable time. This ſecond crime brought all the ſtates of *Greece* upon them. A war was decreed againſt them, which was called *the holy war*, and laſted ten years, during which the *Phocians*, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not *Philip* of *Macedon* given the finiſhing ſtroke to their total defeat and puniſhment. The war being ended, the grand council aſſembled again, and impoſed an annual fine of ſixty talents upon the b *Phocians*, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had ſuſtained from them; and till this was done, they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand aſſembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy ſentence; their known bravery made their aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary to the reſt, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their uſual courage and gallantry, and ſoon obliterated their former guilt, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Considering therefore the great concourſe of people which this *Amphictyonic* court, the *Delphic* oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, brought into the city of *Delphi*; to ſay nothing of the vaſt offerings and preſents which were ſent c from all parts of the world, even by the very *Scythians*, unto that oracle, we ſhall not need wonder at its having been one of the richeſt and moſt opulent of all *Greece*; though that proved likewiſe the occaſion of its being ſo often plundered by other nations, as we ſhall ſee it was, in the very next chapter.

The next in dignity, both for its ancientneſs and grandeur, was the city of *Elatea*, ſituate on the river *Cephiſus*, and ſaid to have been built by *Elatus*, the ſon of *Arcas* the fourth king of *Arcadia*, and to have been peopled by a colony of that ancient nation which came with him into *Phocis* [g]. *Aba* was likewiſe conſiderable for having *Abas*, the ſon of *Lyncæus* and *Hypermneſtra*, for its founder, and for having alſo an oracle of *Apollo*. This was alſo the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the reſt were deſtroyed; but whether ſpared out of reſpect to *Apollo*, to whom it was conſecrated, or, as *Pauſanias* affirms, becauſe it had no hand in the plundering of the *Delphic* temple, we will not affirm. *Cirrha*, on the ſea-ſide of *Delphi*, was the port-town to it, and *Criſſa*, ſo called from *Criſſus* the ſon of *Phocus*, was another ſea-port. Theſe were both ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, which was ſometimes called *Sinus Criſſeus* from the latter. The laſt city of any note was *Daulis*, not ſo much for its bigneſs or richneſs, as for the tallneſs and ſtoutneſs of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repaſt which was ſerved there to *Tereus* king of *Thrace* by the women of this city, by whom he was ſoon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his ſiſter-in-law *Philomela*, daughter of *Pandion* king of *Athens* (S). As for the other exploits of the *Phocians*, they will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter.

SECT.

[g] Ibid. c. Vid. Byzant. ſub voc. Ελατεια.

(S) The fable goes, that *Tereus*, after having married *Progne*, did likewiſe raviſh her ſiſter *Philomela*, cut out her tongue, and caſt her into priſon, to prevent her diſcovering his villany, but ſhe found means to acquaint *Progne* with her double misfortune, by working the whole ſtory of it on a piece of embroidery, which ſhe ſent to her. *Progne* took the opportunity of the approaching feaſt of *Bacchus*, when they were all to meet together, and having got her ſiſter out of priſon, made her kill her ſon *Itis*, whom ſhe had by *Tereus*, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be ſet before him. When *Tereus* was appriſed of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her ſiſter, but they, by the help of the *Daulian* women, got the ſtart of him and killed him. *Ovid* has ſince turned him into a lapwing, *Itis* into a pheaſant, his mother into a ſwallow, and *Philomela* into a nightingale, who is ſtill bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pauſanias adds, that no ſwallows hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houſes, as they do every-where elſe (4).

(4) *Phocid*, c. iv.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Corinth.

THIS little ſtate was ſituate on the iſthmus of *Corinth*, having the bay of that name, now called *Golfo de Lepanto*, and the iſthmus, or neck of land, which joins *Peloponneſus* to the continent, on the north, *Sicyon* on the weſt, the gulph of *Saron* on the eaſt, and the kingdom of *Argos* on the ſouth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace, that is, from 38 deg. 21 min. to 38 deg. 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called *Acrocorinthium*, at the foot of which the city of *Corinth*, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was alſo famed for the fountain *Pyrene*, ſacred to the muſes, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame that was called *Fons Caballinus*, in *Greek Hippocrene*, or *the fountain of the horſe*, which was feigned by the poets to have ſprung from the horſe *Pegaſus* ſtriking his foot againſt the rock. Others place this laſt fountain on the hill *Helicon*, but the greateſt part on that of *Parnaſſus*. As for that of *Pyrene* we ſhall ſpeak more of it by-and-by.

Corinth is ſaid to have been founded by *Siſyphus*, the ſon of *Æolus* and grandfather of *Ulyſſes*. This *Siſyphus* is the ſame who was killed by *Theſeus* for the many robberies he committed in *Attica*, and afterwards condemned by *Jupiter* to an endleſs puniſhment in hell (A), for having caught that intrigueing god in the heighth of an amour with *Ægina*, the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*. The ancient name of this city was *Ephyra*, which it took from a nymph of that name, ſaid to have been the daughter of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, or, according to others, of *Myrmex* the wife of *Epimetheus*, the ſon of *Japetus* and brother of *Prometheus*. The time of its foundation by *Siſyphus* is placed about the year of the world 2490, or ſix years before *Deucalion*'s flood [a].

Its new name of *Corinth* is variouſly traced, ſome thinking, that it was ſo called from the *Greek* κορινθος, *ſatiety* or *abundance*, implying the opulence of the place; others go ſtill farther for its etymon [b]; but the ancient inhabitants pretended, it had its name from *Corinthus* the ſon, as ſome of them ſaid, of *Jupiter*, or, as others, of *Marathon*, and brother of *Sicyon* (B). But moſt authors aſcribe the name and building, or rebuilding, of it to *Corinthus* the ſon of *Pelops*. Among other names it anciently had, we find that of *Heliopolis* or *city of the ſun*, for which this reaſon is commonly given, that the poets feign *Apollo* and *Neptune* to have contended for it, and that *Jupiter* having appointed *Briareus* the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the iſthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) [c].

However,

[a] Vid. Hind. hiſt. of Greece, lib. i. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Vid. Apollod. Dio. Pausan. & al.

(A) This puniſhment as it is feigned by the poets, conſiſts in the rowling of a great ſtone to the top of a hill, which he has no ſooner reached, than it tumbles down again, ſo that his labour is never to be at an end.

(B) *Pauſanias* quotes an ancient *Corinthian* poet called *Eumelos* (ſome fragments of whoſe poems are ſtill preſerved in that author and in the works of *Athenæus*), according to whom, *Marathon* was the grandſon of *Aloeus*, who was the ſon of the ſun. And being for ſome reaſon afraid of his mother *Epope*'s anger, he retired into ſome of the maritime coaſts of *Attica*; but after his father's death, being returned into *Peloponneſus*, he divided the territories of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* between his two ſons *Sicyon* and *Corinthus*, from whom they took their names. *Sicyon* being formerly called *Aſopis*, and *Corinth Ephyra* (1).

(C) If *Dion Apollodorus*, and other mythologiſts, may be believed, the gods were ſo fond of *Greece*, that in *Cecrop*'s time each of them contended to have, at leaſt, one city, where he might be particularly worſhipped. *Neptune* came the firſt into *Attica*, where ſtriking the ground with his trident he formed a fountain or horſe. *Minerva* came ſoon after, and in *Cecrop*'s preſence planted an olive-tree, which the laſt quoted author tells you was ſtill to be ſeen in his time (2). Theſe two deities diſputing their claims to the country on account of the preſent each had made to it, *Jupiter* cauſed the controverſy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of *Athens* and all *Attica* to *Minerva*.

But whether *Corinth* was called Ephyra from its being adjudged by *Briareus* to *Apollo*, or from *Corinthus*'s being reputed the great grandſon of the ſun, or from the heighth and dryneſs of its ſitua-

(1) *Pauſan. in Corinthiac. c.* i. (2) *Apollod. l.* iii.

tion

a However, we meet with a number of other ancient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in thoſe days to dedicate cities to ſome of the gods, and ſirname them accordingly, without loſing their original name.

Corinth had, beſides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it *Acrocorinthus*, two port towns, namely, *Lecheum*, ſituate on the bay of *Corinth*, and *Cenchrea* (D), on that of *Saron*. Theſe were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to *Corinth*, that belonged to this territory. And theſe were ſo well ſituate for naval commerce, and ſo near the metropolis, that they made ample compenſation for the barrenneſs of the ſoil. Theſe two naval roads, which opened a way into the *Ionian* and *Ægean* ſeas, might eaſily have gained them b a ſuperiority, if not a command, over all *Greece*, had not this advantagious ſituation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almoſt impregnable by nature, and commanding both thoſe ſeas, they could eaſily cut off all communication from one-half of *Greece* to the other, ſo that it was not without reaſon called one of the *fetters* of *Greece*. But their genius leading them to improve theſe advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, ſo that the little influence they had over the other ſtates was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increaſed, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of ſtrangers that flocked thither from *Europe* and *Aſia*, their city became c in time one of the fineſt in all *Greece*; being adorned with ſumptuous buildings, ſuch as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them inriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and baſes, from which the *Corinthian order* took its name, with numberleſs ſtatues done by the moſt famous artiſts [d]. Inſomuch, that with reſpect to its riches (E), greatneſs, and excellent ſituation, it was thought by the *Romans* equally worthy of empire with *Carthage* and *Capua*. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the ſumptuous embelliſhments of the fountain of *Pyrene* we mentioned a little higher (F), conſiſting of ſeveral caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large baſon, and is very pleaſant to d drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The ſtadium or courſe, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of *Neptune*, whoſe avenue was lined on one ſide with the ſtatues of all thoſe who had won the prize at the *Iſthmian* games (G), and on the other with ſtately

[d] Pausan. in Corinth. c. ii. & ſeq.

tion and territory, is ſcarce worth enquiring. Only we cannot omit a conjecture of the learned *Gronovius* (3), that it was originally called Ηλοπολις from the ruggedneſs and barrenneſs of its ſituation and territory, for ſuch, *Strabo* tells us (4), it really was.

(D) That this laſt was a diſtinct city from *Corinth*, at leaſt in St. *Paul*'s time, we may gather from *Acts* xviii. 18. and from his epiſtle to the *Romans*, *Ch.* xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of *Corinthiaca* in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little ſtate, as *Corinthus* had that of *Bimaris*, for being ſo conveniently ſituated between two ſeas.

(E) We need not a more pregnant inſtance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courteſan *Lais*, who uſually exacted 10,000 drachms for every nights lodging, which made the famous *Demoſthenes* ſay, that he did not deſign to buy repentance at ſo dear a rate. But ſhe met with a worſe fate in *Theſſaly*, whither ſhe went in ſearch of freſh cuſtomers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their huſbands and ſons, put her to death.

(F) *Pauſanias* tells us, this fountain owed its firſt origin to the tears which *Pyrene* ſhed for the death of her ſon *Cenchreus*, who was unfortunately killed by *Diana*. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the *Corinthians* dipped their copper in that water, as ſoon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he aſſures us, that it was a vulgar error, ſince they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of thoſe games is variouſly reported; ſome ſay, they were inſtituted by the *Corinthians* in honour of *Melicertes*, the ſon of *Athamas* and *Ino* (6). The fable ſays, that *Athamas* king of the *Orchomenians*, having taken *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus* in ſecond marriage, after he had had two ſons by his firſt wife *Nephele*, *Ino* proved ſo cruel a ſtep-mother to them, that her huſband grew enraged at her, and, having put *Learcus* one of the ſons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other ſon; but that ſhe, to avoid her huſband's fury, having thrown *Melicertes* down into the ſea, and herſelf after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and ſwam with him to *Corinth*, where the *Corinthians* received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of *Palæmon*, and inſtituting thoſe games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to *Theſeus* in honour of *Neptune*; the reader may ſee what we have ſaid of that hero in a former ſection †.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with ſacrifices, in honour of the ſons of *Medea*, whom they had unjuſtly put to death, and for which it ſeems they had been puniſhed by the gods, with the death of their own children, who uſed to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till

(3) *Not. in Byzant. ſub voc. Corinth.* (4) *Geogr. l.* viii. (5) *Corinth. c.* iii. (6) *Id. ibid.* (7) *Apollod. l.* i. † *Vol. II. p.* 366. c.

ſtately pines ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, which was not very ſpacious, a
was adorned with a multitude of brazen *Tritons*, or *Sea Gods*. Here were alſo the
chariots of *Neptune* and of his wife *Amphithrite*, both drawn by horſes covered all
over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were
carved in a ſtanding poſture, and *Neptune* had young *Palæmon* riding on a dolphin by
his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious baſ-reliefs,
and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe
all the other edifices, and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with
which this ſmall ſpot of ground was inriched, the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee them
deſcribed more at large by *Pauſanias* abovementioned.

But while the *Corinthians* ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffick and luxury, that b
they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that
noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours did ſo much value
themſelves; they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war;
their wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home and envied abroad,
made both indeed very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in
any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, or
to protect ſome neighbouring ſtate, to maintain the liberty of *Greece*; yet has this
little kingdom furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the *Grecian*
cities, inſomuch, that it was common for theſe to prefer a *Corinthian* general to one
either of their own, or of any other ſtate. The truth is, the *Corinthians* were of all c
others the greateſt aſſertors of liberty, and though they continued ſome centuries under
a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a
readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

The *Corinthian* monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of
their founder *Siſyphus*, who is ſuppoſed to have began it about the year of the world
2490; above ſeven or eight generations, or about 470 years, when his line became
extinct, or, as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by *Aletes*,
Year of the flood, 1915. *Before Chriſt*, 1084. one of the *Heraclidæ*, about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with a
long ſucceſſion of kings of his line, concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe
remains but their names and the years they are ſaid to have reigned; for this d
reaſon we think it needleſs to give here a liſt of thoſe monarchs, whoſe names the rea-
der may ſee in *Euſebius*'s chronicle, and ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the
moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened during this epocha. After the ending
of *Siſyphus*'s line, the kings who deſcended from *Aletes* affected to call themſelves
Heraclidæ, he being the great grandſon of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Hercules* [e]. This
name, however, they changed for that of *Bacchiadæ*, from *Bacchis* the fifth in deſcent
from *Aletes*, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been upon ſome account or
other more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe *Bacchiadæ* held the king-
dom of *Corinth* near as long as the *Heraclidæ*, by which time they grew ſo nume- e
rous on the one hand, and on the other ſo weary of kingly government, that they
intirely diſſolved it in the reign of *Teleſtes* their laſt king. This prince being become
very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen *Arieus* and *Perontas* formed a conſpi-
racy againſt him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had
Year of the flood 1090. *Before Chriſt*, 1900. reigned twelve years [f], in the year of the world 3104. After his death two
hundred of the principal *Bacchiadæ* ſeized upon the government (H), and ſhared the
adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of
their own body, whom they called *Prytanis*, to preſide over the reſt. *Corinth* con-
tinued under the *Bacchiadal* ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when *Cypſelus*, deſcended
from them by the mother's ſide (I), having received ſome obſcure hint from the
oracle

[e] Pausan. ubi ſupra, c. iv. [f] Id. ibid. vid. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder they erected a ſtatue repreſenting fear, in honour of *Medea*, and their children uſed to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the *Corinthians* was extirpated with their city (8).

(H) Some ancient authors do indeed tell us, that *Automenes*, the ſon of *Teleſtes*, did reign one year after the death of his father (9), and it is not unlikely, that he made ſome vain effort to keep the crown; but *Pauſanias* takes no notice of him, but tells us, the diſſolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder of that king (10), but whether in the laſt year of this or in the firſt of that, 'tis agreed, that the government was then changed into an ariſtocracy.

(I) His mother *Labda* the daughter of *Amphion*, one of the *Bacchiadæ*, was lame, and ſo deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one *Eetion*, a man deſcended at a great diſtance from the *Lapithæ*, contrary to the ſettled maxim of the *Bacchiadæ*, who had

(8) *Vid. Pauſan. Cor. c.* iii. (9) *Euſeb. D. Sicul. & al.* (10) *Corinth. c.* iv.

a oracle that he would be king of *Corinth*, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his ſon, but not by his grandſon, found means to wreſt the power out of their hand. The time of this uſurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in *Cypſelus* and his ſon, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontat of *Athens*, and is therefore beyond our preſent epoch. From *Siſyphus*, the firſt founder, to this *Cypſelus*, the *Corinthian* government had ſtood almoſt 840 years, or 430 years in the line of *Siſyphus*, 130 in that of *Aletes*, 130 in that of *Bacchis*, and about 150 under the *Ariſtocratic* government of the 200 *Bacchiadæ*.

Siſyphus is generally allowed the firſt founder of the *Corinthian* kingdom (K), he was the ſon of *Æolus*, and was killed by *Theſeus* for the many inroads which he b made into *Attica*, as we hinted at the beginning of this ſection. He left ſeveral ſons, and amongſt them *Glaucus* who ſucceeded him, and *Ornythus*, or, as he is generally called, *Ornytion* the father of *Phocus*, who carried a colony into *Phocis*, and called the country after his name, as we have ſhewn before.

Glaucus, called by *Euripides Creon* (L), received *Jaſon* and *Medea* into *Corinth*, after they had been both expelled *Theſſaly* by *Acaſtus* the ſon of *Pelias*. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till *Creon* having married his daughter *Glauce* to *Jaſon*, the ſlighted ſorcereſs *Medea* was ſo inraged at it, that ſhe ſet the palace on fire, murdered all the children ſhe had had by *Jaſon*, and fled to *Athens* [g]. *Pauſanias* adds, that *Glaucus*, having aſſiſted at the funeral games, which *Acaſtus* c had inſtituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horſes [h], and that *Glauce* flung herſelf into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preſerve her from *Medea*'s inchantments, and that the fountain was ſince called by her name [i].

Bellerophon, ſo called from his killing a man named *Beller*, was the ſon of *Glaucus* or *Creon*. We have ſeen in a former ſection how he was forced to retire into *Argos* for that manſlaughter, and there falſely accuſed by *Stenobœa* of an attempt upon her,

[g] Vid. Apollod. l. i. c. 9. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. l. iv. & Eurip. in Medea. [h] Elid. c. iii.
[i] Id. in Corinth. c. iv.

had till then refuſed to intermarry with other families, the better to ſecure the government to their own.

This *Eetian*, having no children, went to conſult the oracle of *Delphi*, where he was told, though in very obſcure terms, that he ſhould have a ſon by his lame wife that would prove a ſcourge to *Corinth*. On the other hand the *Bacchiadæ*, having likewiſe been forewarned by the ſame oracle, and in the ſame intricate terms, againſt *Eetions*'s offſpring, ſent ten men of their own body to murder the boy *Labda* had lately brought forth; and as theſe were going to *Eetion*'s houſe they agreed, that he to whom the child was delivered ſhould kill him. Their pretence was to congratulate *Eetion* on the birth of it in the name of their whole body, and *Labda*, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the firſt that aſked for it; but the infant at that inſtant ſmiling in his face, and he not having the power to ſtrike the blow, he gave it to his next companion, and he, moved with the ſame pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the ten, and reſtored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no ſooner got out of the houſe, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal ſharers in the murder; but the mother, who had overheard their diſcourſe, took care to convey the child under a buſhel or corn-meaſure, called in *Greek* κυψέλη *Cypſele*, from which he afterwards took his name. *Pauſanias* calls it a coffer or cheſt, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with ſome fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards conſecrated by his deſcendants to *Juno Olympia*, in memory of his wonderful eſcape (11). However that be, the bloody deputies, having ſearched the whole houſe in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being aſhamed to own their weakneſs, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and *Cypſelus*, thus wonderfully preſerved, became in time the tyrant of *Corinth*, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) *Pauſanias* doth indeed quote an ancient poet, named *Eumelos*, who pretends, that this country had been given by the ſun to *Æetes*, and that he, accompanying *Jaſon* in the *Argonautic* expedition, left the government to *Butus* the ſon of *Mercury*, from whom it having paſt in time to *Corinthus* the ſon of *Marathon*, who died without iſſue, or according to *Apollodorus* left only one daughter, the *Corinthians* invited *Jaſon* and *Medea* to come and reign over them; and that, *Jaſon* having taken a diſlike at *Medea* and gone away from her, ſhe appointed *Siſyphus* her ſucceſſor (13).

But there are two ſolid arguments againſt this poetic fiction, the one, that *Siſyphus* was the brother of *Cretheus*, and this the grandfather of *Jaſon*, ſo that theſe two could not be cotemporaries. The other is, that *Siſyphus* muſt have been dead ſome time before *Jaſon* came to *Corinth*, ſince *Euripedes* tells us in his *Medea*, that *Creon* did then reign there, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Glaucus* the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Siſyphus* (14), as we ſhall ſee immediately.

(L) The author above quoted ſuppoſes him to be ſo called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, *Creon* in *Greek* ſignifying the ſame as *reigning* or *governing*.

(11) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* xvii. (12) *Id. in Corinth. c.* iv. *Vid. & Herodot. l.* v. (13) *Corinth. c.* iv.
(14) *Vid. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in cund. ibid.*

her, for which he was ſent by *Prætus* to *Jobates* king of *Lycia*, to be put to death (M). The firſt dangerous expedition, which the *Lycian* king ſent him upon, was to ſubdue the *Solymi* a neighbouring people, againſt whom he ſent him with a very ſmall number of forces; but that defect being ſupplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned *Bochart* ſuppoſes, their three gods, which they painted on their enſigns [k], one in the ſhape of a lion, a ſecond of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own in memory of this conqueſt; and gave birth to the fable of his killing the monſter *Chimæra* (N). His next expedition was againſt the *Amazons*, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himſelf alſo from an ambuſh of *Lycians*, which *Jobates* had ſet to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. *Jobates* at length, ſtruck with admiration at his bravery and ſucceſs, ſought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his ſervices, which he did by giving him his daughter *Philonoe* in marriage and declaring him his ſucceſſor [m].

ALL theſe atchievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary aſſiſtance. For *Minerva*, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horſe *Pegaſus* (O), after ſhe had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whoſe help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the moſt ſignal of his exploits, eſpecially that of killing the *Chimæra* [l], againſt which *Neptune* was likewiſe pleaſed to give him his aſſiſtance. After theſe ſucceſſes and great change of fortune, he is ſaid to have grown ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, that it brought a new ſeries of miſchiefs upon him, which gave occaſion to the fable mentioned in the laſt note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon *Pegaſus*, by whom he was flung down into the valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blind [n].

WE took notice above, that *Thoas* the ſon of *Ornytion* ſucceeded *Creon* or *Glaucus*; from him the crown deſcended to his ſon *Demophon*, to his grandſon *Propidas*, and laſtly to his two great grandſons, *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas*. It was in the reign of theſe two that the *Dorians* invaded the kingdom, with *Aletes* one of the *Heraclidæ* at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at *Corinth*. *Aletes* was the ſon of that *Hippotes*, who had been baniſhed *Peloponneſus* for ten years, by order of the *Delphic* oracle, for killing one *Carnus* an *Arcanian* prophet in the war of the *Epigoni* againſt *Thebes*, mentioned in a former ſection.

HE met, however, with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the *Corinthians*, who ſhewed upon that occaſion a great reluctance to ſubmit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, *Aletes* and his brave *Dorians* proved too ſtrong, beat and expelled them out of

[k] Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6. [l] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [m] APOLLOD. l. ii. c. 3. [n] Id. Ibid. PAUSAN. SICUL. & al.

(M) It is likely, as *Pauſanias* obſerves, (15) that *Bellerophon* never reigned at *Corinth*, and that he was forced to fly into *Argos* before his father's death; but what the ſame author adds, that both he and the *Corinthians* were then ſubject to the *Argives*, doth not ſo well appear. It is true, thoſe *Corinthian* troops that went to the ſiege of *Troy*, are ſaid by *Homer*, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the enſigns of *Agamemnon*. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as alſo did the *Arcadians*?

However, as *Bellerophon* never returned from *Lycia* to *Corinth*, we find *Thoas* his couſin, the ſon of *Ornytion*, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he aſcended it after *Glaucus*'s death, and during *Bellerophon*'s abſence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been ſo blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, diveſted as much as poſſible from the poetic fictions, with which thoſe writers have diſguiſed them.

(N) This monſter the poets feign to have had the head and breaſt of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it ſpit out fire and flame (16). We have ſeen what the learned *Bochart* thought of it. The reader may ſee his arguments, which are far from deſpicable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in *Lycia*, which had ſome vulcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequented by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by ſerpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave riſe to the fable of this *Chimæra* (17).

Others again ſuppoſe it to have been a noted pirate among the *Lycians*, named *Chimarra*, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted on his ſhip, and was overcome by *Bellerophon*, after having infeſted thoſe parts a conſiderable time, and done great damage to *Lycia*, and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have ſprung from *Meduſa*'s blood. The *Corinthians* had a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whom they ſirnamed *Chalinitis*, from the *Greek* Χαλινὸς a *bit* or *curb-bridle*, becauſe ſhe had clapt one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's ſervice.

The fable adds, that *Bellerophon*, being got on the back of *Pegaſus*, was ſo affrighted at his mounting in the air, that he fell down, and that the horſe, finding himſelf without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the conſtellation that ſtill bears his name.

(15) *In Corinth.* (16) *De hac vid. Heſiod, Theogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid,* &c. (17) *Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.* (18) *Plutarch. de virtut. Mulier. & Hiſt. Græc.*

of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. From him it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of his deſcendants, under the names of *Heraclidæ* and *Bacchiadæ*, till *Teleſtes* the ninth from him. This prince, being very young when *Ariſtomedes* his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle *Agemon*, who ſoon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him ſixteen years, but left it to his own ſon *Alexander*, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years; but was at length killed by *Teleſtes*, whom it ſeems they had ſtill ſuffered to live during this long uſurpation, and who then ſeized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himſelf killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the ariſtocracy of the 200 *Bacchiadæ* under their annual Prytanes [o].

[o] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Euseb. Chron. l. i. D. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

SECT VIII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Lacedemon *or* Sparta.

THE original name of this country was *Laconia*, a name which this nation ſtill prided themſelves in, when it was afterwards changed into thoſe of *Spartans* and *Lacedemonians*. As for thoſe of *Sparta* and *Lacedemon*, though they be often confounded by writers ancient and modern, yet, in propriety of ſpeech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, ſo called, according to the tradition of that people, from *Sparte*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and ſo called from *Lacedemon*, the huſband of *Sparte* and heir and ſucceſſor of *Eurotas*. The ſame tradition adds, that *Eurotas* was the grandſon of *Lelex*, ſirnamed alſo *Autochtos*, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have been originally a native, and from him his ſubjects bore the ancient name of *Leleges*. *Lelex* was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Myles*, and this by his ſon *Eurotas*, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reaſon of the bogs and marſhes with which it was covered, cut a ſpacious channel through it, into which ſuch quantities of water drained themſelves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. *Eurotas*, having no male iſſue, married his daughter *Sparte* to *Lacedemon*, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter* by *Taygeta* (A), and appointed him his ſucceſſor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built ſoon after and made the ſeat of the kingdom, by that of his wife [a]. Thus far the *Laconic* tradition: others, however, derive the name of *Sparta* from *Spartus* the ſon according to ſome, or according to others the brother, of *Phoroneus* [b], the ſon of the great *Inachus* the founder of *Argos*. Others make him the ſon of *Amydas* [c]. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* [d] tells us of one *Sparton*, who is in all likelihood the ſame perſon whom others call *Spartus*, and this is by ſome reckoned the brother, and by others the ſon, of *Phoroneus* [e]; but this laſt is confuted by *Pauſanias*, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that *Phoroneus* had any ſon of that name, and that the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves did not acknowledge any ſuch perſon. We omit that monſtrous account which ſome give of *Sparta*'s being ſo called from *Cadmus* making an irruption into *Laconia* with his *Sparti*, who were ſaid to have had that name given them, becauſe they ſprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had ſown, and which we have mentioned elſewhere. This monſtrous ſtory is even rejected by the *Greeks* themſelves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as for

The name.

And their etymon.

[a] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. i. Vid. & St. Byzant. ſub. voce Sparta & Laconia. [b] Euseb. Chron. [c] Eustat. in Iliad. B. [d] Sub voce Lacedemon. [e] Idem in voce Mycenas.

(A) This princeſs was the daughter of *Atlas*, king of *Mauritania* and uncle of *Jupiter*, and is ſaid to have been raviſhed both by him and by his brother *Neptune*; from her the mountain *Taygetus* had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her ſon *Lacedemon*. Near this place was alſo a village called *Aleſiæ*, from the *Greek* Αλεω, *to grind*, becauſe *Myles* the ſon of *Lelex* is reported to have found the firſt mule there, and to have made uſe of it for grinding corn (1).

This mountain was likewiſe famous for furniſhing huntſmen with a great variety of wild beaſts, ſuch as bears, boars, deer, and vaſt quantities of wild goats (2).

(1) *Pauſan. in Laconic. c. 20.* (2) *Id. ibid.*

for that of *Lacedemon*, it is generally agreed to be from the *Lacedemon* mentioned above (B).

Geography. *Laconia* was ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt nook of *Peloponneſus*, having *Argos* and *Arcadia* on the north, *Meſſenia* on the weſt, the bay of *Argos* on the eaſt, and the *Mediterranean* on the ſouth. Its extent from eaſt to weſt, where it reached furtheſt, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. eaſt longitude; but it grew ſtill narrower, as it extended itſelf northward. The extent of it from north to ſouth was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude [g]. We do not pretend to ſay, that this extent of their dominions was ſuch from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were anciently contained within a much narrower compaſs, and that a great number of thoſe cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the *Spartan* government till a long time after. Of this nature were the *Heliots*, *Gythians*, and many others, which were forced to yield to the ſuperior power of the *Lacedemonians*, eſpecially after the *Ephori* had ſo far clipped the royal prerogative, and enſlaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all thoſe neighbouring ſtates, rather than live an idle and ſlaviſh life under thoſe upſtart and tyrannic magiſtrates.

As all the ſouth part of this kingdom was incompaſſed by the ſea, and the eaſt and north-eaſt part by the *Argolic* bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief which were thoſe of *Malea* and *Tanara* (C), now *Capo Malio* and *Capo Matapan*. Theſe two, being ſituate on the *Mediterranean*, form the large *Laconian* gulph which lies between them, and is now called the *Golfo de Colochina*, into which the famed river *Eurotas* mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of *Baſilipotamo*, vulgarly *Vaſilipotamo*, or *royal river*, diſcharges her waters with an eaſy and gentle courſe.

Sea-ports. All the ſea-coaſts of *Laconia* were likewiſe furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greateſt and moſt convenient were thoſe of *Trinaſſus* and *Acria*, ſituate on each ſide of the mouth of the *Eurotas* and *Gythium*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Trinaſſus*. This laſt, *Pauſanias* tells us, had the remains of a caſtle ſtill ſtanding, which might be at firſt built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to *Sparta*, if not beyond. *Gythium* was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by *Apollo* and *Hercules* (D); but the moſt noted of all was *Epidaurus*, now *Malvaſia*, ſeated on the gulph of *Argos*, now *Golfo de Neapoli*, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called *Malveſy* or *Malmſey*, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it ſupplied other parts of *Greece*. There were about twelve more ſea-port towns along the *Laconian* coaſts, and what made theſe ſtill more famed, was a kind of ſhell-fiſh caught in that neighbourhood, whoſe blood was of excellent uſe for the dying of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the *Red-Sea* [h].

Inland towns did likewiſe abound in this kingdom, the moſt conſiderable of which was *Sparta* the metropolis, called alſo improperly *Lacedemon*, and ſituate upon the

[f] In Corinth. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. & al. [g] Vid. Strab. Mela, Pausan. [h] Pausan. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(B) Beſides the names of *Lacedemonia*, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, we find in ancient geographers thoſe of *Lelegia*, from the *Leleges*, whom *Strabo* makes the firſt inhabitants; ſo that the name of *Laconia* is poſterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called *Oebalia* from *Oebalus* the ſixth from *Eurotas*. It had alſo the name of *Hecatompolis* from the hundred cities which it is ſaid once to have had (3). It is now called *Tzaconia*.

(C) This cape, which juts out a great way into the ſea, had two ports, one named *Achilleus*, and the other *Pſamatheus*. Here was alſo the famous temple of *Neptune* built in form of a grotto, falſely ſuppoſed by the poets to be the paſſage out of which *Hercules* brought out *Pluto*'s dog *Cerberus*, ſince there is no ſubteranean place under it; but what ſeems to have given riſe to this fancy was, that here was bred a moſt dreadful ſerpent, whoſe bite was ſo mortal, that it was thence called *hell-hound*, and which was afterwards killed by *Hercules*, and carried by him to *Euriſtheus* (4).

(D) They pretend, that theſe two, having diſputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel; agreed to build this city at their common charge, for which reaſon the inhabitants of it pretend themſelves not to be ſprung from mortal men, and had the ſtatues of thoſe two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(3) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib.* viii. (4) *Id. ibid. Pauſan. Mela. &c.* (5) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

a the river *Eurotas*, at about thirty miles distance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at least beautified, by *Lacedemon* the first king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was *Amyclæ*, built by *Amyclas* the son of *Lacedemon*, and famed afterwards for the birth of *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus*, eighth king of *Lacedemon*, and distant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for sending a considerable colony of its own inhabitants into upper *Calabria*, who built there a city which they called by the same name. This city was afterwards destroyed by the *Dorians*, and turned into an inconsiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were seen some of the ruins of its ancient grandeur. One of the finest buildings that escaped the common ruin was the temple and statue of b *Alexandra*, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the same with *Cassandra* the daughter of *Priam*. 3. *Helos*, ruined by the *Spartans* (E). 4. *Thulana*, near to which is the famous lake of *Lerna*, where *Hercules* slew the *Hydra*. 5. *Leuctrum*, upon the bay of *Messenia* and situate near the sea. We find two other cities of this name, one in *Arcadia*, and the other in *Achaia*; but this was the most remarkable of the three [i]. *Cities of note.*

MOUNTAINS they had in great number, the country was divided from *Messenia* by one ridge of them, and from *Arcadia* by another; and this latter was a very long one [k], besides those which were in the heart of it. The greatest part of them, however, were more celebrated for some fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing else they were remarkable for, and may therefore be past by. c Rivers of note, besides the *Eurotas* abovementioned, were the *Smenus*, which had its head near the foot of the mountain *Taygeta*, and thence empties itself into the sea, and whose waters are famed for their sweetness and pleasantness. The *Thiasus*, said to have had its name from the daughter of *Eurotas*. The *Scyras*, where *Pyrrhus* the son of *Achilles* landed, after he came from *Scyros* to marry *Hermione*. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called *Scyras*. We omit some others of less note.

THE soil was very rich, especially in the low and flat grounds, and their being so well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for pasture-ground; but their being so overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them d from being so well tilled as they might have otherwise been. But the country was much better situated for trade and navigation, by having the sea round above half the kingdom, and so many fair havens upon it. How well they improved these advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be seen in the sequel of their history. The truth is, the *Lacedemonians* were a brave couragious people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by sea and land, averse to sloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power; they were wanting in no civil or military discipline, in order to secure the one and curb the other. And by these means it was, that they became so powerful, and made so considerable a figure e in *Greece* [l]. *Soil.*

THEIR government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed some magistrates under them, whose advice and council they made use of upon all emergent occasions; but as these were chosen by the prince and might be turned out at pleasure, they seldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, so that his will was still the supreme law. In this manner it passed through a succession of twelve princes from *Lacedemon*, the son-in-law of *Eurotas* and founder of this monarchy. Not indeed constantly in the male-line, which being extinct in *Castor* and *Pollux* the sons of *Tyndareus* their seventh monarch, it passed to *Menelaus*, then king of *Messenia*, in right of his wife *Helena Tyndareus*'s daughter. From him f it passed to his sons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the descendants of *Helena*, in *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, whose son *Tisamenes*, being cured by *Government.*

[i] De his Vid. PAUSAN. ibid. & BYZANT. sub voce. [k] MELA. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. STRAB. ubi supra. [l] Vid. THUCYDID. l. ii. PAUSAN. in Laconic. PLUTARCH. in Lycurg. DIODOR. SICUL. &c.

(E) These people, whose city had been built by *Helius* the son of *Perseus*, had a worse fate than any of the rest. For having refused to pay the tribute imposed upon them by *Agis*, the third king of the *Heraclidæan* line, the *Lacedemonians* fell upon them with an army, took them prisoners, reduced them to the lowest and most miserable slavery, and, to complete all, made a law, which forbid their masters either giving them their liberty, or selling them into other countries (6).

(6) *Strab. ubi supra, p.* 364. & 365.

by the *Heraclidæ*, went and reigned in *Achaia*, leaving the kingdom of *Lacedemon* a to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*. For though ſome have placed their father at the head of the *Herculean* liſt, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into *Peloponneſus* (F).

However, whether under him, or his twin-ſons, *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* (G), abovementioned, the government took a quite new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign became ſubject to two. For theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at *Argos*, *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia*, and elſewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* had done at *Thebes*; but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, b they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of *Lacedemon*, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as ſuch. *Pauſanias* add, that the *Delphic* oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the pythoneſs did not make any objection againſt it [m]. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, did not end with thoſe two brothers, though, from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of *Euryſthenes*, and twenty-ſeven of that of *Procles*, and ended in both near about the ſame time (H). c

But, though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed, through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. *Euryſthenes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Agis*, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſirnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name of *Eurytionidæ* from *Eurytion* the grandſon of *Procles*. Theſe two ſoon came to divide themſelves into two diſtinct parties, under which the people, who are not always the dupes of thoſe that govern them, did liſt themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their heads to court them, by largeſſes, by ſome new privileges, and other ſuch-like condeſcenſions, which though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the d royal prerogative. This the *Lacedemonians* ſoon perceived, and being become conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the reins of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances; they became the haughtier and more inſolent, as they found their affection and aſſiſtance neceſſary to either competitor. This gave birth to freſh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or ſtratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The conſequence of all this was, that the people, inſtead of becoming more tractable by any conceſſion, grew the more turbulent and headſtrong, taking every advantage they could againſt thoſe, who, thro' either their eaſy nature, or through neceſſity, were glad to court their affection, and vexing and blackning thoſe, who had courage enough to curb and uſe them with any ſeverity. By theſe diviſions the regal dignity was brought into ſuch contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confuſion, when the great *Lycurgus* took the reins of it, during ſome part of his nephew *Charilaus*'s minority.

This

[m] Pausan, ubi ſupra, c. i.

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the ſon of *Ariſtomachus* and brother to *Creſphontes* and *Temenus*, is ſaid to have been killed by lightning at *Naupactus* in *Ætolia*, whilſt their navy was getting ready for this expedition; here it was that he left his twin-ſons *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, whom he had by *Argea* the daughter of *Auteſion* (7), his ſucceſſors, both to the expedition and to all the conqueſts they ſhould make in it.

Pauſanias ſays, he was killed by the ſons of *Pylades* and *Electra*, who were couſin-germans to *Tiſamenes* the ſon of *Oreſtes*, before this expedition. And the *Lacedemonians* pretended, that *Apollo* had ſhot him to death at *Delphos*, becauſe he came thither, not to conſult the oracle, but to adviſe with *Hercules*, who was there at that time, about the means of invading *Peloponneſus*; ſo that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead ſome time before the conqueſt of that peninſula by the *Heraclidæ*.

(G) This laſt is ſometimes called *Procles*, and ſometimes *Protocles* by *Strabo*. *Plutarch* calls him *Patrocles*; but *Herodotus*, *Apollodorus*, *Cicero*, and *Pauſanias*, always call him *Procles*; it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertenty of copyiſts, ſome of whom were uſed to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(H) When *Cicomenes* III. the laſt of the firſt line, having killed his copartner *Eurydamidas*, was ſhortly after vanquiſhed by *Antigonus*, as ſhall be ſeen in following chapter.

a THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the ſon of *Polydectes*, the ſixth king of the *Eurytionian* line, but by a ſecond wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of ſucceſſion remained in him, and he accordingly took the adminiſtration upon him, waiting, however, to ſee, whether his ſiſter-in-law was with child. This princeſs finding herſelf pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promiſe that if he would marry her, ſhe would take ſome effectual method to deſtroy the embryo. *Lycurgus*, though ſhocked at the propoſal, yet gave her ſome diſtant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal uſed all proper means to prevent her miſcarrying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he ſent for ſome perſons of note to be preſent at her labour. She was ſoon after brought to-bed of
b a ſon, the news of which being ſent to him whilſt he was at ſupper with ſome noble *Spartans*, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, ſaid to thoſe who were preſent, *This is your king*, laid him on a chair of ſtate, and gave him the name of *Charilaus*. This generous action did not, however, ſatisfy all the *Spartans*; the incenſed queen, by the help of her brother *Leonidas*, perſuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to ſeize and make himſelf the more ſure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore ſo vile an inſinuation, and ſo far from his intention, from gaining credit, *Lycurgus* withdrew himſelf into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till *Charilaus* was married, and had had a ſon to ſucceed him. This laſt action having at once put an end
c to all thoſe unjuſt ſurmiſes which had been raiſed by his enemies, and procured him the eſteem of all thoſe that wiſhed well to their country; he met with leſs difficulty in the proſecution of his more glorious deſign of new-modelling the government. Another circumſtance which facilitated this change was, that during his abſence, ſuch depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miſerable ſtate, that not only his friends, but even thoſe who had been his moſt zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embaſſies, to entreat him to come back and ſave his country from ruin [n].

THESE were the inevitable conſequences of that fatal diviſion of the regal author-
d rity between two competitors, which, however, *Lycurgus* took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a taſk. He contented himſelf therefore with reducing their authority, by conſtituting a ſenate endowed with the ſupreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, beſides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter, in which we ſhall give a more particular account of the form of government which he eſtabliſhed, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a ſure and laſting ſanction.

THUS was the *Spartan* monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had
e continued in the line of *Lacedemon* 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of *Sparta* according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming ſubject to the *Heraclidæ* about *A. M.* 2900, and continued in the double line of theſe laſt during ſeven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following liſt therefore of thoſe kings, we ſhall begin it only from *Lacedemon* the ſon-in-law of *Eurotas*, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that ſtate. As to his ſuppoſed predeceſſors, *Lelex*, *Myles*, and *Eurotas*, we ſhall content ourſelves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this ſection.

AND as for thoſe of the *Herculean* family, who reigned after the change of govern-
f ment made by *Lycurgus*, beſides that they are all out of our epoch, they are more to be looked upon as generals of the *Lacedemonian* army, than as royal ſovereigns, and conſequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A

[n] Vide Auct. ſup. citat.

A LIST of the royal *Lacedemonian* line.

1 *Lacedemon*
2 *Amyclas*
3 *Argalus*
4 *Cynorta*
5 *Œbalus*
6 *Hippocoon*
7 *Tyndareus* his brother
8 *Caſtor* and *Pollux*
9 *Menelaus*
10 *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes*
11 *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*
12 *Tiſamenes*

The *Herculean* line.

1 *Euryſthenes*
2 *Agis*
3 *Echeſtratus*
4 *Labotas*
5 *Doryſſus*
6 *Ageſilaus*
7 *Archelaus*
1 *Procles*
2 *Sous*
3 *Eurytion*
4 *Prytanis*
5 *Eunomus*
6 *Polydectes*
7 *Charilaus*

1. CONCERNING *Lacedemon*, we know little more beſides what we mentioned at the beginning of this ſection, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called *Phaenna* and *Clete*, celebrated by an ancient poet °, and that his deſcendants raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of *Aleſies*, where *Myles* is ſaid to have found the firſt mule.

2. *Amyclas* his ſucceſſor is ſtill more unknown (I), except for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a ſtory, that, whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſo ſubject to frequent and ſtrange noiſes as of enemies coming upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the *Amycleans* made a law, that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any ſuch occaſion. The *Dorians*, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a ſudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, *I will ſpeak, knowing how the* Amycleans *were ruined for holding their peace*; and the old ſaying of *Amyclas vivere*, was uſed to ſignify *to ſee, and hear, and ſay nothing*. The people of this city became afterwards famous likewiſe for their ſtrict adherence to the *Pythagorean* doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did ſo ſtrictly keep, that they forbore the deſtroying even of thoſe very ſerpents which annoyed and deſtroyed them. We have very little left concerning *Amyclas*'s three ſucceſſors, *Argalus*, *Cynorta*, and *Œbalus*, except that this laſt gave his name to a canton of *Lacedemonia*, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon *Hippocoon*, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon *Tyndareus*. *Œbalus* married *Gorgophone* the daughter of *Perſeus*, by whom he had this *Tyndareus*, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in *Œbalia*, came ſoon after and deprived him of it.

WHILST *Hippocoon* reigned in *Sparta*, *Hercules* happened to come thither to be expiated for the murder of *Iphitus*. *Hercules*, it ſeems, after having put away *Megara*, went to *Œchalia*, where he won *Iole* the daughter of *Eurytus* king of that country, at ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed *Megara*, refuſed to give *Iole* to him, in revenge of which affront he drove away *Eurytus*'s horſes, and taking his ſon *Iphitus*, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. *Hippocoon* therefore and all his ſons did ſtoutly oppoſe his being expiated, becauſe they thought the action

° ALCMAN. ap. PAUSAN. LACON. c. xviii

(I) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of *Hyacinthus* the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch, that *Apollo* and *Zephyrus* became enamoured with him at the ſame time. *Apollo* being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up.

His diſconſolate father erected a ſtately tomb with his ſtatue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feaſt to be kept in memory of him. *Ovid* in his metamorphoſes makes this youth the ſon of *OEbalus*; but *Pauſanias*, who had ſeen his monument, ſays he was the ſon of *Amyclas* (8).

(8) *Lacon.* c. i, & xix.

action too black to deserve such a favour [p], and *Hercules* stayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refusal.

He did not wait long for it; for a first cousin of his, named *Œonus*, who was come with him to *Sparta*, walking one day along the streets of that city, past by chance before the house of *Hippocoon*, out of which a mastiff came and flew upon him. *Œonus* flung a stone at him, which being perceived by *Hippocoon*'s sons, they rushed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouse the fury of that sanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the scuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a strong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed *Hippocoon* and ten of his sons, besides a great number of *Lacedemonians*; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled *Tyndareus*, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conquest, to that banished monarch in trust for his own posterity, as we have elsewhere hinted (K).

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwise called, *Tyndarus*, more glad to accept the *Lacedemonian* kingdom upon any conditions, than sollicitous about the performance of them, was no sooner reseated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to secure it to himself and descendants against the *Heraclidæ*. He had two brave sons by his wife *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and two daughters, the famous *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, whose strange birth, as is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). *Helen*'s fatal beauty had caused her to be stolen away by *Theseus*, as we have seen before, and after she was recovered by her two brothers, *Tyndareus*, still afraid lest she should be carried off again, had obliged all her suitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man she liked, and that in case she should be stolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her husband. She chose soon after *Menelaus* the son of *Atreus*, after which she being stolen away again by *Paris*, her husband, encouraged by his brother

[p] Id. ibid. c. xv.

(K) *Hercules*, having succeeded so well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to *Juno*, because she had not thwarted him in it, as she had formerly done upon all occasions, and for want of a better victim offered up a goat, from which she was afterwards worshipped by the *Lacedæmonians* under the name of *Juno Ægophage*, or *Goat-eater*, and that creature became the constant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His last exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finish the history of that renowned hero, was against *Eurytus*, who retained, as he thought, unjustly *Iole* from him. He went therefore against him, slew him and his sons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming soon after to the *Cenæan* promontory in *Eubæa*, to offer some sacrifice there, he sent his servant *Lychas* to *Trachin*, to his wife *Dejanira* for the shirt and coat in which he used to perform that ceremony.

This princess had some time before been attempted by the centaur *Nessus*, as he was ferrying her over the river *Euenus*, and *Hercules*, beholding it from the shore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monster, finding himself dying, advised her to mix some oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's shirt with it, pretending, that it would infallibly secure him from loving any other woman; and she, too well apprised of his inconstancy, had actually prepared the poisoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lychas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away *Iole*, and she, in a fit of jealousy, failed not to anoint his shirt with the fatal mixture, which had no sooner touched his body, than he felt the poison diffuse itself through all his veins; the violent pain of which caused him to disband his army and to return to *Trachin*. His torment still encreasing, he sent to consult the oracle for a cure, and was answered, that he should cause himself to be conveyed to mount *Oeta*, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the rest to *Jupiter*.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dressed himself in his martial habit, flung himself upon the pile, and desired the by-standers to set fire to it; others say, that he left the charge of it to his son *Philoctetes*, who, having performed his father's commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the same time *Jupiter*, to be as good as his word, sent a flash of lightening which consumed both the pile and the hero, insomuch, that *Iolaus*, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but ashes, from which they took up the notion that he was passed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit son indeed for such a father, and a fitter god for such votaries, who could deify, raise altars and temples, offer sacrifices, and institute feasts to a mortal, who had sullied his best actions with so many murders, rapes, and adulteries. *Hercules* bequeathed *Iole* to his son *Hyllus*; as for *Dejanira*, she hanged herself as soon as she was apprised of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that *Jupiter* having had an amourous intrigue with her in the shape of a swan, soon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the result of these amphibious embraces was, that she was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came *Pollux* and *Helena*, and out of the other *Castor* and *Clytemnestra*; whence *Castor*, as *Tyndareus*'s son, was mortal, but *Pollux*, as the son of *Jupiter*, is said to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The *Greeks*, however, according to *Pausanias* (11), pretended, that *Helena* was the daughter of *Nemesis*, and that *Leda* was only her nurse, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of *Grecian* mythology not worth disputing.

ther *Agamemnon*, challenged all thoſe princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promiſe, and engaged them to the *Trojan* war, of which we have ſpoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for *Helena* was carried off by her own conſent, and *Clytemneſtra*, as we have ſeen elſewhere, not only lived in adultery during her huſband's abſence, but murdered him immediately after his return) is ſaid to have built a temple to *Venus* (M), and erected a ſtatue of cedar to that goddeſs, with a veil over her face and chains about her legs, either, as ſome think, to expoſe her as the cauſe of their unlawful love, or, as *Pauſanias* thinks, to intimate to poſterity the indiſſoluble tie of wedlock [q]. He began likewiſe to build a ſtately temple to *Minerva*, whom he ſirnamed *Poliuchos*, or *guardian of the city*, but died before he could finiſh it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two ſons, after he had reigned about forty years [r].

8. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* went on with the building, deſigning to have enriched it with the ſpoils of the city *Aphidne*, out of which they had reſcued their ſiſter *Helene*, but left it likewiſe imperfect. The *Lacedemonians* did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of maſſive braſs, from which it was called *Chalciæcos*. Theſe two heroes likewiſe ſignalized themſelves in the *Argonautic* expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to *Minerva Aſia*, in acknowledgment of their ſucceſs and ſafe return from *Colchis*, from which they are alſo ſaid to have brought away a famous ſtatue of *Mars*. They had likewiſe a bloody combat with the ſons of *Aphareus*, *Ida* and *Lyncæus*, the latter of whom is ſaid to have had ſuch piercing eyes, that he could ſee even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occaſion of their quarrel is variouſly reported, *Theocritus* ſays, that they had ſtolen the daughters of *Leucipus* the brother of *Aphareus*, but *Pauſanias* and *Pindar* ſay, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat *Pollux* killed *Lyncæus*, and *Ida* was ſtruck dead with lightening. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deſerve a place here, we ſhall give a ſpecimen of them in the margin (O) [s].

9. *Menelaus* the ſon of *Atreus* ſucceeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have ſpoken of the war which her rape occaſioned, and the ſucceſs of it in a former chapter. At their return from the *Trojan* war, being, upon ſome difference, parted from his brother *Agamemnon*, after having weathered many violent ſtorms, he arrived ſafely in *Egypt* with his wife *Helene*, whither *Homer* tells us he was driven by contrary winds. *Herodotus* gives us a quite different account of his going into *Egypt*, and gives us his reaſons for it; but as it contradicts moſt of the ancient poets

[q] LACON. c. xvi. [r] Ch. xvii. [s] De his vid. PLUTARCH. in Theſeo. DIOD. APOLLOD. & PAUSAN.

(M) *Pauſanias* adds, that this temple, which himſelf ſaw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called *Morpho*, which is but another name of *Venus* (11), and ſignifies *form* or *figure*, implying, that ſhe was the goddeſs of beauty.

(N) Hence the ſaying of *Lyncæan* eyes, and *Pindar* tells us, that he could diſcover *Caſtor* hid in the trunk of a tree from mount *Taygetus* (12).

(O) Theſe two famous brothers are celebrated by the ancient poets under ſeveral names, ſuch as *Anactes*, from the *Greek* Ανακ which ſignifies *a king* or *prince*, ſuch as were originally all the *Heathen* gods. *Ambulii*, moſt probably likewiſe from the *Greek* Αμβολιη, *procraſtination*, *delay*, to imply their lengthening of life. *Jupiter* is alſo called by that name. They were alſo called *Apherei*, as ſuppoſed to preſide over the liſts; but the name they were moſt commonly known by was that of *Dioſcuri*, from Διος and κοροι, becauſe they were reputed *the ſons of* Jupiter.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the ſea of pirates, and from this laſt they were worſhipped as gods of the ſea, and are ſaid to have appeared to mariners in ſtorms, and the notion was, that if only one was ſeen, it betokened ſhipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have appeared at land upon ſeveral occaſions: they once facilitated the eſcape of the *Lacedemonians* under their king *Anaxander*, when they were cloſely purſued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by *Ariſtomenes* and his *Meſſenian* troops. At another time they came to the very houſe where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of *Phormio*, who was then in poſſeſſion of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were ſtrangers come from *Cyrene*. They aſked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but *Phormio* told them, that the whole houſe was at their ſervice, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he kept. They ſeemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young woman and thoſe that waited upon her were gone as well as the gueſts, and nothing found in her chamber but the two ſtatues of the *Dioſcuri*, and a table with ſome ſweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when *Caſtor* died, his brother *Pollux*, who was immortal, prayed to *Jupiter* that he might ſhare his immortality with him, which being granted, they are ſaid to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length tranſformed into the ſign *Gemini*, of which two of the ſtars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other riſes.

(11) *In Lacon. c.* XV. (12) *Nemeen. Ode* 10. (13) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c.* XVI.

a poets and hiſtorians, we ſhall relate it in the margin (P). *Menelaus* was ſucceeded by his two ſons by a former wife, or rather by a ſlave, namely,

10. *Nicoſtratus* and *Megapenthes*, but the *Lacedemonians*, unwilling to ſubmit themſelves to a ſpurious offspring, *Oreſtes* eaſily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-ſhed.

11. *Oreſtes*, the ſon of *Agamemnon* king of *Meſſenia*, came to the *Lacedemonian* crown in right of his mother *Clytemneſtra*, the other daughter of *Tyndareus*. We have already mentioned in the hiſtory of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithleſs mother and her paramour, and aſcended the *Meſſenian* throne *. He was, however, accuſed of that parricide, not, indeed, by his
b grandfather *Tyndareus*, who muſt have been dead long before, but by his uncle *Perilaus*, the ſon of *Icarius*, and couſin-german, and conſequently the neareſt relation, of *Clytemneſtra*. He it was who cited him before the great *Athenian* court called *Areopagus*, after he had recovered his ſenſes. What their ſentence was our author doth not inform us [t], but tells us elſewhere, that he had ſeen an old building which was called *Oreſtes's manſion*, in which he was forced to live ſeparate from the reſt of mankind, except that they took care to ſupply him with food and other neceſſaries, till he had quite expiated his crime [u]. He died and was buried in *Arcadia*, whither the oracle adviſed him to retire, as we have ſeen in a former ſection.

12. *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes* by *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and
c *Helena*, ſucceeded him both in this kingdom and thoſe of *Argos* and *Meſſenia*, and was ſoon after outed out of all by the *Heraclidæ*, who, having by this time invaded *Peloponneſus*, claimed the latter, as being of the line of *Perſeus*, and he only of that of *Pelops*; and the former, becauſe *Hercules*, having conquered it from *Hippocoon*, had only left it in truſt with *Tyndareus*, as we have lately ſeen. What became of *Tiſamenes* is variouſly reported, ſome ſay he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of *Argos* [w]; others, and with more probability, ſay, he eſcaped into *Achaia* and reigned there; ſome time after which he was killed one of the firſt in a combat againſt the *Ionians*, and was buried in the city of *Helice*, whence the *Lace-*
demonians, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in
d *Sparta* [x]. However that be, *Philonomus* betrayed that metropolis to the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, who with their forces entered it with the ſound of the flute [y], an inſtrument then reckoned very martial and proper to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reaſon the *Lacedemonians* made uſe of it from that time, whenever they ſounded to battle [z].

Euryſthenes and *Procles* having thus obtained the kingdom, at firſt divided it into ſix parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of *Sparta*, where they ſtill kept their reſidence. This, though for the preſent it had the deſired effect of ingratiating themſelves to the *Lacedemonians*, yet in the follow-
e ing reigns proved the cauſe of many grievous diſturbances. For *Agis*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Euryſthenes*, finding, that the people were grown headſtrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving ſeveral cantons of thoſe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the *Lacedemonians*. They did indeed all ſubmit to it, except the *Helots*, who were made a ſevere example to the reſt; but theſe ſeverities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

On the other hand, his copartner *Sous* the ſon of *Procles*, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their eſteem by his bravery and new conqueſts. We have an inſtance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being

* See before, Vol. II. p. 357. d. [t] Pausan. Arcad. ch. xxxiv. [u] Id. Corinth. c. xxxi. [w] Apollod. l. ii. c. 8. [x] Vid. Pausan. Achaic. c. i. & Strab. Geogr. l. viii. [y] Strab. ibid. [z] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. i. c. 10.

(P) He tell us, upon the credit of the *Egyptian* prieſts, that as *Paris* was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coaſts of *Egypt*, where he was accuſed of the theft by ſome of his ſervants who went and took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*. *Proteus*, then king of the country, having examined the ſtory, detained the woman and the goods ſhe had brought with her till her huſband came to demand them, and let the raviſher go as being a ſtranger.

When therefore the confederate *Greeks*, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the *Trojans*, and were anſwered that ſhe was left in *Egypt*, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the ſiege; but when the city was taken, and ſhe not found in it, then *Menelaus* went to demand her of the *Egyptian* king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the ſtory is, as he tells us, that if *Helene* had really been in *Troy*, it had been madneſs in *Priam* to have ſacrificed that noble city, and the lives of ſo many noble *Trojans*, only to defend *Paris* in the poſſeſſion of another man's wife, ſince he was neither heir to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of thoſe that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) *Herodot. l. ii. c.* 113. *& ſeq.*

being beſieged by the *Chlorians* in a dry ſtony place, where his army ſuffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himſelf to reſtore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both ſides, *Sous*, having called his ſoldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being all oppreſſed with exceſſive thirſt, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As ſoon therefore as he had ſeen them drink their fill of water, he took ſome of it in the hollow of his hand, and ſprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched of in the face of the enemy. The conſequence of which was, that his abſtinence having made the contract void, ſeeing he and all his men had not drank at the ſpring, he could ſafely refuſe to reſign his conqueſts to them [a].

Agis, from whom the deſcendants of that line had the name of *Agidæ*, or *Agiadæ*, for they are indifferently called by both, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Echeſtratus*, and *Sous*, not long after, by his ſon *Eurytion*, otherwiſe alſo called *Eurypon* and *Euryphon*; from him this line, which had till then took the name of *Proclidæ*, exchanged it for that of *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ*, &c. In this reign, ſome ſeeds of diſcord between the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives* began to appear, which were, however, ſtifled by the prudence of thoſe two monarchs. The *Cynoſureans*, who were a colony of *Argives*, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by *Cynoſurus* the ſon of *Perſeus*, were complained againſt by the *Argives*, for not only ſuffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewiſe for doing the ſame themſelves, and ſometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the *Lacedemonians* baniſhed all the *Cynoſureans* that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that ſeverity not only prevented all ſuch ravages for ſome time, but reſtored a good underſtanding between the *Argives* and them.

But this peaceful diſpoſition did not laſt but till the next reign, when *Labotas* (Q), the ſon of *Echeſtratus*, and *Prytanis*, the ſon of *Eurytion*, declared war againſt them. The ground of it was, that though the *Lacedemonians* poſſeſſed the town and territories of *Cynoſura*, by right of their late conqueſt, yet the *Argives* were ſtill incroaching upon ſome part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendſhip. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration, at leaſt we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either ſide. After this things continued in a peaceful ſtate, at leaſt with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worſe within doors through the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of the princes, both between themſelves, and between them and the people. *Labotas* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Doryſſus*, and *Prytanis* by his ſon *Eunomus*, the former of theſe, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor *Ageſilaus*, are by ſome ſaid to have reigned but a ſhort while [d], and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years [e]. As for *Eunomus*, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length ſtabbed, as he was endeavouring to quel a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two ſons behind him, *Polydectes* by a former, and *Lycurgus* by a ſecond wife. He was ſucceeded by the former, and he dying ſoon after left the kingdom to *Lycurgus*, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a ſon, to whom he immediately reſigned it, and baniſhed himſelf out of *Lacedemon*, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled that government.

SECT.

[a] Plutarch. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap. Hind. ubi ſupra. [b] Pausan. Meurs. &c. [c] Pausan. ubi ſupra. c. ii. & iii. [d] Pausan. ubi ſupra. c. ii. Hind. hiſt. Græc. l. ii. p. 97. [e] Meurs. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

(Q) *Herodotus*, who calls him *Leobatus*, tells us in his hiſtory of *Cræſus*, that the great *Lycurgus* had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has ſince ſhewn (15), ſince that prince had been dead ſome time before that lawgiver was born.

(15) *Meurſ. antiq. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pauſan. Lacon.*

SECT. VIII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, *and* Achaia.

[a] WE ſhall join theſe ancient kingdoms together in one ſection, becauſe they made but a ſmall figure in the world, in compariſon of thoſe that have gone before, and becauſe they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilſt their being ſo often mentioned in the foregoing ſections, and in the following hiſtory of *Greece*, will not permit us to paſs them by without taking notice of their ſituation, original, antiquities, and hiſtory, as far as it can be got out of ancient authors, their wars and exploits, and other ſuch particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable and are worth our notice here.

Elis *names.* THE principal of them is the kingdom of *Elis*, at firſt peopled, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, by the deſcendants of *Eliſhah*, the ſon of *Javan* and grandſon of *Japhet* [a], if not by *Eliſhah* himſelf, from whom this territory at leaſt, if not the whole [b] peninſula, was called *Elis* (A), and in the *Chaldean Hellas*, and by the prophet *Ezekiel Eliſhah*, where he celebrates its fine purple dye [b] (B). According therefore to this ſuppoſition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch or ſome of his immediate deſcendants, it was not without good reaſon, that the inhabitants of this country and of *Arcadia* boaſted themſelves to be *Aborigines* of *Peloponneſus*, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to ſettle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greateſt part of that peninſula [c].

Extent. *Elis* was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of *Peloponneſus*, having the *Ionian* ſea on that [c] ſide, *Arcadia* on the eaſt, *Achaia* on the north, and the bay of *Cypariſſos* or *Chalonites*, now *Capo di Torneſe*, with *Meſſenia* on the ſouth: its extent from eaſt to weſt was at the wideſt about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almoſt 23 deg. eaſt longitude; and from north to ſouth about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude [d].

Cities. ITS chief cities were, 1. *Elis*, ſituate on the river *Peneus*, and almoſt in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large ſpacious place called the *Xyſtos* (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themſelves for ſome time by diet, exerciſe, and other ſuch preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the *olympic* plains [e]. In [d] this place their ſenate did likewiſe uſe to aſſemble themſelves, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewiſe a temple dedicated to *Fortune*, with the ſtatue of that blind goddeſs of a ſurpriſing bigneſs, and made of wood, covered all over with gold,

[a] Gen. x. 2, & 4. [b] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 4. [c] PAUSAN. Elid. c. i. & ſeq. [d] Conf. STRAB. Geogr. l. viii. MELA, l. ii. c. 4. CLUVER. WELLS, & al. [e] PAUSAN. Elid. c. xxiii.

(A) The poets derive that name from *Elcus* the ſon of *Neptune*, whom they make the firſt founder and king of it (1). *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Æthlius*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Protogenia* the daughter of *Deucalion*, was the firſt who reigned here, and gives ſome other etymons of the word not worth notice, ſince we have a much ancienter one, and clearer from fiction, in the patriarch *Eliſhah*.

(B) It is true, the prophet here ſpeaks of iſles and not of a continent; but we have often ſhewn, that that word in the language of ſcripture doth not ſtrictly imply an iſland, but the maritime countries, eſpecially thoſe about the *Mediterranean* †; and we have the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient authors, that the coaſts of *Elis*, and quite up to the *Corinthian* bay, were famous for a ſhell-fiſh which they uſed in this die, and in which they exceeded all nations except *Egypt* (2).

(C) So called from the *Greek* ξυω, to *trim* or *poliſh*. This place was ſurrounded with a wall, and lined on the inſide with plantane-trees of great heighth, to caſt an agreeable ſhade on the courſe. Here *Hercules*, in order to inure himſelf to hard labour, is ſaid to have ſpent ſome time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the incloſure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of *Achilles*, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women uſed to repair about ſun-ſet during the time of the *olympic* games, and to lament the death of that hero by ſeveral mournful actions, eſpecially by ſmiting upon their breaſts (3).

(1) *Vid. int. al. Ovid Metam. & Steph. Byz. ſub voce* Ηλις *& Gronov. not. in eund.* † *Vid. ſupra, Vol. I. p.* 166. *& Vol. II. p.* 241. (2) *Pauſan. in Laconic. Vid. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. & auctor. ab eo citat.* (3) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* xxiii.

gold, except the face, hands, and feet. They likewiſe had ſeveral others dedicated a to *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, and *Bacchus*. This laſt deity was held in the greateſt veneration, and the *Eleans* pretended, that he appeared to them on the day in which his feaſt was celebrated (D). *Elis* had likewiſe a citadel, in which was a temple of *Minerva*, and on the helmet of that goddeſs was carved a cock, becauſe he is ſuppoſed the moſt couragious of all winged creatures [f]. Here was alſo the palace of *Augeas* one of their kings, and the famous ſtables, the cleanſing of which proved a taſk fit only for the great *Hercules* (E). †

Olympia.

2. The city of *Olympia* was the next in dignity, ſituate on the famous *Olympian* plains, on which were celebrated the *olympic* games, inſtituted by *Pelops* in honour of *Jupiter*, and after ſome ſuſpenſion, reſtored again by *Atreus* and *Hercules*. b They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater ſolemnity, and a vaſter concourſe of people, than any of theſe we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by *Olympiads*, to be introduced in *Greece* (F). This city is famed likewiſe for its magnificent temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, ſaid to have been built from the ſpoils which the *Eleans* got from their neighbours the *Piſeans*; in which was a famous ſtatue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world, near which is alſo the famous *Olympian* wood or grove dedicated to the ſame deity. As for its ancient name of *Olympia*, it hath long ſince changed it for that of *Sconri*. 3. *Piſa*, ituate on the river *Alpheus* (G), and near the mouth of it, ſaid to have been founded by *Piſus* the

Olympic games.

[f] Pausan. ubi ſupra.

† See before, Vol. II. p. 356. Not. I.

(D) This feaſt-day they called *Thya*. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his prieſts repaired on the night before, with three empty flaſks which they left there, ſhut up the temple, and ſealed the locks of it, every by-ſtander being permitted to clap his own ſeal to them; and on the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with *Eleans* and ſtrangers, and having firſt ſhewed to them that the gates were ſafe and juſt as they had left them, they opened them, and went in, and found the flaſks filled with wine (4).

(E) It is ſaid to have held three-thouſand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, ſo that when *Hercules* undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river *Alpheus*, or *Peneus* according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(F) This ſolemnity, which had been ſo often interrupted, and renewed again by *Endymion*, *Neleus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others, but without any ſettled time, was at length reſtored by *Iphitus* and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, ſo that between every celebration four compleat years expired, which ſome have miſtaken for five. Hence every four years was called an *olympiad*, which computation was afterwards obſerved for a conſiderable number of centuries, as well as the ſolemnity of thoſe games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whoſe change immediately preceded the ſummer ſolſtice. Againſt that time the prieſts of *Jupiter Olympus*, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to obſerve every new moon, eſpecially that after which the ſolemnity was to be celebrated, and to cauſe it to be proclaimed. They were likewiſe intruſted with the regiſtering of the names of all the victors at thoſe games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between every *olympiad*.

We muſt, however, obſerve here, that this exact and ready way of computing by *olympiads* did not begin immediately after the firſt of them, but commenced only from the firſt year of the 28th, in which *Choræbus* of *Elis* obtained the victory in the race, after which the *Grecian* accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that *Epocha* the times began to be reckoned hiſtorical, whereas thoſe which preceded it up to the deluge are called fabulous and heroic, becauſe mixed with fable (5), as thoſe who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through *Arcadia*, *Elis*, and along the city *Piſa*, ſoon after which it is ſwallowed up in the earth. From thence it is ſuppoſed to run by a ſubterranean channel under the ſea without mixing with the ſalt water, and ſo to paſs quite into *Sicily*, where it mixes itſelf with the fountain *Arethuſa* near the city of *Syracuſe*, inſomuch, that any thing that is thrown into it on the *Elis* ſide, is ſaid to come out at the fountain abovenamed (6). Hence the poetic fiction of *Alpheus*'s love to *Arethuſa*, which tells us, that this laſt, to avoid his amorous purſuit, hid herſelf under-ground, and that he was forced to do the ſame in order to get at her by ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, which he at length accompliſhed near the place where that river and fountain mix their ſtreams.

Pauſanias adds, that the *Eleans* had a law, which condemned any woman to death that ſhould either appear at the *olympic* games, or even croſs this river during that ſolemnity; and the *Eleans* add, that the only woman who tranſgreſſed it, had diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a maſter or keeper of thoſe games, and conducted her ſon thither; but when ſhe ſaw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her diſguiſe, ſo that her ſex was diſcovered. She was, however, ſpared on account of her father, ſon, and husband, who had gained the *olympic* prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keeper ſhould appear there naked.

(4) *Id ibid.* (5) *De his vid. Plutarch. Pauſan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter Archæolog. Hind. & al. plur.* (6) *Vid. Diod. Pauſan. & al.* (7) *In Elid. ch.* vi.

the grandſon of *Æolus*, and whoſe inhabitants ſignalized themſelves under *Neſtor* at the *Trojan* war. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the *Eleans*, becauſe the *Piſeans* took upon them to celebrate the *olympic* games by their own authority; for this, the *Eleans*, jealous of their privilege, raiſed a war againſt them, and after many battles fought, in which they had ſtill the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and baniſhed its inhabitants.

It were fruitleſs to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, ſince we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or ſome of his deſcendants. As to what profane authors ſay of it, it is ſo mixed with fable that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we ſhall give our readers a ſhort ſketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

Kings of Elis.

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at firſt diſtinct from that of *Piſa*; this laſt having kings of its own for a conſiderable time. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Endymion*, who married *Aſterodia*, or, according to others, *Chromia*, the daughter of *Itomus* and grand-daughter of *Amphictyon* (H), by whom he had three ſons, *Pæon*, *Epeus*, and *Ætolus*. When theſe were grown up, he promiſed his kingdom to him that ſhould win the prize at the *olympic* race, and *Epeus* proved the happy victor. *Ætolus*, however, ſtayed with him at *Elis*, but *Pæon*, unable to brook the loſs of ſuch a noble prize, went to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, and ſettled in that canton on the river *Axus*, which took from him the name of *Pæonia*. *Epeus* went to the ſiege of *Troy*, and is ſuppoſed to have been the architect of the *Trojan* horſe. It was in his reign that *Pelops* the *Lydian*, or, according to others, the *Paphlagonian*, came from *Aſia*, killed *Œnomaus* king of *Piſa*, ſeized on his kingdom, and took the city *Olympia* from the *Eleans*. *Epeus* died without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Ætolus*.

Ætolus.

This prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill *Apis* the ſon of *Jaſon* at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of *Azan* king of *Arcadia*, and was forced to leave *Peloponneſus*, and went to ſettle in *Ætolia*, where we ſhall find him in the ſequel. He was ſucceeded by *Eleus*, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Neptune*, by *Eurycyde* the only daughter of *Endymion*, and the father of *Augeas*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom (I).

We have already mentioned more than once the large ſtable which this prince is ſaid to have had, and its being cleanſed by *Hercules*. The truth of the ſtory, if we may believe *Pauſanias* [g], was, that he kept ſuch large quantities of oxen and ſheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, ſo that it was become incapable of producing either graſs or corn. *Augeas* therefore hired *Hercules* to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and ſome part of his kingdom. When *Hercules* had performed the taſk by turning the river over them (K), *Augeas* refuſed to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to *Phyleus Augeas*'s eldeſt ſon, and he, having given it againſt his father, was baniſhed the kingdom together with his client. *Augeas*, being afraid of that hero's reſentment, was forced to ſtrengthen himſelf by a double alliance, one with *Actor*, the ſon of *Phorbas* by *Hyrmine* the daughter of *Epeus*; and the other with *Amaryncæus*, a *Theſſalian*, a man well verſed in the art of war, whom he invited into *Elis*. To bind theſe two the faſter to his intereſt, he made them his aſſociates in the kingdom, ſo that when *Hercules* came afterwards with a powerful army againſt him, he met with ſuch ſtout reſiſtance from them, particularly from *Actor* and his ſons; that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that theſe brave youths were

[g] Elid. c. 1.

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

(I) This is he who, the *Greeks* pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called *Epea* from *Epeus* mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do *Augeas* a greater honour, make him the ſon not of *Eleus*, but of *Elius* or the ſun.

(K) This river which ſome pretend to have been the *Alpheus*, and others the *Peneus*, as we obſerved in a late note, is by our author here called *Minyeus*, which name *Strabo*, who ſays it was the *Peneus*, thinks was given it by the long ſtay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is ſomething forced, and it ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that that river had thoſe two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) *Pauſan. in Elid. c.* ii. *Vid. & Gedoyn. Not. in eund.*

were to go to the *Iſthmian* games, he went and laid in ambuſh againſt them, and killed them all, and with ſuch privacy, that it coſt the *Eleans* ſome time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was *Hercules*, who by that time was retired to *Tirynthus*, they ſent embaſſadors in vain to the *Argives* to puniſh him, and to the *Corinthians* to interdict the *Argives* from the *Iſthmian* games, for ſuffering the aſſaſſin of thoſe who were going to them to live unpuniſhed in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their requeſt; and *Hercules* having raiſed a powerful army of *Argives*, *Thebans*, and *Arcadians*, came and beſieged them, took and ſacked the city of *Elis*, and was going to let fly his reſentment againſt the *Piſeans* for aſſiſting them, had not the oracle prevented it. *Hercules*, who would not ſit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a preſent of it to *Phyleus* the ſon of *Augeas*, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom reſtored him all the priſoners he had taken (L), and among the reſt *Augeas*, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to *Pauſanias*; others ſay he killed him and *Eurytus*, another of his ſons [h].

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, ſtay in it but as long as was neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the ſtate, after which he retired to the iſland of *Dulichium* (M). And *Augeas* dying ſoon after, the crown fell to his next ſon *Agaſthenes*, whoſe ſon *Polyxenus*, having ſucceeded him, went to the *Trojan* war, and was one of thoſe who returned from thence, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eleus* II. It was in this prince's reign that the *Dorians* and *Heraclidæ* made their laſt but ſucceſsful attempt againſt *Peloponneſus* under *Hippotes* their general, after having formerly made ſeveral fruitleſs ones againſt it. We have already had occaſion to ſpeak more than once of this expedition, for the ſucceſs of which, having conſulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with *Oxylus* an *Æolian*, whom they ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, becauſe his horſe and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of *Endymion*, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, ſome ſay, his brother *Thermius*, others ſay, *Alcidocus* the ſon of *Scopius*, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to *Ætolia*, when the *Heraclidæ* met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered *Peloponneſus* they ſhould allot him *Elis*, not only as a reward for his ſervices, but becauſe he had a title to that kingdom as being the ſixth in a lineal deſcent from *Endymion* the ſecond king of it. They agreed ſo much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's ſide, his great grandmother being ſiſter to *Dejanira*, the mother of *Hyllus* the ſon of *Hercules*. The ſucceſs of this expedition we have ſeen in the former ſections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conqueſts between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of *Elis* according to their agreement [i].

Oxylus, who expected to have taken poſſeſſion of it without any oppoſition, found himſelf miſtaken, and *Dius*, who was then upon the throne, refuſed to reſign it to him. However, to avoid expoſing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each ſhould chuſe a champion, who ſhould decide the right of it by ſingle combat, and *Pyrechmes*, an excellent *Ætolian* ſlinger, having won the victory in favour of *Oxylus*, he was immediately proclaimed king of *Elis*. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or thoſe of his ſucceſſors; he had two ſons, *Ætolus* and *Lajus*, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he ſhould be buried, neither within nor out of

[h] Conf. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. & Pausan. Elid c. iii.

[i] Id. ibid. & Apollod. l. ii. Strab. Geogr. l. x.

(L) Theſe priſoners muſt have been very few in compariſon of thoſe that were killed, ſince *Pauſanias* tells us, that the *Elean* women, finding their country almoſt ſtript of male inhabitants, prayed to *Minerva*, that they might conceive at the very firſt matrimonial intercourſe; and that the goddeſs having granted their requeſt, they built a temple to her and called it, *Minerva, the mother of mankind*. And moreover in memory of this ſignal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it *Badu*, which in their dialect ſignifies the ſame as נעם, *ſweet*, to expreſs the pleaſure of that matrimonial intercourſe (9).

(M) It is but a ſmall inconſiderable iſland on the *Ionian* ſea near that of *Cephalonia*, it is now called *Dulicha* and *Tziakki*.

(9) *Id. ibid. c.* iii.

of it. His ſon *Laſus* ſucceeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material tranſactions in this kingdom, if we except ſome of their wars with the *Arcadian* neighbours and with ſome other ſtates of *Greece*, till we come to the reign of *Iphitus*, the reviver of the *olympic* games, and cotemporary with the great *Lycurgus* mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection.

BEFORE his reign, *Greece* had been almoſt ruined by wars and peſtilence. *Elis* ſeems to have ſuffered more than any other ſtate, ſo that thoſe games had been interrupted for a conſiderable time. *Iphitus* ſent to conſult the oracle concerning the means of appeaſing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy againſt theſe calamities, and was anſwered, that the reſtoration of thoſe games would prove the ſafety of *Greece*, to procure which he and his ſubjects were exhorted to ſet about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, whom the *Eleans* believed to have been upon ſome account or other exaſperated againſt them (N). He next cauſed the *olympic* games to be proclaimed all over *Greece*, with a promiſe of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before: he likewiſe took upon himſelf to be ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games, a privilege which the *Piſeans*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, had often ſharply diſputed with his predeceſſors, and which continued in his deſcendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two preſidents whom they choſe by vote, and which in time increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve. We have ſpoken a little higher of the place where they ſat, their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all diſputes that aroſe concerning the victory in all the ſeveral exerciſes which were performed in them.

Reſtores the olympic games.

§ *Ætolia* was ſo called, as we have ſeen a little before, from *Ætolus*, the ſon of *Endymion* and brother of *Epeus*, whom he ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Elis*, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed *Apis*, the ſon of *Jaſon*, at ſome funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be gueſſed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both ſides, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, were the greateſt robbers in all *Greece*, and continued ſo, during many centuries, after *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, and other heroes, had extirpated thoſe vermin every-where elſe [a].

Ætolia.

THIS ſlip of ground, for ſuch it was, had on the eaſt the *Locrians*, *Phocians*, and *Ozolæans*, from whom they were parted by the river *Evenus*, or *Licormas*. The *Acarnanians* on the weſt were alſo parted from them by that of *Achelous*, on the north it had the *Dorians* with part of *Epirus*, and on the ſouth the bay of *Corinth*: its utmoſt extent from north to ſouth was about forty-eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from eaſt to weſt, where it was wideſt, above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and ſouthward, eſpecially the latter, where it ſcarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one ſea-port of any note on the *Corinthian* bay, namely *Œnias*, ſituate on the mouth of the *Achelous* above-mentioned [b].

Its ſituation and extent.

IT had no other rivers but the two we have juſt ſpoken of, the former of which was that on which *Hercules* killed the centaur *Neſſus*, and the latter, which was alſo called *Thoas* from its rapidity, deſcended from mount *Pindus* in *Macedonia* into the *Ionian* ſea. Concerning this laſt the poets have feigned many ſtories, or blended the hiſtory with many fables which the reader may ſee in the margin (A).

Rivers.

As

[a] THUCYD. l. i. PLUTARCH. in Theſeo. & al. [b] Vid. STRAB. MELA, CLUVER, & al.

(N) *Pauſanias* tells us, there was a kind of diſpute between the *Eleans* and the reſt of the *Greeks*, whether *Iphitus* was lineally deſcended from *Oxylus*, if he was not, it was not without reaſon that he feared the reſentment of that god, whoſe particular kindneſs to all that were related to him, as *Oxylus* was, would hardly ſuffer ſuch a wrong to go unpuniſhed: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeaſing his anger by this ſacrifice.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the ſon of *Oceanus* and *Tethys*, and a competitor with *Hercules* for *Dejanira*, the king of *Calydonia*'s daughter. Theſe two having engaged in a duel, and *Achelous*, finding himſelf likely to be worſted by him, changed himſelf firſt into a ſerpent, and then into a bull. *Hercules* broke both his horns, and gave one of them to *Plenty* the companioh of *Fortune*, Hence the ſtory of the *Cornucopia*. *Achelous*, finding himſelf ſtill inferior to

As for its name, ſome think it received it from *Achelous* one of the kings of *Ætolia*, and others derive it from the *Greek*, and think it was given it by reaſon of the ſalubrioufneſs of its waters [c]; but as we meet with three rivers of this name [d], and in three different countries, it is not likely they ſhould all have it upon this laſt account; however, this of *Ætolia* is by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable, inſomuch, that *Homer* calls it the king of rivers. a

The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered ſeveral of their cities almoſt impregnable, and the people ſo ſtout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite ſtates of *Greece*, and even the *Macedonians*, tried in vain to tame them. The moſt noted of thoſe cities were thoſe that follow; *Thermus* or *Thermius*, ſituate almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance with ſuch high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the ſtates of the country aſſembled, and the repoſitory of all their wealth and treaſure in times of danger, yet was it not ſo much as fortified with a wall, the difficult aſcents and narrow paſſages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed ſufficient to guard it both from ſurprize or invaſion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the nobleſt and wealthieſt *Ætolians*, and had the ſirname of *Panætolium*, upon account of the ſenate holding their meetings there [e]. b

2. *Calydon*, ſituate near the foreſt of that name, where *Meleager*, accompanied with the nobleſt youths of *Greece*, ſlew the famed *Calydonian* boar (B). Hither it was alſo that *Hercules* came after he had left *Peloponneſus*, and though he had a numerous ſpurious brood ſcattered over all *Greece*, yet wanting legitimate iſſue, married *Dejanira* the daughter of *Œneus*, king of the country, and father to *Meleager*, and to ingratiate himſelf to the *Ætolians*, either turned the current of the river *Achelous*, or made ſuch improvements upon it, as gave riſe to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which ſeems to have continued for ſome time the ſeat of the ancient *Ætolian* kings, was built by *Calydon* the ſon of *Ætolus* [f], from whom the kingdom was for ſome time called *Calydonia*, but reſumed its antient one in ſome following reign. The ſituation of this city was very pleaſant and commodious, being ſeated upon the river *Evenus*, which ran quite through the midſt of it, and having ſome pleaſant plains round it and the *Calydonian* foreſt at a ſmall diſtance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in proceſs of time to remove the ſeat of the kingdom and ſenate to *Thermus* abovementioned. 3. *Pleuron*, which gave name to a territory, whoſe inhabitants were ſirnamed *Curetes*, becauſe they ſhaved, the fore-part of their heads, leſt their enemies ſhould lay hold on it, but let the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of leſs note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted ſtates of *Greece*. c

The *Ætolians* were in general a ſtout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, ſeldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general

[c] Eustat. [d] Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. ſup. Citat. [e] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. x. Polyb. Byzant. ſub. voce Θερμος & Grenov. not. in eund. [f] Vid. Byzant. ſub. voce.

to his rival, turned himſelf into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever ſince, or, as others have it, for grief and ſpight flung and choaked himſelf in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of *Amalthea* or *plenty*.

This poetic hodge-podge of ſerpents, bulls, and horns, ſeems to have taken its riſe from the ſerpentine turnings and windings, and likely alſo from the rapidity and noiſe of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough ſaid to be the offſpring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two ſtreams, where it divided itſelf, and the plenty which theſe brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by ſome other way made ſerviceable to fertiliſe the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the *cornucopia*.

(B) This fierce and monſtrous creature had done ſo much miſchief about the neighbourhood, that *Meleager* king of the country, who kept his court at *Calydon*, was forced to call to his aſſiſtance a great number of the flower of *Greece* to deſtroy it. The chief of theſe were, *Theſeus*, *Telamon*, *Peleus*, *Pollux*, and *Iolaus* all of them the faithful companions of *Hercules*, beſides a number of other heroes. To theſe we may add the famous *Arcadian* princeſs *Atalanta*, who behaved with ſuch uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that *Meleager* became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may gueſs at the bigneſs of this monſtrous boar by the length of his tuſks, *Pauſanias*, who tells us that one of them was ſtill preſerved in the temple of *Bacchus* in the imperial gardens, ſays, it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend, that it was ſent by *Diana* as a puniſhment to *Oeneus*, for having forgotten her when he ſacrificed to all the gods beſides at the cloſe of the harveſt. *Pauſanias* adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to *Argos*, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was perſuaded by the *Argolic* king to return thither and died there.

(10) *Arcad.* c. xlvi.

general the advantage over them by reaſon of their ſituation. It was chiefly in ſuch excurſive exploits that they ſignalized their courage, without ſtriving to enlarge their territories, till ſome of the *Grecian* wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the *Theban* war, as we may ſee by-and-by.

It were, however, needleſs here to give a liſt of their kings, many of whom have been known to antient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the deſcendants of *Ætolus*, namely *Calydon*, *Œneus* the father of *Dejanira*, and his ſon *Meleager* (C); and to theſe we ſhall only add the two heroes of his race, who ſignalized themſelves, the one in the *Theban*, and the other in the *Trojan* war.

b THE firſt of theſe was *Tydeus* another ſon of *Oeneus*, by *Althea*. We have already had occaſion to mention him in the hiſtories of *Argos* and *Thebes*. In the firſt of theſe kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manſlaughter, he and *Polynices* having married the two daughters of *Adraſtus*, theſe three princes went jointly againſt *Thebes* to recover *Polynices*'s right; and here it was that *Tydeus* performed ſuch glorious exploits againſt *Eteocles*, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by *Menalippus*, but before he expired, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemy's head brought to him by the brave *Amphiareus*, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and ſwallowing them [g].

c HIS ſon *Diomedes* was one of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the *Trojan* war, he had indeed the good fortune to return ſafe from it, but meeting with a worſe enemy at home in his faithleſs wife *Ægiale* and her paramour *Cometes*, he was forced to retire into *Apulia*, where he ſhared that kingdom with *Daunus*, as we have ſeen above †. From this time we meet with nothing conſiderable in the hiſtory of this nation, except a few warlike excurſions which they made in conjunction with ſome of the great ſtates of *Greece*, in which they aſſiſted ſometimes as allies, and ſometimes as auxiliaries, and which have been already interſperſed in the hiſtory of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous *Achean* league which proved ſo fatal to them, and of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. The reſt of their time was ſpent in mu-
d tual excurſions between them and their neighbours the *Dorians* and *Locrians*, of whom we are to ſpeak next, and eſpecially with the *Ozoleans* and *Acarnanians* whoſe territories lay on each ſide of *Ætolia*. Theſe two laſt being more obſcure and inconſiderable than any of the reſt, the reader will find all that we think needs be ſaid of them in the following note (D).

THE

* See before, Vol. II. p. 357. F. & ſeq. 374. & ſeq. [g] APOLLOD. lr iii. c. 7. † See before, ibid. p. 359. c.

(C) The fable ſays, that when *Althea* this prince's mother was brought-to-bed of him, ſhe ſaw the three fatal ſiſters ſitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a billet out of it, ſaid, the boy ſhould live as long as it remained unburnt: as ſoon as they were gone, ſhe got up and quenched the ſtick, and repoſited it in a ſafe place.

When *Meleager* was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the laſt note. That young prince having preſented the head of it to *Atalanta*, who had given it the firſt wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention roſe to ſuch a height, that the exaſperated prince killed them both. *Althea*, ſeeing her two brothers killed, fell into ſuch fury, that ſhe ran to the fatal brand which ſhe had ſaved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her ſon was immediately ſeized with a burning fever in his bowels, and ſoon after expired.

Pauſanias, who tells us that this fabulous ſtory was deviſed by an ancient tragic poet, named *Phrynicus* (ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the 67th *olympiad*), doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us upon the credit of two other poets, that *Apollo* killed him with his own hands, becauſe he had taken the part of the *Ætolians* againſt the *Curetes*, mentioned a little higher, and in whoſe favour that god had declared himſelf (11).

(D) The *Ozoleans*, as we obſerved in the geography of *Ætolia*, were ſituate on the eaſt of that kingdom. It was a ſmall territory lying on the north coaſt of the bay of *Corinth*, and extending itſelf about twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with *Locris*. On the weſt, it was bounded by the river *Evenus*, which parted them from *Ætolia*, and on the eaſt they had the kingdom of *Phocis*, ſpoken of in the cloſe of the ſixth ſection of this chapter. Its chief towns were *Naupactus*, ſituate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the *Ætolians*, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name from the *Heraclidæ* building their navy there, with which they invaded *Peloponneſus*, but is now known by that of *Lepanto*, and was taken from the *Venetians* by *Bajaſet*.

The *Ozoleans* bid fair for being ſome of the antienteſt inhabitants of theſe parts, if we admit the etymon which ſome give of their names, and that they were called ſo from the ſtench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beaſts

(11) *In Phocid. c.* xxxi.

Locris.

The *Locrians* were either the ſame people with the *Ozoleans*, mentioned in the laſt note, or ſo blended with them, that they are not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed by their names, or indeed by any thing but their ſituation. In this reſpect they were divided into the *Locri Ozolæ* abovementioned, which inhabited the ſouthern or maritime parts. 2. The *Locri Epicnemidii*, ſo called from the mount *Cnemis*; theſe were ſituate in the middle: and 3. The northern *Locri*, ſirnamed *Opuntii* from their chief city *Opus* or *Opoes*, near the coaſts of the *Ægean* or *Eubean* ſea; authors, however, are not ſo well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of theſe ancient nations [h]. Ancient indeed, if we conſider that *Homer* tells us, they came to the *Trojan* war armed with bows and ſlings, and that the *Ozoleans* carried an early colony into *Italy* under the conduct of their princes *Evas* and *Ajax*, and built a city there near the *Zephyrian* promontory, from which they were called *Locri Epizephyrii* [i].

Their three tribes.

The *Ozolean Locrians* were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of *Phocis*, of which we have given an account in a former ſection. Their chief city was *Ampliſſa*, ſituate on the *Evenus*. *Herodotus* calls it *Amphicea*, and the inhabitants *Amphiclea*. It was afterwards taken by the *Phocians*, and deſtroyed with the reſt of the *Phocian* cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, *Pauſanias* tells us, it took the name of *Ophitea*, if the text has not been corrupted by his tranſcribers [k] (E). The *Epicnemidian Locrians* were the only ones of all the three who

[h] De his vid. Ptolom. Strab. Mela, Cluver, & al. ſup. Citat. [i] Pausan. Achaic. c. xxiij. & Phocid. xxxviii. [k] Id. ibid. vid, & Byzant. ſub voce Αμφικαια & Gronov. not. in Loc.

beaſts without any dreſſing) gave to their bodies; for this was all the dreſs which the firſt inhabitants of *Greece* uſed, till *Pelaſgus* and ſome other founders taught them a better, as we have ſeen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the hiſtory of *Arcadia*.

Others think, that this ſtinking name was owing to the ſtench of their rivers and marſhes, and others again to the quantity of *Aſphodel* or *Daffadil* which grew in thoſe parts, one ſort of which has an ill ſmell, and uſed to be ſowed anciently over graves: a third affirm, that this ſtench was cauſed by the blood which the centaur *Neſſus* ſcattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by *Hercules*.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not ſo ill-ſented is, that in the reign of *Oreſtheus* the ſon of *Deucalion*, his bitch brought forth inſtead of whelps, a ſtick of wood, which that prince cauſed to be put into the ground, from which, when the ſpring came, a vine ſprang forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of *Ozoles* came not from οζειν, *to ſtink*, but from οζος, *a branch* or *ſprout*: however that be, *Pauſanias* tells us, the *Locrians*, who were likewiſe called *Ozoles*, were ſo ill pleaſed with that name, that they changed it for that of *Ætolians* (12), we ſhall ſpeak of them in the next place above.

As for the *Acarnanians*, their territories were parted on the eaſt by the river *Achelous*, and ſurrounded by the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt and ſouth, and on the north joined to *Epirus*, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were anciently known by the name of *Curetes*, but whether of the ſame race with thoſe of the *Celtic* nation mentioned in a former chapter †, or, whether ſo called, becauſe like the *Pleurones* they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of *Celtic* extraction, is not eaſy to determine.

The name of *Arcarnanians* they afterwards received from *Acarnanus* the ſon of *Alcmon*. This laſt was the ſon of *Amphiareus* the noted ſouthſayer, whoſe wife *Eripyle* had been bribed by *Polynices* with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the *Theban* war, for which reaſon he left orders with his ſon to murder her, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. He having executed his fathers commands, was ſo tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the *Delphic* oracle for relief, and was anſwered, that if he could find out ſome country which had ſprung up out of the ſea, ſince his parricide, and did ſettle there, he ſhould be freed from his mother's avenging ghoſt. After much ſeeking he found this ſpot of ground, which the *Achelous* had thrown up, and ſettled himſelf there.

He ſoon after married *Callirhoe*, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two ſons, *Acarnan* and *Amphoterus*, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the *Acarnanians* and *Curetes* was, that the latter ſhaved the forepart of their heads, and the others did not. Again, ſome derive the name of *Curetes* from the mount *Curius*, and others from the *Greek* κυραι *maidens*, becauſe they affected to go dreſt like young women, though in this latter ſenſe it ſhould properly be writ κοραι. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their conſtant wars with the *Ætolians*, at leaſt during this epocha. The remainder of their hiſtory will be beſt ſeen in that of *Epirus*, of which they afterwards became a province.

(E) This laſt is more likely to be the caſe, both becauſe *Herodotus* no where calls it by this new name, but always *Amphicea*, and more particularly becauſe this laſt name doth better agree with the etymon which *Pauſanias* himſelf gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of ſome fear for his young ſon, had cauſed him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was ſaved by a ſerpent, who twined about and defended him. The father, coming at that inſtant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the ſerpent and his ſon, and when he was better informed by ſome ſhepherds, who had beheld the encounter, he cauſed them to be both burnt upon the ſame funeral pile.

It ſeems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence Αμφικαια, from Αμφικαισθαι, both being carried to the ſame pile, than *Ophitea*, which has no alluſion to that or any other part of the ſtory (17).

(12) *Ibid. c.* xxxviii. † *Ibid. p.* 358. b. (13) *Strab. Mel. & al.* (14) *Pauſan. in Arcad. c.* xxiv. * *Vid. ſup. Vol. II. p.* 251. *& ſeq. & ſub. not.* A. (15) *Vid. Byzant. ſub voce Acarnania.* (16) *Phocid. c.* xxxiv. (17) *Vid. Sylburg. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.*

a who had a right to ſend deputies to the grand *Amphictyonian* court at *Delphos*. Their metropolis was *Thronium*, mentioned by *Homer*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient authors [l]. They had another city called *Cnemis*, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Thoſe who deſire to know more of theſe ancient cities, as well as of that of *Opus* or *Opoes*, belonging to the other *Locrian* tribe, may ſee an ample deſcription of them in the authors above quoted†. How they came by their common name of *Locrians*, whether they were colonies of one another, and if ſo, which was the ancienteſt, is paſt our ſkill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we ſhall in the ſequel ſee, that b they ſignalized themſelves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of *Greece*.

Towns of note.

§ *Doris* was ſituate on the ſouth of *Theſſaly*, being parted from it by mount *Oeta* and a ridge of other hills. It had on the ſouth *Phocis* and part of *Ætolia*; on the eaſt it was parted from the *Locri Epicnemidæ* by the river *Pindus*, and on the weſt from *Epirus* by that of *Achelous*. Other rivers of note it had not. Mountains it had in great number, and thoſe not inconſiderable ones: the moſt famed were *Oeta* and *Pindus*, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with ſome others of leſs note, ſurrounded it on the north, as the *Callidromians* did on the weſt; yet it abounded c with ſpacious plains and very fruitful: the air was ſweet and healthy, and the ſoil capable of being improved to all advantages of huſbandry. It's territories were not large, they extended only at moſt about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the wideſt, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30 min. eaſt longitude.

Doris.

THIS country was called *Doris*, and the people *Dores*, from *Dorus*, the ſon of *Hellen*, and grandſon of *Deucalion*, who firſt peopled, or rather conquered, it, at leaſt that part of it which lies below the mountains *Oeta* and *Pindus*: they were afterwards driven from it by the *Cadmeans*, and forced to inhabit for ſome time about *Macednum* and the neighbourhood of *Pindus*, but returned ſoon after to *Dryopis* (F), d and the country about *Oeta* [n], where they continued till they made that famous deſcent into *Peloponneſus* with the *Heraclidæ*, of which we have ſpoken in ſome former ſections, and whither they carried alſo their dialect called from them *Doric* (G). Their chief city was called *Doris* from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and others [o].

2. *Erineus*, ſituate on the moſt northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part *Doris* from *Macedonia*, and mentioned by all the ancient geographers and hiſtorians. 5. *Lilæa* on the ſouthern frontiers, and adjoining to *Phocis*. 4. *Bium*, as it is called by *Ptolomy*, or *Bojon*, as *Strabo* and others call it, with ſome few of leſs note.

WE have nothing remarkable left concerning theſe people before their naval deſcent into *Peloponneſus*, the particulars and ſucceſs of which have been ſeen in the former ſections, and need not to be repeated here. After their conqueſt of and ſettlement

† Vid. & PALMER. antiq. Græc. l. iv. & alib. paſſ. [l] POLYB. LIVY, PAUSAN. vid. & PALMER. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & BYZ. ſub voce. [m] Vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. MELA, &c. [n] HERODOT. l. i. APOLLOD. l. i. c. 7. PAUSAN. &c. [o] De his vid. PTOLEM. STRAB. &c. BYZANT. & PALMER. Ant. Gr.

(F) A country ſituate in the neighbourhood of the mount *Oeta* and *Parnaſſus*, and called *Dryopis*, from *Dryope* the daughter of *Eurypylus*, or, as the poets feign, a nymph raviſhed by *Apollo*; but more probably from δρῦς, *an oak*, and ὄψ, *voice*, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain and the ruſtling of their leaves.

However, the *Dryopes* valued themſelves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themſelves the ſons of *Apollo*; wherefore *Hercules* having overcome them in fight, took them priſoners and carried them to *Delphos*, where he preſented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into *Peloponneſus*, which he accordingly did, and gave them a ſettlement there near the *Aſmean* and *Hermionian* territories; hence the *Aſmeans* came to be blended with and to call themſelves *Dryopes* (18).

(G) The *Dorians* gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the *Greeks*, but was preſerved moſt pure by the *Meſſenians*, even through all their various tranſmigrations: 2. to the *Doric* order, one of the five in architecture: and 3. to the *Doric* muſic, in oppoſition to that of the *Lydians* and *Phrygians*.

Theſe three kinds of muſic uſed to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated *Pronomus* invented a fourth ſort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(18) *Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c.* xxxiv. (19) *Pauſan. in Bœotic. c.* xii. *Athæn. l.* xiv. *c.* 7.

ſettlement in that *Peninſula*, in conjunction with the *Heraclidæ*, they built a ſtately a
temple to *Jupiter Tropæus*, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and anſwerable to the ſirname given to that deity, ſince it almoſt overturned the whole ſtate of affairs in all the different kingdoms and ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, whoſe cities were now forced to receive a garriſon of *Dorians*, and to ſubmit to a foreign government.

Achaia its names.

§ *Achaia Proſpria* (H), ſo called from *Achæus* the ſon of *Xuthus*, was originally called *Ægialea*, from *Ægialeus* the firſt king of *Sicyon*, as ſome affirm †; others think, it comes from the *Greek Ægialos*, *ſea-ſhore*, becauſe above half of it was ſurrounded with the ſea [p], but whether it was originally a part of the *Sicyonic* king- b
dom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed ſeems the more probable, becauſe the king, who reigned there when *Ion* the brother of *Achæus* came to invade it, is called *Selinus* by the laſt quoted author, whereas there was no *Sicyonian* king of that name in the liſt we have left of them, unleſs perhaps *Selinus* be the ſame with *Telchin*, or *Selchin* as he is alſo called, the grandſon of *Ægialeus*. However that be, the country took then the ſirname of *Ionian*, and the people were called *Ægialean Ionians*; and it is likely, that that of *Achaia* was not given to it till the ſons of *Achæus* came and invaded it, and drove the *Ionians* out of it.

Situation and extent.

Achaia had *Sicyon* on the eaſt, and the *Ionian* ſea on the weſt; the kingdom of *Elis* and that of *Arcadia* on the ſouth, and the bay of *Corinth* on the north: its c
utmoſt extent was from eaſt to weſt ſomewhat above fifty miles, but from north to ſouth about half that diſtance [q], being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the *Piereus* which diſcharged itſelf into the *Ionian* ſea, at the mouth of which was the city of *Olenus*, a famous ſea-port mentioned by ancient authors, and ſo called from *Olenus* its founder, the ſuppoſed ſon of *Jupiter*, or, according to others, of *Vulcan*. We find another city of the ſame name in *Ætolia* [r]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention the reſt of their cities in the following ſketch of their hiſtory.

Xuthus, one of the ſons of *Hellen*, the ſon of *Deucalion*, having been baniſhed by his other brothers out of *Theſſaly* after their father's death, under pretence that he d
had embezzeled the royal treaſury, came to *Athens*, where *Erectheus* gave him his daughter *Creuſa*, by whom he had two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*. After *Erectheus*'s death, a diſpute ariſing between his ſons, *Xuthus* was choſen umpire between them, and having adjudged the ſucceſſion to *Cecrops* II. who was the eldeſt, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and ſettled in *Achaia* *, and died there. His ſon *Achæus* did ſoon after raiſe a ſmall number of *Athenian* and *Ægialean* forces, with which he went into *Theſſaly*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-ſlaughter, and went into *Laconia* where he died, and his poſterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*.

But in the mean while his brother *Ion*, who was grown very great at the *Athenian* court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called *Ægialea*. *Selinus* then king of it, having but one only daughter, inſtead of repulſing him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. *Ion*, having ſucceeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name *Helice*, and from him the *Ægialeans* were ſirnamed *Ionians*; but the country ſeems to have retained its ancient name, ſince, *Homer*, in the liſt of *Agamemnon*'s forces, makes mention both of it and the city of *Helice*.

Ion was ſoon after choſen general of the *Athenian* forces in their war againſt the *Eleuſians*, and was either killed in it, or died ſoon after, and was buried in a ſmall town of *Attica*. The crown, however, paſſed to his deſcendants, who enjoyed it undiſturbed for a conſiderable time. In the mean while, thoſe of his uncle *Achæus*, and known by the name of *Achæans*, had ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of *Greece*, particularly in the kingdoms of *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. When therefore they

† See before, Vol. II. p. 349. [p] Pausan. Achaic. c. i. [q] Strab. Mela, &c. [r] Vid. Byzant. in voce. * See before, Vol. II. p. 363. d.

(H) It is called *Achaia Propria* to diſtinguiſh it from the general name of *Achaia*, by which *Greece* itſelf was ſometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the *Romans* to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*, and *Achaia*, containing all the remainder of *Greece* both inland and the iſlands about it.

a they came to be driven out of these two countries by the *Dores* and *Heraclidæ*, they bethought themselves of laying claim to *Achaia*, and of driving the *Ionians* out of it. They had their brave king *Tisamenes* the son of *Orestes* at their head, and pleaded a superiority of kindred, being descended from the eldest son of *Xuthus*; but what they trusted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them some *Dores*, who agreed to assist them in this expedition. Accordingly they came against them with this army, and sent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The *Ionians*, surprised at such an unexpected message, resolved, however, to oppose their entrance with all their might.
b They knew, that if they were once suffered to settle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince *Tisamenes*, whose noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: they therefore resolved to march against the invaders, and on the very first onset the *Achæans* lost indeed their prince, but gained the victory and pursued it to the very gates of *Helice*. The *Ionians* thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into *Attica*, where *Melanthus* then reigned and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps so much in consideration of the great services which their progenitor *Ion* had done to that kingdom, as to make use of their assistance against the *Dores* whom he
c now began to fear. Here they stayed no longer than till the first archontat, when *Medon*'s brethren, unwilling to submit to their lame brother, invited them among other *Greeians* to go and seek their fortune elsewhere *.

As for the *Achæans*, their prince being dead and the *Ionians* gone off, his sons agreed to divide their new conquest by lot; this little kingdom chiefly consisted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the *Greek* writers; namely, 1. *Helice* mentioned above: 2. *Ægion* or *Ægium*, to which the assembly of the states was removed after the submersion of *Helice*, as being the next in dignity and bigness: 3. *Olenus*: 4. *Phares*: 5. *Rhyphes*: 6. *Tritia*: 7. *Cerynea*: 8. *Bura*: 9. *Dymea*: 10. *Æges*: 11. *Ægira*: 12. *Pellene*. These twelve cities were at first divided be-
d tween the four sons of *Tisamenes*, *Diamenes*, *Sparton*, *Telles* and *Leontomenes*; for as to his fifth son *Cometes*, he was already gone into *Asia*. These, together with their cousin *Damasias*, the son of *Penthillus* and grandson of *Orestes*, having jointly reigned over this new *Achaian* state for some time, agreed again to take into partnership *Preagenes* and his son *Patrus*, who were the sovereigns of those *Achæans* who had been banished out of *Lacedæmon*, and gave them the sovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the last of these *Patra*. By what appears from this division of the *Achaian* government, it seems, as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather than a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in it we cannot find out; only it seems from the short
e sketch *Pausanias* gives us of it, that all those cities abovementioned, except *Pellene*, were in some measure free cities, and that the states of *Achaia* ceased not to assemble themselves, even when the rest of *Greece* was terribly harrassed with wars and pesti-
f ence. In this assembly it was, that the famous *Achæan* league was formed, into which the *Sicyonians* came the very first, and were followed by all the other states, not only of *Peloponnesus*, but by those on the other side of the *Isthmus*; even at length by all *Greece*, except the *Lacedemonians*, who soon after entered into a war against them, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

CHAP.

* See before, Vol. II. p. 369. d. f Vid. Pausan. in Achaic. pass. & Plutarch. D. Sicul. & Auct. sup. citat.

CHAP. XVIII.

The History of the ATHENIANS.

SECT. I.

Of the state of ATHENS, *from the establishing annual archons to the* Achæan *league.*

THE *Athenians* acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the most glo- a
rious nation in *Greece*, when *Greece* was in her greatest glory, and which makes the *Athenian* name venerable, even in these distant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though *Athens*, as we have already shewn, was in ancient times, as indeed most nations were, governed by kings, yet those kings were far from being absolute. The best of them prescribed bounds to themselves, and the people prescribed bounds to the worst. For the *Athenians* were always friends to liberty, and reserved, even in the days of *Theseus*, such an authority in their hands, as engaged *Homer* to difference them from the other nations of *Greeee* [a]. The glorious death of *Codrus*, who sacrificed himself for his subjects, and his sons disputing the succession, furnished the *Athenians* with a pretence o for ridding themselves of kings. It was improbable, they said, that ever they should have so good a prince as *Codrus*, and to prevent their having a worse, they could have no king but *Jupiter* [b]. However, that they might not seem ungrateful to his family, they made his son *Medon* their supreme magistrate with the title of *Archon*; they afterwards rendered that office *decennial*, but continued it still in that family. The extinction of the *Medontidæ* at last left them without restraint, upon which they not only made this office *annual*, but created nine *Archons* [c]; by the latter invention they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehension of their *Archons* having time to establish an *optimacy*, and so change the constitution. In one word, they attained c now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates *dependent* on the *people*.

THAT these magistrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve the order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The *first* was stiled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The *second* was called *Basileus*, i. e. *king*. He too had his peculiar function and his particular tribunal. The *third* had the name of *Polemarchos*, war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other *six* had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these offices distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the *abolition* of the decennial magistracy in *Athens*. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct officers were founded, they are variously, and not very clearly, reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former, as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made: as the *Romans* allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word *Rex*, when it implied no more than

[a] Iliad. lib. v. [b] Schol. in nub. ARISTOPHAN. [c] DIONYS. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. EUSEB. Chron. PAUSAN.

a than a ſupreme ſacrificer. This change happened at *Athens* in the twenty-fourth *olympiad*, but in what year of that *olympiad* is not well ſettled. *Creon* was the *firſt* of the new *Archons*, and the names of his ſucceſſors, at leaſt ſuch of them as are recorded in hiſtory, the reader will find in the following table, which alſo ſhews the years in which they bore that office (A).

An exact TABLE of ſuch of the annual archons of *Athens* as are mentioned in hiſtory.

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		xxiv.
684	*Creon*	1
683	*Tleſias*	2
682	*Lyſias*	3
		xxvii.
670	*Antoſthenes*	3
		xxix.
663	*Archimedes*	2
		xxx.
658	*Miltiades*	3
		xxxiii.
645	*Dropis*	4
		xxxv.
639	*Damaſias* I.	2
		xxxvi.
634	*Epænetus*	3
		xxxix.
623	*Draco*	2
		xliii.
608	*Ariſtocles*	4
		xlv.
599	*Megacles*	2
598	*Phiſombrotus*	3
597	*Solon*	4
		xlvi.
596	*Dropides*	1
		xlvii.
591	*Euorates*	2
590	*Simon*	3
		xlix
582	*Damaſias* II.	3
		li.
576	*Archeſtratides*	1
		lii.
569	*Auſtomenes*	4
		liv.
561	*Hippoclides*	4
		lv.
560	*Comias*	1
559	*Hegeſtratus*	2
		lvi.
552	*Euthydemus*	2
		lviii.
547	*Euxiclides*	2
543	*Alcæus*	

(A) The *Athenian* hiſtory takes up ſo great a part of thoſe volumes which are left us of the ancient writers of *Greece*, that though little has been ſaid by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of it magiſtrates; yet the induſtry of ſuch of the learned as have laboured in this way, and, by collecting the ſcattered paſſages of *Grecian* writers, have formed treatiſes of the *Athenian* government under its ſeveral mutations, have given us ſuch lights on this important ſubject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to ſet it clearly and diſtinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of thoſe laſt mentioned authors, that if ſuch as peruſe this work ſhould be deſirous of entering more deeply into the *Athenian* policy, than the conſtruction of this hiſtory will permit us to do, they may not be at a loſs for guides. *William Poſtel*, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, and was deſervedly famous for his extenſive learning, hath written a very curious treatiſe of the *Athenian* republic, conſiſting of thirty-five chapters, wherein he handles concisely the functions of the *Athenian* magiſtrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the ſeveral parts of the *Attic* conſtitution on each other (1). But if the ſuccinctneſs of *Poſtel* leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, *Sigonius*'s four books, with his ſcheme of the *Athenian* hiſtory, will ſufficiently ſupply it. *Sigonius* was a man of much reading, vaſt diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the ſame kind which he compoſed (2). This excellent perſon was a profeſſor in the univerſity of *Modena*, and, by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired ſuch a ſtupendous knowledge in hiſtory and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As *Sigonius* exceeded *Poſtel*, ſo *Sigonius* himſelf hath been tranſcended by *Ubbo Eminius*, rector of the univerſity of *Groningen*, who, having reſolved upon a work of the ſame nature, made his deſcription extend not only to the *Athenian*, but to all the republics of *Greece*, and ordering it ſo, that this deſcription made but one-third part of his work, the two former parts containing an exact deſcription of ancient *Greece*, and a regular hiſtory of its inhabitants, collected in the words moſtly of original writers (3). If to theſe we add the almoſt numberleſs treatiſes of the very learned *Meurſius* on every part of the *Athenian* government (4), there can no queſtion be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly underſtood as any thing of the ſame nature can be. But as things are never perfect at firſt, ſo we held it more reaſonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the conſtruction of the *Athenian* democracy to its ſettlement by *Solon*, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

(1) *Tractatus de Repub. ſive Magiſtratibus Athenienſium.* 1515. 8vo. (2) *De Republica Athenienſium Venetiis* (3) *Vetus Græcia Opus diſtinctum in Tomos tres.* (4) *Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lectian, Attic. &c.*

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		lix.
543	*Alcæus* - - - - -	2
		lxii.
532	*Heraclides* - - -	1
		lxiv.
523	*Miltiades* - - -	2
		lxviii.
	Isagoras - -	*an. incert.*
		lxix.
	Acestorides - -	*an. incert.*
		lxx.
	Myrus - -	*an. incert.*
		lxxi.
496	*Hyparchus* - - -	2
495	*Phillippus* - - -	3
494	*Themistocles* - - -	4
		lxxii.
492	*Diognetus* - - -	2
491	*Hybrilides* - - -	3
490	*Phænippus* - - -	4
		lxxiii.
488	*Aristides* - - - -	1
487	*Anchises* - - - -	2
486	*Acratides* - - -	3
		lxxiv.
484	*Leostratus* - - -	1
483	*Nicodemus* - - -	2
482	*Aphephon* - - -	3
		lxxv.
480	*Callias qui &* *Calliades*	1
479	*Xanthiphus* - - -	2
478	*Timosthenes* - - -	3
477	*Adimanthus* - - -	4
		lxxvi.
476	*Phædon* - - - -	1
475	*Dromoclides* - - -	2
474	*Acestorides* - - -	3
473	*Menon* - - - -	4
		lxxvii.
472	*Chares* - - - -	1
471	*Praxiergus* - - -	2
470	*Demotion* - - -	3
469	*Phædon* - - - -	4
		lxxviii.
468	*Theagenides* - - -	1
467	*Lysistratus* - - -	2
466	*Lysanias* - - - -	3
465	*Lysistheus* - - -	4
		lxxix.
464	*Archidemides* - -	1
463	*Tlepolemus* - - -	2
462	*Conon* - - - -	3
461	*Euippus* - - - -	4
		lxxx.
460	*Phaciclides* - - -	1
459	*Philocles* - - - -	2

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
458	*Bion* - - - - -	3
457	*Mnesitides* - - -	4
		lxxxi.
456	*Callias* - - - -	1
455	*Sosistratus* - - -	2
454	*Ariston* - - - -	3
453	*Lysicrates* - - -	4
		lxxxii.
452	*Chærephanes* - -	1
451	*Antidotus* - - -	2
450	*Eutydemus* - - -	3
449	*Pedieus* - - - -	4
		lxxxiii.
448	*Philiscus* - - - -	1
447	*Timarchides* - - -	2
446	*Callimachus* - - -	3
445	*Simachides qui &* *Lysimachides*	4
		lxxxiv.
444	*Praxiteles* - - -	1
443	*Lysanias* - - -	2
442	*Diphilus* - - - -	3
441	*Timocles* - - - -	4
		lxxxv.
440	*Myrichides sive* *Marichidas*	1
439	*Glaucis* - - - -	2
438	*Theodorus* - - -	3
437	*Euthymenes* - - -	4
		lxxxvi.
436	*Nausimachus qui &* *Lysimachus*	1
435	*Antichides* - - -	2
434	*Charis* - - - -	3
433	*Apsendes* - - - -	4
		lxxxvii.
432	*Pythodorus* - - - -	1
431	*Euthydemus* - - -	2
430	*Apollodorus* - - -	3
429	*Epamion* - - - -	4
		lxxxviii.
428	*Diotimus* - - - -	1
427	*Euclides* - - - -	2
426	*Scytodorus qui &* *Euthydemus*	3
425	*Stratocles* - - - -	4
		lxxxix.
424	*Isarchus* - - - -	1
423	*Aminias* - - - -	2
422	*Alcæus* - - - -	3
421	*Arieto qui &* *Aristion*	4
		xc.
420	*Aristophilus qui &* *Astyphilus* -	1
419	*Archias* - - - -	2
418	*Antiphon* - - - -	3
417	*Euphemus* - - -	4
		xci.
416	*Aristomnestus* - - -	1
415	*Chabrias*	

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
415	*Chabrias*	2
414	*Pyſander*	3
413	*Cleocritus*	4
		xcii.
412	*Callias*	1
411	*Theopompus*	2
410	*Glaucippus*	3
409	*Diocles*	4
		xciii.
408	*Euſtemon*	1
407	*Antigenes*	2
406	*Callias*	3
405	*Alexias*	4
		xciv.
404	*Pythodorus*	1
403	*Euclides*	2
402	*Micio*	3
401	*Zenetetus qui & Epenetus*	4
		xcv.
400	*Laches*	1
399	*Ariſtocrates*	2
398	*Itycles*	3
397	*Lyſiades*	4
		xcvi.
396	*Phormio*	1
395	*Diophantus*	2
394	*Eubulides*	3
393	*Arches qui & Demoſtratus*	4
		xcvii.
392	*Philocles*	1
391	*Nicoteles*	2
390	*Demoſtratus*	3
389	*Antipater*	4
		xcviii.
388	*Pyrrhio qui & Pyrghion*	1
387	*Theodotus*	2
386	*Myſtichides*	3
385	*Dexiteus*	4
		xcix.
384	*Diotrephes*	1
383	*Phenoſtratus*	2
382	*Menander qui & Evander*	3
381	*Demophilus*	4
		c.
380	*Pytheas*	1
379	*Nicon*	2
378	*Nauſinicus*	3
377	*Callias*	4
		ci.
376	*Chariander*	1
375	*Hippodamus*	2
374	*Socratides*	3
373	*Aſtius* ſive *Aſteus*	4
		cii.
372	*Ariſthenes* ſive *Alciſthenes*	1

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
371	*Phraſiclides*	2
370	*Dyſnicetus*	3
369	*Lyſiſtratus*	4
		ciii.
368	*Nauſiegenes*	1
367	*Polyzelus*	2
366	*Cephiſodorus*	3
365	*Chion*	4
		civ.
364	*Timocrates*	1
363	*Chariclides*	2
362	*Molio* ſive *Molon*	3
361	*Nicophemus*	4
		cv.
360	*Callimedes*	1
359	*Euchariſtus*	2
358	*Cephiſodorus*	3
357	*Agathocles*	4
		cvi.
356	*Elpines* ſeu *Elpinius*	1
355	*Caliſtratus*	2
354	*Diotimus*	3
353	*Eudemus*	4
		cvii.
352	*Ariſtodemus*	1
851	*Theſſalus*	2
350	*Apollodorus*	3
349	*Callimachus*	4
		cviii.
348	*Theophilus*	1
347	*Themiſtocles*	2
346	*Archius*	3
345	*Eubulus*	4
		cix.
344	*Lyciſcus*	1
343	*Pythodorus*	2
342	*Soſigenes*	3
341	*Nicomachus*	4
		cx.
340	*Theophraſtus*	1
339	*Lyſimachides*	2
338	*Charondas* ſeu *Charonidas*	3
337	*Phrynicus*	4
		cxi.
336	*Pythodorus*	1
335	*Euenetus*	2
334	*Cteſicles*	3
333	*Nicocrates*	4
		cxii.
332	*Niceratus*	1
331	*Ariſtophanes*	2
330	*Ariſtophon*	3
329	*Cephiſophon*	4
		cxiii.
328	*Euthycritus*	1
327	*Hegemon*	2
326	*Chremes*	3
325	*Anticles*	4

324 *Hegeſias*

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		CXIV.
324	*Hegesias* - - -	1
323	*Cephisodorus* - -	2
322	*Philocles* - -	3
321	*Archippus* sive *Apollodorus* -	4
		CXV.
320	*Neæchmus* - - -	1
319	*Apollodorus* - -	2
318	*Archippus* - - -	3
317	*Demogenes* - -	4
		CXVI.
316	*Democlides* - -	1
315	*Praxibulus* - -	2
314	*Nicodorus* - -	3
313	*Cheophrastus* - -	4
		CXVII.
312	*Ptolemo* - - -	1
311	*Simonides* - -	2
310	*Hieromnemon* - -	3
309	*Demetrius Phalereus*	4
		CXVIII.
308	*Charinus* sive *Cœrinus* - -	1
307	*Anaxicrates* - - -	2
306	*Coræbus* sive *Corybus* - -	3
305	*Xenippus* sive *Euxenippus* -	4

A. a. Ch.		*Olymp.*
		CXIX.
304	*Pherecles* - - -	1
303	*Leostratus* - -	2
302	*Nicocles* - -	3
301	*Calliarchus* - -	4
		CXX.
300	*Hegamachus* - -	1
299	*Eucte*mon - -	2
298	*Mnesidemus* - -	3
297	*Antiphates* - -	4
		CXXI.
296	*Nicias* - - -	1
295	*Nicostratus* - -	2
294	*Olympiodorus* - -	3
293	*Philippus* - -	4
		CXXII.
290	*Philippus* - - -	3
		CXXV.
279	*Gorgias* - - - -	2
278	*Anaxicrates* - - -	3
277	*Democles* - - -	4
		CXXVII.
271	*Pytharatus* - - -	2
		CXXIX.
264	*Diognetes* - - -	1
		CLX.
140	*Antitheus* - - -	1
		CLXXX.
60	*Herodes* - - - -	2

As we are obliged to gather the history of *Athens* at the entrance of this period from such passages in far later historians as have a retrospective view thereto, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several which remain, we know nothing more, than that they were archons in such a year, which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which such and such persons were archons; because anciently the *Athenian* story was better known than that of any other people, and therefore served the purpose of historians in this respect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in *Athens*, the nobility were likewise desirous of preserving it to themselves, and tho' they frequently found it necessary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the designs of the people, and hindred them from attaining that measure of authority they sought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy chosen by the people, but they were chosen out of the nobility, and they still retained one privilege of the ancient magistrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, *viz.* that of deciding all causes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the *Athenians* had no written laws, but every magistrate acted according to the principles of natural equity.

THE more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the less easily were they governed. Merchants from *Syria* and *Egypt* very probably gave them first to understand the expediency of written laws, which might serve to rule the magistrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the *Athenians* would not be at rest without them; the same spirit, which had compelled former alterations in government, made it necessary now, that laws should be compiled and

[d] SUIDAS in Δρακων.

a and therefore the nobility pitched upon *Draco* to undertake this arduous employment (B).

Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last, year of the thirty-ninth *olympiad*, when it is supposed he published his laws. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together relating to him and his institutions, which is certainly the reason that the collectors of *Greek* history have written so superficially about them. We cannot pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endued with high qualib fications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down for the government of *Athens* [c]. He esteemed the taking away of life so high a crime, that, to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained, that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. So that for instance, a statue, which had fallen upon and killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica* [f]. Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but so it was, that he punished all things with death, even indolence; and the taking of an apple was as e severely punished as sacrilege, for which he himself assigned this reason; *Small faults seem to me worthy of death, and for the most flagrant offences I can find no higher punishment* [g]. The care of executing these laws he intrusted chiefly with the *Ephetæ*, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many respects, whence he is by some said to have instituted it, but that is a mistake. He did indeed make it superior to the *Areopagus*, to which it was before inferior, and *Solon*, restoring the precedency of the last-mentioned court, has been by a like mistake reported to be the institutor thereof [h]. *Draco* was far in years when he gave laws to *Athens*; some have been of opinion, that he borrowed most of his principles from the books of the *Phœnicians*, but this can hardly be proved [i]; certain it is, that his d institutions were not stiled *Nomoi*, but *Thesmoi*, i. e. not *laws*, but *sanctions*, as if they proceeded from more than human wisdom [k]; but this did not hinder their falling into dislike with the *Athenians*, even in his life-time; and as their dislike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from *Athens*, from whence he went to the island of *Ægina*, where he was received with the highest respect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the *Athenians*. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to shew their regard for him, threw, as the custom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of these being very great, they stifled the old man, who was too weak to disengage himself from that load, their inconsiderate kindness cast over him [l]. *Aristotle* tells us, that *Herodicus* was wont to say, *That his institutions seemed rather to have come from a dragon than a man*, alluding to his name [m], and *Demades* rendered himself famous by observing, *that* Draco's *laws were not written with* ink, *but* blood [n]. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the *Athenian* people, made that legislator have recourse to so harsh a method; for that he was not of altogether so savage a temper, as he is generally represented, may be probably conjectured from those fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by time,

[c] A. Gellius. Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græcos. Clem. Strom. l. i. [f] Pausan. Attic. [g] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [h] Potter's Archæolog. Vol. I. p. 102. [i] Joseph. contr. Apion. [k] Ælian. hist. var. l. viii. c. 10. [l] Hesych. Illust. de Philos. [m] Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Solon.

(B) When it is said, that *Draco* first gave laws to the *Athenians*, it must be understood in an extensive sense, for otherwise it is certain, that *Ceres* was the first who taught the *Athenians* to lead a social life, and to become subject to the wisest amongst them, that their wisdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed, that *Ceres* gave these laws by her favourite *Triptolemus*, and we are farther told what those laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; *Honour your parents*; *Worship the gods*; *Hurt not animals* (5). These precepts were retained likewise by *Draco*, and made the very foundation of his institutions, yet notwithstanding all this, he was, in the sense we usually take the word in, the legislator of the *Athenian*, since he first restrained the magistrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) *Porphyr. de Abstinentia.*

* The authors having in the history of the *Phrygians*, *Athenians*, and *Achæans*, changed their chronology, adding five years to the time between the flood and the birth of *Christ*, making it 3003 years, it is thought proper to take notice of it in this place.

time, and from the knowledge we have of his being ſtrongly inclined to poetry, a ſtudy ſeldom agreeable to cruel minds ° (C).

Year after the flood 2397. *Before Chriſt*, 606.

NOTHING conſiderable happened at *Athens* from the time of *Draco*'s archonſhip, till that republic engaged herſelf in a war with the *Mytileneans* about the city of *Sigeium*, which was ſeated near the mouth of the river *Scamander*; the *Athenian* army was commanded by *Phrynon*, a perſon equally remarkable for the comelineſs of his form and the generoſity of his mind. The *Mytileneans* were commanded in chief by *Pittacus*, one of the famous ſages of *Greece*; as theſe commanders looked on the honour of their ſeveral countries to be engaged in this buſineſs, they exerted their utmoſt abilities with equal ſucceſs. At laſt theſe chiefs met in ſingle combat, wherein *Phrynon* depended on his valour only, but *Pittacus* made uſe of craft; for concealing behind his ſhield a net, he therewith ſuddenly entangled *Phrynon*, and eaſily ſlew him; but this not putting an end to the war, *Periander*, tyrant of *Corinth*, interpoſed, and both parties having ſubmitted the diſpute to his arbitration, he decreed, that *Sigeium* ſhould belong to the *Athenians*. This happened in the third year of the forty-third *olympiad* [f] (D).

Year after the flood, 2404. *Before Chriſt*, 599.

ABOUT ſeven years after this war was ended, *Athens* was torn by civil diſſenſions; *Cylon*, a man of a moſt ancient family, ſon-in-law to *Theagenes* tyrant of *Megara*, whoſe affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whoſe great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a deſign of ſeizing the ſupreme power; this he communicated to ſuch as he thought were fit to be truſted with ſo important a ſecret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to conſult the oracle of *Apollo*, when would be the fitteſt time for them to put this deſign in execution. The oracle anſwered, *When the citizens were employed in celebrating the higheſt feaſt to* Jupiter. *Cylon* and his aſſociates waited therefore for the forty-fifth *olympiad*, and, when many of the citizens were gone to the *olympic* games, the conſpirators made themſelves maſters of the citadel. *Megacles*, who was at that time archon, with his eight aſſociates and the whole power of *Athens*, immediately beſieged them therein, and *Cylon* and his party found themſelves ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed, eſpecially for proviſions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their eſcape, but the meaner ſort were left to ſhift for themſelves [g]. In this extremity they fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and took ſanctuary therein; *Megacles* perſuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themſelves upon their country; when they aſſented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddeſs and carried the clew with them, to demonſtrate that they were ſtill under ſanctuary; but unfortunately,

° Vide Note C. [f] POLYÆN. Stratag. lib. i. c. 25. PLUTARCH. de Malign. HERODOT. [g] HERODOT. l. v. THUCYD. lib. i.

(C) *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks very ſlightly of *Draco*'s laws. He ſays, they had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (6), which expreſſion, as I apprehend, hath given occaſion to the cenſures of many other authors. With reſpect to *Draco*'s laws, what fragments ſtill remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or againſt him. *Porphyry* hath preſerved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlaſting law in *Attica*, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors and in private only, with good words, firſt-fruits, and annual libations (7). This ſeems to have been a commentary on *Triptolemus*'s laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worſhipped. *Heſychius* (8) mentions a law, whereby a perſon, caſing himſelf in the temple of *Apollo*, was adjudged to ſuffer death. It is highly likely, that, amidſt the diſturbances which made laws neceſſary, *Draco* ſaw, or at leaſt thought he ſaw, a neceſſity of puniſhing very ſeverely, ſince the licentiouſneſs of the people was grown to ſuch a pitch, that nothing but harſh meaſures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant ſeverity of his *Theſmoi* or *Sanctions*, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees they grew into diſſuetude, ſo that the commonwealth ſtood more in need of new laws, than ever ſhe ſtood in need of *Draco*'s.

(D) The war between the *Mytileneans* and the *Athenians* about the city of *Sigeium* hath coſt the learned a good deal of trouble. *Herodotus* doth not ſay any thing of *Pittacus* in the account he gives us of this buſineſs; but *Plutarch* alledges this as one inſtance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the *Athenians* juſtice (9). But then *Plutarch*, in commending exceſſively *Pittacus*'s enſnaring *Phrynon*, ſeems to ſpeak him a little prejudiced on that ſide, at leaſt as the rules of honour are now ſettled. *Polyænus* tells this ſtory without making any farther comment thereon, than that *Pittacus* was undoubtedly the firſt inventor of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the *Romans* in their ſhews, but with this difference from *Pittacus*'s behaviour, that the *Retiarius* fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas *Phrynon* thought nothing of a net till he found himſelf intangled in it.

(6) *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* ii. *c.* 10. (7) *De Abſtinent.* (8) *Ap. Ant. Thyſ. Coll. leg. Att. & Rom.*
(9) *Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot.* (10) *Polyæn. Stratag. lib.* i. *c.* 28.

a tunately, as they paſſed the temple of the furies, the line ſnapt of itſelf, and *Megacles* and his officers, conſtruing this into a renunciation by the goddeſs, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as faſt as they could: ſuch as were without the temple were immediately diſpatched: ſuch as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none eſcaped but ſuch as bribed the wives of the officers of juſtice. But this did not put an end to the ſedition; the remains of *Cylon*'s faction created great diſturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by inſinuating, that the violation of *Minerva*'s ſanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the croſſes that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. Theſe diſcourſes had ſuch an effect, that b *Megacles* and his officers were ſtiled *execrable*, and held to be perſons under the peculiar diſpleaſure of the gods [r]. What happened in conſequence of this we ſhall ſhortly ſee: In the mean time let us obſerve, that the oracle of *Apollo* juſtified itſelf, by declaring that *Cylon* and his adherents miſtook the feaſt; that intended by the oracle being the *Diaſia* held in *Athens* to the honour of *Jupiter*, and not the *olympic* games [s] (E).

While *Athens* was in this confuſion the *Megarenſians* attacked *Niſea*, and, having taken it, afterwards drove the *Athenians* out of *Salamis*, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the *Megarenſians*, continually victorious, cut off ſuch numbers of them, that at laſt, deſpairing of ſucceſs and afflicted with the mighty c loſs they had received, the *Athenians* made a law, that it ſhould be capital for any one to propoſe to attempt the recovery of *Salamis* [t]. About this time alſo the city was exceedingly diſturbed with ſuperſtitious fears and frightful appearances, this moved them to conſult the *Delphic* oracle, and the anſwer they received was, that the city muſt be *expiated*. Upon this *Nicias* was ſent to *Crete* to bring from thence *Epimenides* the *Pheſtian*, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep ſkill in the myſteries of religion. He coming to *Athens* took ſome ſheep that were all black, and others that were all white; theſe he led into the *Areopagus*, and turning them looſe there, directed certain perſons to follow them, who ſhould mark where they couched, and there ſacrifice them to the local deity. d This being done, altars were erected in all theſe places to perpetuate the memory of this ſolemn expiation. *Epimenides* directed alſo many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, *viz.* the chapel of *Contumely*, and the chapel of *Impudence*. He is reported to have looked wiſtfully on the port of *Munychia* for a long time, and afterwards to have ſaid to thoſe who were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the* Athenians *foreſee what miſchief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth.* [u]. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and ſeventy years after, when *Antipater* conſtrained the *Athenians* to admit his garriſon into that place. During his ſtay at *Athens* he became intimately acquainted with *Solon*, who was e already taken notice of for his ſhining parts and admirable moderation. As for *Epimenides*, the *Athenians* were highly ſatisfied with what he did for them, and, in token of their gratitude, offered him preſents of great value and conſiderable honours,

[r] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [s] Dacier. in Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [u] Diogen. Laertius. in vita Epimen.

(E) There was for a long time after the democracy took place a ſtrong party againſt it, who left no meaſures untried in order if poſſible to reſtore their ancient form of government. *Cylon*, as a man of quality, repined at the ſudden change of the magiſtrates, and at the thoughts of aſking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The deſign of ſeizing the citadel, if it had ſucceeded, would in all probability have ended the diſpute in his favour, but the number he drew together, proving far inferior to thoſe who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwiſe than he expected, and to endure a ſiege where he hoped to make a conqueſt (11). In the citadel there were two temples to *Minerva*, that ſeated in the middle was ſtiled *Parthenion*, alluding to her conſtant preſervation of her *virginity*: it was afterwards burnt by the *Perſians*, but repaired by *Pericles* with ſuch ſkill as well as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and ſhew it to have been one of the fineſt ſtructures in the world (12). As to the proceeding againſt *Cylon*'s confederates, it was againſt the common cuſtom of *Greece*, and might very well alarm a nation ſo prone to ſuperſtition as the *Athenians* were; for though they had the quickeſt wits of all the inhabitants of *Greece*, yet in theſe reſpects they were more ſcrupulous than any other people, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, when we come to ſpeak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

(11) *Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis.* (12) *Cecropia. Wheeler's Voyages.*

honours; but he requested only a branch of the sacred olive, and this being given him, he returned well-satisfied to *Crete* [x] (F).

It was about this time that *Solon*, whom we before mentioned, began to shew himself to his countrymen, and to display those rare qualities which rendered him so deservedly beloved while living, and which have preserved uninjured, for so long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every respect formed to make a figure in the *Athenian* commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he descended lineally from *Codrus*; his mother was nearly related to the mother of *Pisistratus*, and he had a brother whose name was *Dropides*, who was archon the year after himself [y]. We are told, that he was born at *Salamis*, how- a
ever, we think, that may be doubted from certain verses of his, which we shall have b
occasion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generosity of his father left *Solon* in no very happy condition; this, as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwise have subsisted well enough by the assistance of his friends; but this did not suit that greatness of soul which he inherited, he chose therefore to travel and to merchandize, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not suffer that house to receive kind- nesses, whose custom it had been to bestow them. It is plain, both from his actions and his writings, that he was a disinterested patriot. The shameful decree, that none under pain of death should mention the recovery of *Salamis*, grieved him to the heart; he therefore composed an elegy, consisting of a hundred verses, to inflame c
the minds of the people against the *Megarensians*, who had taken from them that island. Having digested this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market- place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and ascending the stool of

[x] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [y] Diog. Laert. vit. Solon

(F) This *Epimenides* was a very extraordinary person, as we shall have occasion to shew in the history of *Crete*. Here we have nothing to say of him farther, than what relates to lustrating or cleansing cities, *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that he was the inventor of this art, or rather that he was the first that lustrated houses or fields, which, if spoken of *Greece*, may be true, for *Moses* had long before taught something of this nature to the *Jews*, This was practised on the great day of atonement, which might very well be called the annual lustra- tion of *Israel*. Upon that day the priest took for himself a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the priest offered for himself: then he cast lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of *Jehovah* and was offered; the other *Azazel*, or as we translate it, *the scape goat*; the latter was presented also before the altar of God, and the priest, laying his hands upon him, confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel* and all their transgressions, which *Moses* calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then sent away into the wilderness, *because he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of separation* (13). The reader will easily see that we have given this ac- count of the scape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is said of *Epimenedes*'s method of cleansing the city of *Athens*, which has a visible resemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the custom of some other eastern nation, which originally borrowed it from the *Hebrews*. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the same purpose. *Tzetzes* in his poetical chro- nicle has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which lustrations were made, their cau- ses, and effects.

Thus was in ancient times lustration made:
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague, or worse calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim was prepared,
Which at the holy altar when they had placed,
They cast upon the pile, cheese, cakes, and figs;
Then striking quick seven times its genitals
With sea-leeks, and wild-figs, and other fruits,
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees,
Next tow'rds the wind the sportive ashes cast
Upon the sea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city laboured, drove away (14).

As to *Epimenides*, *Strabo* reports, that he made a great use of verses and of hymns in his purifica- tions (15), and *Suidas* tells us, that he wrote in verse many rules and instructions for these sort of rites (16). *Laertius* reports, that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, *not to the* nymphs, *but to* Jupiter. Besides the prophecy beforemen- tioned relating to the haven *Munychia*, *Epimenides* uttered another during his stay at *Athens*, for hear- ing, that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the *Persian* power at sea, he advised them to make themselves easy, for that the *Persians* would not for many years attempt any thing against the *Greeks*, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they sought to destroy (17). Having related such strange things of this prophet and philosopher, it will not be amiss to close this note with observing, that the sacred olive, mention- ed above, was the tree produced by *Minerva* when she contended with *Neptune*, and that *Aristotle* was a downright infidel with respect to the stories of *Epimenides*'s foretelling future events; that famous sage being of opinion, our lustrator's talents lay quite another way, *viz.* in discovering what old crimes had produced present punishments, and how atone- ment might be made, and those ills taken away.

(13) *Leviticus* xvi. (14) *Tzetzes. Chil. Hist.* v. c xxiii. (15) *Geogr. lib.* x. (16) *In vita Epim.* (17) *In vit. Epimenid.*

a of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had compoſed to the people who had gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From *Salamis*, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous verſes home.

But the moſt moving ſtrokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verſes:

Rather than *Athens*, would I owed my birth,
To *Pholegondrian*, or *Sicinian* earth;
Since men will ſay, where-ever I am toſt,
He's of that daſtard race, who *Salamis* have loſt.

b It ended thus:

To *Salamis* let us renew our claim,
And, with the iſle reſtored, reſtore our fame.

Piſiſtratus, who, as we before obſerved, was his near relation, mixed himſelf with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his perſuaſive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which *Solon* had kindled by his verſes, ſo that of a ſudden the ſentiments of the *Athenians* were wholly changed, and they determined to aſſert their right to *Salamis*, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not eaſy to ſay who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, ſome ſay *Solon*, and that *Piſiſtratus* accompanied him; others ſay, that *Piſiſtratus* went gene-
c ral, and that *Solon* aſſiſted him with his advice [z].

THERE are various accounts of the manner in which *Salamis* was again reduced under the *Athenian* power, the moſt current ſtory is, that *Solon* coming with *Piſiſtratus* to *Colias*, and finding the women buſy there in celebrating according to the cuſtom the feaſt of *Ceres*, ſent a confident of his to *Salamis*, who, pretending to be no friend of that people, told the inhabitants, that if they had a mind to ſeize the faireſt of the *Athenian* ladies, they might do it by paſſing over to *Colias*. The *Megarenſians*, giving eaſy credit to what this man ſaid, preſently fitted out a ſhip, which *Solon* perceiving from the oppoſite ſhore, immediately diſmiſſed the women, and having dreſſed a ſufficient number of beardleſs youths in female habits, under
d which they concealed every one a dagger, he ſent them to the ſea-ſide, to dance and divert themſelves as the women were wont to do. When thoſe who came from *Salamis* drew near the coaſt, and ſaw theſe young people ſkipping up and down, they ſtrove who ſhould leap firſt out of the veſſel, and running one and all to catch theſe damſels their ſhip was ſurprized, themſelves murdered, and the *Athenians*, embarking on board their veſſel, ſailed immediately to *Salamis* and took it. *Polyænus* has inſerted this relation, and *Plutarch* alſo admits, that it was the current account of this buſineſs, he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner: The firſt

[z] PLUT. DIOG. LAERT. PAUSAN. &c.

(G) The name of *Solon*'s father was *Euphorion*, or, as moſt writers affirm, *Execeſtides*, and we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithſtanding his liberality and the nobility of his deſcent, he was far from being conſiderable in *Athens*. *Ariſtotle* reckons *Solon* himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that *Solon* was never rich, it may be becauſe he was always honeſt: ſomething of this ſort ſeems to be implied in the following verſes, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjuſt grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their ſtore;
For conſtant virtue is a ſolid baſe,
Riches from man to man uncertain paſs (19).

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in thoſe days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and publiſhed a great many poems; certain it is, that all he did in this way deſerves the higheſt commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his ſubjects uſeful and ſublime, and therefore *Plato* had juſt reaſon to ſay, that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the hiſtory he brought out of *Egypt*, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither *Homer*, *Heſiod*, or any other ancient poet would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himſelf, he had a juſt and high idea of the power of verſe, which he thought capable of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in proſe with peculiar neatneſs of expreſſion and perſpicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a moſt pleaſant and agreeable temper. He loved ſociety, and made it his buſineſs to promote the welfare thereof, he conſidered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue and their proneneſs to evil in his view, adapting his laws ſo as to ſtrengthen and ſupport the one, and to check and keep under the other; hence his inſtitutions are as remarkable for their ſweetneſs and practicability, as thoſe of *Lycurgus* are for harſhneſs and forcing human nature. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion as to the character of *Solon*, ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the framing of a right idea of his conduct as a legiſlator.

(19) *Plutarch. in vita Solonis.* (20) *In Timæa.*

firſt thing *Solon* did, after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to consult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, from whom he received this reſponſe;

Let ſacrifice be to thoſe heroes paid,
Who under the *Aſopian* ground are laid,
And dead, are by the ſetting ſun ſurvey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was ſo happy as to interpret it right. He gueſſed, that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were *Periphemus* and *Cychris*, he ſailed therefore by night to *Salamis*, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five-hundred *Athenian* volunteers, who, in caſe they ſucceeded, were to have the government of the iſland. Theſe he imbarqued in a galley of thirty oars and in a conſiderable number of fiſhing boats, and ſetting ſail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the iſle of *Salamis* which looked towards *Eubœa*. The next morning the whole iſland was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at laſt the *Athenian* galley was deſcried, the *Megarenſians* thereupon manned out a ſtout ſhip, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Solon*'s armed boats, and quickly taken. The *Athenians* having put to death all the men ſurprized in this veſſel, filled it with their choiceſt youth dreſſed in the *Megarenſian* habits, which procured them an eaſy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haſte on ſhore, and attacked thoſe who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the *Athenians* marched by land, and attacked the city on the other ſide with ſuch fury, that it was ſpeedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event they inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, during which an *Athenian* ſhip came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on ſhore, and ran towards the promontory *Sciradium*, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there ſtood a temple to *Mars*, which was ſuppoſed to have been erected by *Solon* in memory of this victory which put the *Athenians* in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. The reſt of the *Megarenſians* retired to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with *Solon*. The *Megarenſians* ſo highly reſented the loſs of *Salamis*, that notwithſtanding the treaty they preſently ſent new forces thither, againſt whom the *Athenians* fought, ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill fortune. At laſt it was decreed to leave this diſpute to the *Lacedemonians*, who commiſſioned the five following perſons, viz. *Critolaides*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilaus*, and *Clemenes* to hear both parties. *Solon* pleaded on this occaſion the cauſe of his country, and ſome have ſuggeſted, that he practiſed a little fraud to make it go the better; they ſay, that finding the following verſe in *Homer*,

Ajax from *Salamis* twelve frigats brought,

He added thereto,

And ranged his troops where the *Athenians* fought.

From whence he would have inferred, that *Salamis* even at that time belonged to the *Athenians*. But the friends of *Solon* aſſert, that this is an idle ſtory, and that their great orator made uſe of quite another proof; he made it appear, ſay they, that *Philæus* and *Euryſaces* the ſons of *Ajax* ſettled at *Athens*, and, being received into the number of citizens, gave up that iſland to the *Athenians*, *Philæus* becoming ſo conſiderable a perſon, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the perſons buried in *Salamis* lay with their faces to the weſt agreeable to the cuſtom of the *Athenians*, and directly contrary to that of the *Megarenſians*, who turned the faces of their dead towards the eaſt, and that moreover only one perſon was laid in a grave, which likewiſe correſponded with the practice of the *Athenians*, and differed from the *Megarenſian* cuſtom, which was to bury three or four in one grave[a]. It would be needleſs to trouble the reader with any farther circumſtances of this debate; let it ſuffice then to ſay, that we are informed by *Ælian*, *Solon* carried his cauſe not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of ſtrong arguments, urged in plain and perſpicuous terms[b].

On the return of *Solon* to *Athens* he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occaſion of admiring his wiſdom. It happened, that the inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a town ſeated in the bay of *Corinth*, after having by repeated incurſions waſted the territory of *Delphi*, beſieged the city itſelf from a greedy deſire

[a] Plut. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. [b] Var. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 19.

a desire of making themselves masters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of *Apollo*. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphictyons*, who were the states-general of *Greece*, *Solon* advised, that this matter should be universally resented, and that all the *Greek* states should immediately join, in saving the *Delphic* oracle and punishing the impiety of the *Cirrhæans*, with which the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war against that people. *Solon* was not, however, appointed general of this expedition, as *Hermippus* from another author relates, nor did he command the *Athenian* troops. *Clysthenes*, tyrant of *Sicyon*, commanded in chief, and *Alcmæon* was general of the *Athenian* quota, *Solon* went, however, as counsellor or assistant to *Clysthenes*, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a prosperous issue.
b For when the *Greek* army had besieged *Cirrha* some time, without any great sign of success, *Apollo* was consulted, who answered,

In vain you hope to take the place before
The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed shore.

This response struck the army with surprise, from whence *Solon* extricated them, by advising *Clysthenes* to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of *Cirrha* to the *Delphic Apollo*, whence it would follow, that the sea must wash the sacred coast [c]. *Pausanias* tells us, that he made use of another stratagem, which was this, he caused the channel of the river *Plistus* to be turned, which run through the city of *Cirrha*, hoping thereby to have distressed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great
c many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed, which as soon as he perceived, he caused a vast quantity of hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the *Plistus*, and when the waters were thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its old channel. The *Cirrhæans*, overjoyed at the sight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was presently taken. Some authors have attributed this to *Clysthenes*, but that was because he commanded in chief, and *Solon* was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were severely punished, and *Cirrha* became thenceforward the arsenal of *Delphi* [d].

d When *Solon* returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order, the remnant of *Cylon*'s faction began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their source from the anger of the gods, occasioned by the impious cruelty of *Megacles* and his faction. It happened, that the loss of *Salamis* a second time coincided with this clamour, and now, as many writers report, *Epimenides* came and lustrated the city, which is indeed highly probable, if there were but sufficient authority to fix his arrival at *Athens* so low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history: *Solon* interposed on this occasion, and persuaded those who
e were stiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had consented, three-hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one *Myron* of the *Phlyensian* ward taking upon him to prosecute, which he did with such effect, that the three-hundred condemned such of *Megacles*'s faction as were living to perpetual banishment, and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeased, and *Athens* became once more at rest [e].

The turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of *Attica* would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes
f divided the *Athenians* into three parties, the *Diacrii*, *Pediæi*, and *Paralii*; the first of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing, that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof desired a mixt government. In the midst of these debates there sprung up a new cause of trouble, the rich, taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort in such a manner,

[c] Plut. in vita Solon. [d] Pausan. in Phocicis. Polyæn. Strat. lib. iii. c. 7. Suidas in voce Σόλων. [e] Plutarch. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in vita Solonis.

manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as *Plutarch* tell us, a being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the ſixth part of their produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, ſo that ſome were made ſlaves at home, and many ſold abroad; nay, to ſuch a pitch was this miſchief grown, that many ſold their children to pay their creditors, and others in deſpair quitted *Attica* and went elſewhere. Such, however, as had more ſpirits than the reſt were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born; theſe began to look about for a leader, declaring openly enough, that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free ſuch as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a reparb tition of lands. In this deſperate ſituation the citizens in general caſt their eyes upon *Solon*. Thoſe who were in greateſt fear of what might happen from preſent troubles were for exalting him to ſovereignty; nay, the moſt prudent *Athenians*, when they conſidered how difficult a thing it would be to reform ſo diſordered a commonwealth by law and reaſon, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the oracle of *Apollo* adviſed the ſame thing in the following reſponſe directed to *Solon*:

Aſſume the helm, the ſhip with prudence guide,
And thouſands will aſſiſt to ſtem the tide.

What rendered *Solon* ſo popular was a ſaying of his, which all liked and few underſtood; it was this, *Equality breeds no ſtrife*; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and ſtate. Thoſe therefore who agreed in nothing c elſe, were unanimous in their reſpect towards him; the rich were contented to ſubmit to his deciſions, becauſe he was himſelf a man of fortune, and the poor dreading nothing from one ſo mild in temper, and ſo remarkably honeſt. The private friends of *Solon* encouraged him to lay hold of ſo fair an opportunity, and to aſſume the regal dignity, adding, that it was a ſhame ſo wiſe a man ſhould be frighted with a name, and reject a legal ſovereignty becauſe it reſembled tyranny. This great man withſtood alike the deſires of the many, and the perſuaſions of the few: he aſſured the former, that he would never become maſter of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a ſpot ſoever tyranny might ſeem, it had this misfortune, d that it had no paſſage out; and when his intimates laughed at this reſolution of his, and quoted the example of *Tynondas* tyrant of *Eubœa*, and *Pittacus* at that time prince of *Mytilene*, he contented himſelf with writing thus to *Phocus*, who it ſeems preſſed him moſt, to ſhew that he was ſteady in his reſolution:

That I have *Athens* ſpar'd, preſerved my fame,
Nor ſoil'd my glory with a tyrant's name:
That, when I might have kill'd, I choſe to ſave,
I bluſh not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than moſt men have.

It was upon this occaſion that *Solon* ſhewed a ſpirit of patriotiſm, which perhaps never had its equal: He condeſcended ſo far as to make uſe of fraud for the good e of others, and with a prodigious greatneſs of ſoul diſſembled with and cheated both parties, that he might ſave all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wiſh, and might have done his country good too; he refuſed this as far as it might have benefited himſelf, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonſtrated, that neither fear nor indolence had any ſhare in his reſolution [f].

He was choſen archon without having recourſe to lots, and, when he was choſen, he diſappointed the hopes of both parties; where-ever he found things tolerably well under the old conſtitution, he refuſed to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary f pains to explain the reaſon and neceſſity of thoſe changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, *That thoſe laws will be beſt obſerved which power and juſtice equally ſupport*. He was a perfect judge of human nature, and ſought to rule men by ſhewing them it was their intereſt to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he eſteemed right, and therefore he anſwered a perſon who aſked him, *whether he had given the* Athenians *the beſt laws in his power*; *I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they could receive*; knowing well, that it was an impoſſible thing to pleaſe all, he made it his utmoſt care not mightily to diſpleaſe any, whence it followed, that none ſought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

[f] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

Solon *compoſes the diſſention of the* Athenians.

a As to the main occaſion of the ſedition, *viz.* the oppreſſed ſtate of the meaner ſort, he certainly took it away in a great meaſure by a contrivance which he ſtiled *Siſachthia*, i. e. a *diſcharge*; but what this was authors are not agreed on, ſome ſay, that he releaſed all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making of any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm, that the poor were eaſed, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the intereſt, and encreaſing the value of money, a *Mina* which before was worth ſeventy-three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable, that the *Siſachthia* was a total diſcharge or remiſſion, otherwiſe *Solon* would hardly have
b boaſted in his verſes, that by this means he had removed the many marks of mortgages which were every where frequent; for the *Athenians* had a cuſtom of hanging up billets to ſhew, that houſes were engaged for ſuch or ſuch a ſum of money; that he had freed from apprehenſion ſuch as were driven to deſpair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage ſuch as were ſlaves in their native ſoil. In the midſt of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almoſt overturned all his ſchemes. *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*, his intimate friends, having been conſulted by him on an oration, he had prepared to engage the people to conſent to the diſcharge of debts, on
c a promiſe that he would attempt nothing as to lands; theſe men, betraying the truſt he repoſed in them, borrowed great ſums of money, and purchaſed eſtates before the edict came out; this was at firſt thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aſperſion was preſently wiped off, when it appeared, that *Solon* himſelf was a ſufferer, as ſome ſay, five talents, others ſeven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at intereſt, and which in conſequence of his own law he loſt: his friends, however, could never recover their credit, but were for ever ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of *Chreocopidæ*, i. e. *Debt-ſinkers* [g].

The *Athenians* were as little pleaſed with *Solon*'s management as with their former condition, the rich and the poor were equally diſſatisfied; the former thought he had
d done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, becauſe he had not divided the lands of *Attica* equally amongſt them. It is from *Solon* himſelf that we have this account, and we have it in his uſual manner, that is, in verſe,

I was your darling heretofore, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a ſal'ry with his place.

In a ſhort time, however, they had wit enough to diſcover that they were in the wrong, and *Solon* in the right, and they gave at leaſt a more public, if not a more
e general, token of their repentance, than they had ſhewn of their diſpleaſure; for they inſtituted a ſolemn ſacrifice in teſtimony of their acquieſcing under his inſtitution, and called it *Siſachthia*, at the ſame time they unanimouſly elected *Solon* legiſlator of *Athens*, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their conſtitution as he thought proper [h].

The firſt thing this great man did, after his country had conferred upon him ſo extraordinary an office, was, to cancel the laws of *Draco*, excepting only thoſe relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, ſince there is nothing more diſhonourable, and at the ſame time more dangerous, to a ſtate than latent laws, *i. e.* ſuch as are diſuſed, and yet in being, which was the caſe of *Draco*'s; their
f ſeverity rendered them hateful, but *Solon* took away their authority; nor would he ſuffer his inſtitutions to bear the ſame name, as we have already ſhewn. It was the deſire of *Solon* to act in all reſpects moderately, he therefore reſolved to place the dernier reſort, as we phraſe it, or ſupreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the firſt of theſe conſiſted of ſuch whoſe ſtock amounted to five-hundred *Medimni* or meaſures of fruit, theſe he ſtiled *Pentacoſiomedimni*, theſe paid a talent to the public treaſury. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were able to keep a horſe, or were worth three-hundred meaſures, they were

[g] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [h] Plutarch. ubi ſupra, &c.

were ſtiled *Hippadateloantes*, i. e. bound to find a horſe; the third claſs was made up of ſuch as were worth two hundred meaſures, they were ſtiled *Zengita*, which implies a middle rank, becauſe they ſtood between the knights and the loweſt order of the people, who were ſtiled *Thetes*; theſe were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general aſſembly of the people, which was thought at firſt a matter of little conſequence, ſo that the nobility gave themſelves no pain about it, though in after times it was found of the higheſt conſequence, as *Solon* foreſaw it would be; the reaſon of this was this: *Solon* purpoſely drew up his laws in obſcure terms, and allowing in all caſes an appeal to the people, doubts often aroſe, appeals were conſequently frequent, and hence, though the common ſort could not attain to magiſtracy, yet they had a mighty power in the ſtate. *Solon* himſelf was b
ſo well ſatisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in theſe words, which ſhew at once what a regard he had for their ancient conſtitution, and for the people in general.

The commons I ſufficient weight allow'd,
Honour from none I took, on none beſtow'd;
In power or wealth, thoſe who the reſt outſhin'd,
Within juſt bounds I by my laws confin'd;
Thus I preſerved, what did to each belong;
That neither high, nor low, might ſuffer wrong.

Herein conſiſted the ancient democracy of *Athens*; but becauſe that kind of c
government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, *Solon*, in order to ſecure it, eſtabliſhed two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make uſe of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to ſecure it. The firſt of theſe was the court of *Areopagus*, which, though ſettled long before, had loſt much of its power by *Draco*'s preferring the *Ephetæ*. In ancient times, and till *Solon* became legiſlator, it conſiſted of ſuch perſons as were moſt conſpicuous in the ſtate for their wealth, power, and probity; but *Solon* made it a rule, that ſuch only ſhould have a ſeat therein as had ſerved the office of archon; this had the effect he deſigned, it raiſed the reputation of the *Areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees ſo wonderfully venerable, that none conteſted or repined at them through a long courſe of ages. The ſecond ſtay of d
the *Athenian* commonwealth was the ſenate, which *Solon* made to conſiſt of four-hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. Theſe had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propoſed to the general aſſembly till digeſted by them, ſo that, as far as he was able, he provided againſt a thirſt of arbitrary power in the rich, and a deſire of licentious freedom in the commons; the *Areopagus* being a check upon the former, as the ſenate was a curb on the latter [i].

The general frame of the republic thus ſettled, he gave the *Athenians* next a body of laws, of which we have ſtill ſome remaining; theſe were ſo much eſteemed, that the *Romans* ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens* to tranſcribe them for the uſe of their ſtate. As theſe tranſcribed laws became the baſis of the *Roman Juriſprudence*, which e
has ſince been received almoſt throughout *Europe* under the name of the civil law; we may with reaſon affirm, that many of *Solon*'s conſtitutions are yet in force. Such as are aſcribed to him by ancient authors we ſhall give a conciſe account of in this place.

The laws of Solon.

We will begin with one of the moſt extraordinary ſtatutes enacted by this law-giver, and which has given politicians the moſt trouble to underſtand; we are obliged to *A. Gellius* for preſerving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If through diſcord and diſſenſion any ſedition or inſurrection rend the people into "two parties, ſo that with exaſperated minds they take arms and fight againſt "each other; he who at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a caſe, ſhall not engage himſelf "on one ſide or other, but ſhall endeavour to retire and ſeparate himſelf from the f
"evils fallen on his country, let ſuch a one, loſing houſes, country, and eſtate, "be ſent out an exile" [k]. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of this law, by ſome ſlip of his memory, makes the penalty capital [l]. *Plutarch* explains the reaſon of it [m], as does the author firſt cited, who highly commends it and ſays, that though at firſt ſight it may ſeem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to ſupport it; for the wiſe and juſt, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuſe ſome

[i] Pollux. lib. viii. cap. 10. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Potter's Archæologia. Meursius. Solon, &c. [k] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [l] Ad Attic. lib. x. E. 1. [m] ubi ſupra.

a ſome ſide, matters were eaſily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the caſe in other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reaſons be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin, of the ſtate [n].

THE rules which *Solon* gave for beſtowing of heireſſes have been very harſhly cenſured; we will put them together, that the reader may ſee the general intent of the legiſlator. The next of kin to an heireſs may require her in marriage, and ſhe may likewiſe require him; if he refuſes let him pay five-hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who poſſeſſeth ſuch an inheritrix by law, as her lord and maſter, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her huſband's neareſt kindred; b and let him who has married an heireſs be obliged to viſit her thrice a month at leaſt. The intent of theſe injunctions was, that neither a rich heireſs might carry the eſtate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her huſband's neareſt relation, it might poſſibly be made *in terrorem*, to prevent perſons who knew themſelves to be impotent from marrying rich heireſſes, whereby ſuch a one defrauded him, to whom by this law the woman was to have recourſe, of his due [o].

HE enacted, that a bride ſhould bring no more with her than three gowns and ſome ſlight houſhold goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom ſhould be ſhut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewiſe brought an c earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the houſe of her huſband. The meaning of all this was, that *Solon* deſired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary buſineſs, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied, that their diſcourſes ought to be pleaſant to each other, that fruit making the breath ſweet; the earthen veſſel, which was called *Phrogeteon*, ſignified, that ſhe undertook the buſineſs of the houſe, and would do her part towards providing for the family [p].

HE ordained, that none ſhould revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceaſed. This law procured him great applauſe, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none ſhould revile any d living perſon at ſacred ſolemnities, in the courts of juſtice, or at public ſpectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the perſon reviled, and two more to the public treaſury. He likewiſe made a law againſt ſlander. This great man knew very well, that a general law againſt anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himſelf with providing, that the paſſions of private men ſhould not diſhonour religious ceremonies, the juſtice of the ſtate, or public diverſions, and that no paſſion ſhould excuſe calumny [q].

BEFORE *Solon*'s time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and eſtates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but *Solon*, having abrogated this cuſtom, enacted, that ſuch as had no children might leave their eſtates e to whom they pleaſed, preferring friendſhip to family, and the ties of affection to conſanguinity; but then he added this proviſo to his law, that the maker of ſuch a will ſhould be in the full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, not wrought upon by ſickneſs, potions, bondage, or the blandiſhments of a wife; wherein he ſhewed his great wiſdom by making no diſtinction between actual conſtraints and thoſe impoſed by art, both having the ſame power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewiſe ordained, that adopted perſons ſhould make no will, but as ſoon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the eſtates to the relations of the perſons who adopted them [r].

f WITH reſpect to women and their expences, he made the following laws; when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any proviſion above the value of an obolus, her pannier or baſket was not to be above a cubit in bigneſs, nor was ſhe allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbad them likewiſe to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of ſuch as they had no relation to: he allowed not, that an ox ſhould be ſacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments

[n] A. GELLIUS ubi ſupra. [o] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xii. TERENT. Hecyr. Act. i. ſcen. ii. [p] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. POLLUX, lib. i. cap. 2. 15. ISIDOR. Epiſt. lib. iii. E. 243. [q] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTH. in orat. Leptin. [r] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTH. ubi ſupra.

garments ſhould be buried with them, and he forbad women to approach the monuments of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; theſe laws were particularly tranſcribed by the *Romans* [f].

The liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at *Athens* drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, *Solon* foreſaw, that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtrious; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law, that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of *Areopagus* with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted thereof thrice, he ſuffered *Atimia*, i. e. *Infamy*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* agree, that a law of this kind was in uſe in *Egypt*. It is probable therefore, that *Solon*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them, a practice for which the *Greeks* were famous, though at the ſame time they ſtiled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed [t].

The huſband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery was allowed by *Solon* to kill the adulterer: whoever raviſhed a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pandar, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of 20 drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man: he enacted, that no adultreſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf, and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain [u].

To the victor at the *Iſthmian* games, *Solon* adjudged the reward of five-hundred drachmæ. To the victor in the *Olympic*, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes which ought to be ſpend in providing for their families [x].

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a ſhe-one, the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. *Attica* was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

Water being extremely ſcarce at *Athens* and in its neighbourhood, he ordained, that where there was a public well, all who lived within a *Hippicon*, *i. e.* four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived further off were bound to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever ſunk a well was to take care, that it was as far diſtant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five foot diſtant from his neighbours, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine, a hive of bees was to be thirty feet diſtant; all theſe tended to the ſame end, *viz.* to prevent one man from treſpaſſing on the property of another [y].

He enacted, that whoever refuſed to maintain his parents, or had waſted his paternal eſtate, ſhould be *atimos*, i. e. *infamous*. It ſeems *Solon* did not conceive, that a man could be privately bad and publickly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents ſhould preſerve it to the ſtate, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had ſpent his own [z].

Such as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbad to make orations, believing, that men without ſhame were not to be truſted to ſpeak to the people: *Demoſthenes* highly commended this law, and exhorted the *Athenians* to take care that it was put in execution, as the ſureſt means to preſerve the peace and honour of the republic [a].

He forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; ſome ſay, that he forbad likewiſe a guardian to marry his ſon to the mother of his ward [b]. All theſe were beyond queſtion

[f] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. [t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vitruvius. Præfat. lib. vi. Herodot. lib. vii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lysias. Orat. de cæd. Erat. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [y] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Caius de Legib. lib. iv. [z] Liban. Declam. xviii. Dion. Halyc. lib. ii. [a] Æschin. in Timarch. Demosth. in Androt. [b] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

a queſtion made to hinder colluſion, and to bar as far as poſſible the ſcandalous practice of cheating minors.

He enjoined gravers to keep no impreſſions of the ſeal-rings they ſold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed, that he ſhould loſe both his; as to theft, *Demoſthenes* gives us *Solon*'s law in theſe words; "If any "man ſteal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven officers; if he ſteal "any thing by night, it ſhall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the purſuit to "wound him, and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whoſoever is convicted of "ſuch offences as are liable to chains, ſhall not be capable of giving bail for his "theft, but his puniſhment ſhall be death; and if any one ſteal out of the *Lyceum*, b "or the *Academy*, or *Cynoſarges*, a garment, or ſmall veſſel of wine, or any other "thing of little value, or ſome veſſel out of the gymnaſia or havens, he ſhall be "puniſhed with death; but if any man ſhall be convicted privately of theft, it ſhall "be lawful for him to pay a double value, and it ſhall be alſo at the pleaſure of the "convictor, beſides payment of money, to put him in chains five days and as many "nights, ſo as all men may ſee him bound" [c].

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be puniſhed with death, *Solon* wiſely conceiving, that a magiſtrate guilty of ſuch an offence muſt be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in caſe a man ſurpriſed his wife in adultery and lived with her afterwards, he ſhould be deemed infamous; c he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in caſe of diſobedience to diſinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned ſuch as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or ſhewed any other flagrant ſign of cowardice, to be expelled the ſanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worſhip. He appointed it for a ſtatute, that a citizen of *Athens* ſhould be tried nowhere but at *Athens*, and that the eldeſt citizens ſhould firſt make orations, but with the greateſt modeſty, and without any endeavours to ſtir the paſſions of the people; afterwards he ordered, that all ſhould ſpeak according to their ſeniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young d men, however wiſe they might be eſteemed, either to become magiſtrates, or to make orations to the people [d].

It was a maxim eſtabliſhed by this wiſe legiſlator, that the common people ſhould be puniſhed ſlowly, but magiſtrates and perſons in authority ſuddenly, aſſigning for it this reaſon, that the former might be puniſhed at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which were in his time exceſſive, *Demoſthenes* recites his directions in theſe words; "Let the dead "bodies be laid out within the houſe, according as the deceaſed gave order, and the "day following before ſun-riſe carried forth; whilſt the body is carrying to the grave, "let the men go before, the women follow: it ſhall not be lawful for any women to e "enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under three-"ſcore years of age, except ſuch as are within the degree of couſins" [e]. *Cicero* reports, that with reſpect to ſepulchres, he enacted, no man ſhould demoliſh them or bring any new thing into them, and that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as demoliſhed any monument erected to the memory of the dead [f]. From theſe laws of his inſtituting it appears, that his philoſophy did not lead him to treſpaſs on thoſe notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he ſought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the ſame time permitted all reaſonable honours to be paid to the memory of ſuch as were defunct.

We will conclude our account of *Solon*'s laws with two or three which had more f regard to the ſociety, than to the intereſt of private perſons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any *Athenian* might have his action againſt him [g]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided againſt the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquieſce, yet a perſon of equal rank with the aggreſſor, might, either out of a principle of juſtice or of rivalſhip, commence a proſecution on that account. *Solon* inſtituted feaſts in the common halls under the title of *public Meals*, but he forbad, that

[c] Demosth. in Timocr. [d] Demosth. ubi ſupra. Æschin. in Chryſip. [e] Orat. in Macart. [f] De Legib. lib. ii. [g] Plut. ubi ſupra.

that the same person should be entertained often, and ordered such to be fined as did not come in their turns, ascribing the former offence to greediness, the latter to a contempt of the public [h]. He forbad any strangers to be naturalized at *Athens*, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to *Athens*, had brought their whole families to settle there, so as to have no interest in another place [i]: he provided for the children of such as were slain in the service of the state, by directing, that they should be brought up and instructed at the public expence till they were twenty years old [k]. He made but few laws relating to religion, and against parricides he made none, assigning for it this reason, *that he scarce believed any* Athenian *would be so wicked* [l].

He shewed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for considering that the course of the moon did not agree with the rising and setting of the sun, but that sometimes she overtook and passed him in the same day, he ordered such a day to be called the last and the first, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which succeeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called *Noumenia*, i. e. *the new moon*, and for these alterations he is reckoned by *Plutarch* to have been the first who understood a verse in *Homer*, wherein mention is made of a day *wherein one month ended, and the next began* (H).

He

[h] Id. ibid. [i] Meurs. in Solon. [k] Aristides in Panathen. [l] Maxim. Tyr. Diss. xxxix. Cicer. Orat. pro Rosc.

(H) It is a point worthy of observation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation as much from the strength of their wits as of their arms, and that though some excelled in valour, others in wisdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. *Hercules*, so famed for his labours, instructed the *Greeks* in astronomy, which he learned from *Atlas*, and is thence said by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his shoulders. *Numa*, as he gave laws to *Rome*, reformed the *Roman* kalendar, and in succeeding times, *Julius Cæsar*, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away those errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this science of astronomy, but as a consummate master therein. Such also was *Solon* for the times in which he lived, for though some have pretended to ascribe the honour of introducing astronomy into *Greece* to *Oenopidas* of *Chios*, or *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the first principles of this art came certainly into *Greece* with its first planters, and were from time to time cultivated by such as either came out of *Egypt* or the east, and settled in *Greece*, or had at least travelled into those countries. *Thales* the *Milesian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Samian*, were the two great masters who brought the undigested notions of the heavenly system, which hitherto had amused the *Greeks*, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to *Homer*, in whose poems we meet with the first seeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find, that he describes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the seasons. The returns of seed-time and harvest, the constant revolutions of labour and rest in consequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, served well enough to mark the succession of events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in this great poet to make use of these characters in his account of a battle (21), as he elsewhere introduces *Achilles* measuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious division of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of *Homer*; the contrary appears from several passages in his poems, and particularly from this very line which *Solon* is said to have been the first who penetrated its true sense:

Τὰ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς τῦ ἑ'ίκταμενοιο,

When one month ended and the next began (23).

Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding, that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive, that this method of *Thales* must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year (24). *Solon* discovered this, and not only discovered it, but discovered its cause, or at least its principal cause, which was *Thales*'s maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which *Solon* found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice *Solon* was applauded for his skill as an astronomer; let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: he did not alter the number of months which *Thales* had fixed, but directed, that each of them should be accounted twenty nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving, that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years he ordered, that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated; now if we take all these sums together we shall find, that the number of days in *Solon*'s cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred sixty-one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty-five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. *Solon* likewise engaged the *Athenians* to divide their months into three parts, stiled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of ten days, when

(21) *Iliad.* λ. ν. 84. (22) *Iliad.* φ. ν. 3. (23) *Odyss.* ξ. ν. 161. (24) *Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.*

HE procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and caused them to be conserved in different tables. Such as related to private actions in paralellograms of wood, with cases which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called *Axones*, placed first in the citadel and then in the *Prytaneum*, that his people might see them when they pleased, and some remains there were of them even in *Plutarch*'s time. Such as concerned public orders and sacrifices were contained in triangular tables of stone called *Cyrbes* [m]; the *Athenian* magistrates were sworn to observe both; in time, these monuments of his wisdom became so famous, that all public acts were from them named *Axones* and *Cyrbes*, as we are informed by *Harpocration* and *Suidas* [n].

AFTER his laws were promulgated, some or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reasons on which they were founded, and to advise him to alter this or that, according as their humour or interest led them, which importunities made him so uneasy, that to avoid them he resolved to travel. For he considered, that not to answer these people would argue pride, and that the answering them would beget great inconveniencies: with this view he bought a ship, and, pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the *Athenians* to permit him to be absent for ten years, during which space he hoped his laws would become familiar to them [o].

IT will not be amiss to interrupt the *Athenian* history here, in order to insert our promised account of the republic, a thing so necessary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the sake of perspicuity we shall not tie ourselves to the form settled by *Solon*, but give a concise history of the *Athenian* government, as it subsisted in succeeding times, that we may not be obliged at every turn to insert notes for the explaining of these terms which may once for all be rendered familiar, by introducing such an account of the *Athenian* commonwealth in this place.

IN the first place it will be necessary to take a short view of the city of *Athens*. In the most early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of *Cecropia* from its founder *Cecrops*, whom the *Athenians* in after-times affirmed to have been the first builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence *Polis*, i. e. *The city*. In the reign of *Erichthonius* it lost the name of *Cecropia*, and acquired that of *Athens*, on what account is not certain; the most probable is, that it was so named in respect to the goddess *Minerva*, whom the *Greeks* called *Athene*, who was always esteemed its protectress [p]. This old city was seated on the top of a rock in the midst of a large and pleasant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increased, became full of buildings, which induced the distinction of *Acro* and *Catapolis*, i. e. *of the upper and lower city*; the extent of this citadel was sixty stadia, it was surrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as some say, with a strong palisade; in succeeding times it was incompassed with a strong wall in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the rest small. The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himself from the treatise written expressly on this subject by a learned person already mentioned [q] (I). The most remarkable of these were,

[m] PLUT. ubi supra. POLLUX, viii. 10. [n] In vocibus Ἄξονες & Κύρβεις [o] PLUTARCH. ubi sup. [p] ARISTID. Panathen. STEPHAN. voce Ἀθῆναι [q] PLUTARCH. in PERICL. PAUSAN. Atticis. HARPOCRAT. ARISTID. ubi supra.

when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, *viz.* the first day of the moon beginning, the second day of the middling moon, but with respect to the last part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance that must be carefully noted; for without being aware of it, it is impossible to understand many passages in ancient authors. As for instance in *Aristophanes*'s comedy of the clouds, a man speaking of the manner in which interest became due, reckons the days thus; *five, four, three, two, and the most abominable of all days that of the old and new moon.* Thus much as to *Solon*'s knowledge in astronomy, we shall in its proper place give a farther account of the *Attic* year (25)

(I) This learned person is the celebrated *John Meursius*, to whom the learned world stands indebted for the most laboured pieces which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a *Dutchman*, but he studied the civil law at *Orleans*, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his passion, towards *Greek*

(25) *Censorin, de Die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's life of Solon cum mult. al.*

were, The magnificent temple of *Minerva*, ſtiled *Parthenion*, becauſe that goddeſs was a *a virgin*; the *Perſians* deſtroyed it, but it was rebuilt with ſtill greater ſplendor by the famous *Pericles*, all of the fineſt marble, with ſuch ſkill and ſtrength, that, in ſpight of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the firſt antiquity in the world, and ſtands as a witneſs to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of *Athens* in her flouriſhing ſtate. The temple of *Neptune* and of *Minerva*, for it was divided into two parts, one ſacred to the god, in which was the ſalt-fountain ſaid to have ſprung upon the ſtroke with his trident, the other to the goddeſs protectreſs of *Athens*, wherein was the ſacred olive which ſhe produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of *Erich-* b *thonius*, both which edifices are ſtill remaining. At the back of *Minerva*'s temple was the public treaſury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treaſurers, who, having miſapplied the revenues of the ſtate, took this ſhort method of making up their accounts[r]. The lower city comprehended all the buildings ſurrounding the citadel, the fort *Munychia*, and the havens *Phalerum* and *Piræus*, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by *Pericles*, but that on the ſouth by *Themiſtocles*; but by degrees the turrets, which were at firſt erected on theſe walls, were turned into dwelling-houſes for the accommodation of the *Athenians*, whoſe large city was now become too ſmall for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not neceſſary to trouble the reader. Among the principle edifices which adorned it, c we may reckon the temple of *Theſeus* erected by *Conon*, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exerciſes. It was alſo a ſanctuary for diſtreſſed perſons, ſlaves or free: It remains intire to this day, and is uſed as a church, being dedicated to St. *George*. The *Olympian* temple, erected in honour of *Jupiter*, the honour of *Athens* and of all *Greece*, the foundation of it was laid by *Piſiſtratus*, it was carried on but ſlowly in ſucceeding times, ſeven-hundred years elapſing before it was finiſhed, which happened under the reign of *Adrian*, who was particularly kind to *Athens*; this was the firſt building in which the *Athenians* beheld pillars. The pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a moſt noble ſtructure, ſupported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horſes carved by *Praxiteles*; it is d yet remaining, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of this famous city. In ſeveral parts of it were *Stoai* or porticoes, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a ſect of philoſophers were denominated ſtoics, becauſe their maſter *Zeno* taught in theſe porticoes[t]. There were at *Athens* two places called *Ceramicus* from *Ceramus* the ſon of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*; one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all ſorts, the other in the ſuburbs, in which was the academy and other edifices. The *Gymnaſia* of *Athens* were many, but the moſt remarkable were the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynoſarges*. The *Lyceum* ſtood on the banks of *Iliſſus*, ſome ſay it was built by *Piſiſtratus*, others by *Pericles*, others by *Lycurgus*. Here *Ariſtotle* taught philoſo- e phy, inſtructing ſuch as came to hear him as they walked, whence his diſciples are generally thought to derive the name of peripatetics[u]. The *Ceramicus* without the city was at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is ſome diſpute; ſome affirm, that it was ſo called from *Academus* an ancient hero, who, when *Helen* was ſtolen by *Theſeus*, diſcovered the place where ſhe lay hid to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, for which reaſon the *Lacedemonians*, when

[r] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels. [t] Athenæus. Deip. l. viii. [u] Suidas, & al.

Greek learning. Amongſt other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of *Cecropia*, or, *the citadel of Athens*, and its antiquities in one book; this treatiſe conſiſts of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious diſplay of its author's learning; almoſt every paſſage in the *Greek* authors, relating to the ſubject, is there to be found in the proper words of the author, with a very exact *Latin* tranſlation, which was added, as the author tells us, in the ſecond edition, at the deſire of ſeveral ingenious perſons in *Spain* and *Italy*, who had requeſted it by letter. Upon which *Meurſius* makes this reflection, that, as things ſtood, it was indeed reaſonable and neceſſary, ſince there were not many who affected the *Greek* learning, and of thoſe the greater part rather loved than underſtood it. The inquiſitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digeſted in this laboured hiſtory, or if he is not inclined to take ſo much pains, he may peruſe a very ſuccinct abridgment of *Meurſius*'s book in Dr. *Potter*'s excellent antiquities of *Greece*, to whom we are in a great meaſure beholden for this part of our hiſtory of *Athens* (26).

(26) *Vide Gronov. Theſ. Græc. Vol. II.*

a when they invaded *Attica*, always ſpared this place [u]. *Dicæarchus* writes, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had two *Arcadians* in their army, the one named *Echedemus*, the other *Marathus*, from the former of theſe he ſays this place took its name, and that the borough of *Marathon* was ſo called from the other [x]. It was a marſhy unwholeſome place, till *Cimon* was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleaſant and delightful, being adorned with ſhady walks, where *Plato* read his lectures, and from thence his ſcholars were ſtiled academics [y]. The *Cynoſarges* was a place in the ſuburbs, not far from the *Lyceum*; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnaſium erected there, appointed for the ſpecial uſe of ſuch b as were *Athenians* only by one ſide; in after-times *Themiſtocles* derived to himſelf ill-will, by carrying many of the nobility to exerciſe with him here, becauſe being but of the half blood he could exerciſe no-where elſe; in this gymnaſium *Antiſthenes* inſtituted a ſect of philoſophers, who from the name of this diſtrict, as many think, were ſtiled *Cynics* [z]. The havens of *Athens* were three, firſt the *Piræus*, about 35 or 40 ſtadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before-mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city; it had three docks, *Cantharos*, *Aphrodiſium*, and *Zea*, the firſt was ſo called from an ancient hero, the ſecond from the goddeſs *Venus*, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticoes, which joining together formed one great c one called from thence *Macra Stoa*, or *the long portico*; there were likewiſe two great markets or *Fora*, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The ſecond port was *Munychia*, a promontory not far diſtant from *Piræus*, a place very ſtrong by nature, and afterwards rendered far ſtronger by art. It was of this that *Epimenides* ſaid, if the *Athenians* foreſaw what miſchief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away with their teeth. The third was *Phalerum*, diſtant from the city according to *Thucydides* 35 ſtadia [a], but according to *Pauſanias* only 20 [b]. This was the moſt ancient harbour of *Athens*, as *Pyræus* was the moſt capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K).

d THE people of *Athens* were *freemen*, *ſojourners*, or *ſlaves*, the citizens, called in *Greek Politai*, were never very numerous, but what may ſeem ſtrange were as many in the time of *Cecrops*, as in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty-thouſand [c]. It was *Solon* who decreed, that none ſhould be accounted free, but ſuch as were *Athenians* both by father and mother. After his time it fell into diſuetude, till revived by *Pericles*, and again at his inſtance repealed. After the expulſion of the thirty tyrants *Solon*'s law was reſtored. A perſon born of a ſtranger was ſtiled *Nothos*, *a baſtard*, whereas the ſon of a free woman was called *Gneſios*, i. e. *legitimate*. There was in the *Cynoſarges* a court of judicature, to which

[u] PLUT. in vit. Theſ. [x] Poem. apud. Gronov. Theſ. Grec. Vol. IV. [y] HORAT. Ep. lib. ii. E. ii. PLUTARCH, in vit. Theſei. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt. DIOG. LAERT. in vit. Antiſthen. [a] Bell. Pelop. lib. ii. [b] In Arcad. [c] PLUT. in vit. Periclis. ATHENÆUS. Deipnoſ. lib. vi.

(K) If *Athens* eclipſed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, ſhe was no leſs conſpicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic teſtimonies, the accounts given us by ancient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers; we had once an intention of comparing theſe, but conſidering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the courſe of the hiſtory, we have choſen to refer the deſcription of *Athens*, as it now ſtands, till we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of the *Morea*. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that *Ariſtides*, an author who wrote expreſsly on this ſubject, affirms, that *Athens* in her glory was a day's journey in compaſs; thoſe who have thought this account too general inform us, that it was one hundred ſeventy-eight ſtadia in circumference, that is, ſomething more than twenty-two *Roman* miles. After it fell from its ancient ſplendor, it endured great variety of fortune. *Sylla* deſtroyed it without mercy, made its ſtreets overflow with blood, and taught its moſt ſuperb buildings to ſubmit to the flames. It provoked *Julius Cæſar* by an obſtinate reſiſtance, but when it ſubmitted at laſt, he contented himſelf with ſaying, *That he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead*, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They ſided with *Brutus* againſt the *Triumvirate*, and with *Anthony*, who called himſelf *a Lover of Athens*, againſt *Auguſtus*. *Tiberius*, or at leaſt his ſon *Germanicus*, favoured them, but it was to *Adrian*, who had been archon of their city, that the *Athenians* owed the revival of their ancient luſtre. The ſucceeding emperors took a pleaſure in adorning it, but the *Goths*, in the reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, deſtroyed it as they did the other cities of *Greece*. *Theodoſius* the ſecond out of reſpect to his empreſs cauſed it to be re-edified. This may ſerve to make the deſcription in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that muſt be referred to the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, of which it will be the proper ſubject; the curious reader may, however, if he pleaſes, conſult the very learned *Meurſius*, in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) *Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. apud Gronov. Theſaur. Antiq. Græc. Vol. IV.*

which cauſes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmoſt care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled *Athenian* citizens, who had not a clear title thereto [d]. The citizens, for at preſent we will not meddle with the ſtrangers and ſlaves, were divided by *Cecrops* into four tribes, the firſt called *Cecropes* from *Cecrops*, the ſecond *Autochthon*, from a king of that name, the third *Actai* from *Acteus* another king of *Athens*, or rather from *Acte* which ſignifies *a ſhore*, the 4th *Paralia*; theſe names were altered by *Cranaus*, and again by *Erichthonius*. In the reign of *Erechtheus* they were again changed, the ſoldiers were called *Oplitai*, the craftſmen *Ergatai*, the farmers *Georgoi*, the graziers and ſhepherds *Aigicorai*; in this ſtate they were when *Solon* ſettled the commonwealth, and appointed the ſenate to be compoſed of four-hundred, one hundred out of each tribe [e]. *Clyſthenes* encreaſed the number of the tribes to ten, and made the ſenate conſiſt of five-hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe; in ſucceeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was ſubdivided into its *Demoi* or *wards*, and with reſpect to theſe it was that *Solon* inſtituted the public feaſts before-mentioned, at which ſometimes the whole tribe aſſembled, ſometimes ſeveral wards, and ſometimes only the inhabitants of one ward. The ſecond ſort of inhabitants we mentioned were called *Metoicci*, i. e. *ſojourners*; theſe were perſons who lived always at *Athens*, yet were not admited free denizens; as for ſuch as did not conſtantly reſide in *Athens* they were ſtiled *Xenoi*, i. e. *ſtrangers*. The ſojourners were obliged to chuſe out of the citizens protectors who were ſtiled *Patrons*, they paid ſeveral ſervices to the ſtate, and beſides theſe an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and ſix for every woman; but ſuch as had ſons, and paid for them, were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were ſeized by the tax-maſters and actually ſold for ſlaves, which, as *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, was the fate of *Xenocrates* the philoſopher [f]; the ſojourners in *Attica* were under the ſame law as thoſe in *Athens*; as to ſervants, they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this ſtate had no vote in the aſſembly; as to ſlaves they were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and as ſuch were uſed as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which is indeed amazing, *Solon* prohibited them from loving boys as if that had been honourable: they were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves, and from worſhiping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were uſed like dogs. They ſtigmatized them at their pleaſure, that is branded them with letters in the forehead and elſewhere; however, *Theſeus*'s temple was allowed them as a ſanctuary, where if they were exceedingly ill uſed they might fly, and thereby oblige their maſters to let them be turned over; in this and many other reſpect the *Athenian* ſlaves were in a much better condition than thoſe throughout the reſt of *Greece*; they were permitted to get eſtates for themſelves, giving a ſmall premium to their maſters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ranſom; they likewiſe obtained the ſame favour from the kindneſs of their maſters, or for having rendered military ſervices to the ſtate; when they were made free they were obliged to chuſe patrons, and had likewiſe the privilege of chuſing a curator, who, in caſe their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them [g]. Having thus ſpoken of the people in general, let us return to the conſideration of the *Athenian* citizens in their political capacity (L). The

[d] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Pollux, lib, iii. [e] Plutarch. in vit. Solon. Pollux lib viii. c. 9. [f] In vit. Xenocr. [g] Plutarch. in vit. Solon. Aristoph. in Avibus. &c. Pollux lib. vii. Plautus, &c.

(L) In *Cecrops*'s time the citizens were, as we have ſaid above, twenty-thouſand; under the adminiſtration of *Pericles*, when the *Athenian* power was at its greateſt height, they were not ſo many (28). When *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* preſided over them there was an exact account taken of the ſeveral ſorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by *Athenæus*, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſojourners or foreigners, and four-hundred thouſand ſlaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for without it it would be a difficult matter to account for the ſmallneſs of the *Athenian* armies. At the time of *Cecrops*'s poll the whole number of his ſubjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when *Athens* roſe in power and glory, ſhe ſet a high value upon this dignity. *Menon*, who ſent them a ſupply of two hundred horſe, was refuſed the freedom of *Athens* when he deſired it (30). *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia*, who had done them great ſervices, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus ſtiff in reſpect to perſons

(28) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.* (29) *Deipnoſ. lib.* vi. (30) *Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p.* 44.

a THE general assembly of the people, which *Solon*, as we have shewn before, made the dernier resort, was called *Ecclesia*, and consisted of all the freemen of *Athens*, excepting such as were *atimoi* or *infamous*. The meetings of these assemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were such as were appointed by law, the extraordinary such as necessity required. Of the first there were four in five and thirty days, for reasons which will be hereafter given. In the first assembly they approved or rejected magistrates, heard proposals for the public good, and certain causes. In the second they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambassadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs
b relating to the gods and their worship. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magistrates when occasion required, whereas to the ordinary assemblies the people came of their own accord. The first were held either in the market-place, in the *Pnyx* a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of *Bacchus*; as to the latter, the magistrates, who appointed the extraordinary meeting, appointed also the place where it should be held. If any sudden tempest rose, or an earthquake happened, or any sign notoriously inauspicious appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy consequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and serene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary course of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the
c assembly was held, which was done by sprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the republic, and that heaven would bestow a happy issue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration against any who should in that assembly propound what might be disadvantagious to the state; these ceremonies over, they proceeded to business. There were several magistrates who had the overseeing and regulating of these assemblies; these were first the *Epistates*, or *president of the assembly*, who was chosen by lot out of the *Proedri*; his office was to give the signal for the peoples voting; next to him were the *Prytanes*, i. e. *a committee of the senate*, who of course were present on this occasion; by their order a *Programma*, or *scheme* of
d the business to be proposed at the assembly, was previously set up in some public place, that every man might know what business to apply his thoughts to. The *Proedri* were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the *Prytanes* did not belong; they had the right of proposing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the assembly; there sate with them assessors, who were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the first step to business was the cryer's reading the decree of the senate whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in these words; *Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?* When the old men had done speaking, the cryer made proclamation again, that any
e *Athenian* might then offer his sentiments whom the law allowed so to do, that is, all such as were above thirty years old and were not infamous. If such a one rose up

persons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of distinguished merit. *Hippocrates* the physician was readily admitted a citizen of *Athens*, and the same favour was granted to all the inhabitants of *Platæa*, for their seasonable assistance in the *Persian* war. It was only the general assembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unless ratified in a second assembly, wherein six thousand citizens were present. And as this honour was generally sued for by persons of eminent distinction, the people gave their votes privately by putting little stones into vessels, that no sort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all these ceremonies, it appeared, that the person on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of *Areopagus*; nor are instances of this sort wanting in the *Athenian* story (31). As to the foreigners or sojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifested an extraordinary love towards the state by any shining action, they had a sort of half freedom bestowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before, and in respect to pecuniary matters, were on the same foot with free denizens; this they stiled *Ateleia* (32). Such *Athenians* as through poverty became servants, were stiled *Pelatæ*; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their masters when they thought fit, and in case they found themselves in a condition to live in a state of independency, they were restored to their votes, and their servitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to slaves, they on their coming to a new place had a handsome entertainment given them, and sweet-meats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their service, which, if they fell into good hands, was sometimes easy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleness of their laws, but of their masters.

(31) *Demost. Orat. in Neæram.* (32) *Suidas. Harpocration. Hesychius.* (33) *Pollux, lib.* iii. *c.* 8.

tip to ſpeak, the *Prytanes* interpoſed, and bid him be ſilent, and if he did not obey a them, the *Lictors* pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the preſident permitted the people to vote, which they did by caſting firſt beans, but in after-times pebbles, into certain veſſels; theſe were counted, and then it was declared, that the decree of the ſenate was either rejected or approved, after which the *Prytanes* diſmiſſed the aſſembly [h].

Having ſpoken of the people, their privileges, and aſſemblies, let us now proceed to the ſenate, which, as we have already ſhewn, was inſtituted by *Solon* to prevent the dangerous conſequences of leaving the ſupreme power in the people; at the time of his inſtitution it was to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe; it was increaſed to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten, b and when they came to twelve, it was alſo ſwelled to ſix hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the cloſe of the year, the preſident of each tribe gave in a liſt of ſuch perſons belonging thereto, as were fit for and deſired to appear for this dignity; theſe names were engraven on tablets of braſs, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones, put into a veſſel, then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and ſuch as were drawn by the white beans were received into the ſenate [i]. After the ſenate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preſide in the ſenate: theſe were the *Prytanes* before-mentioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes c were thrown into one veſſel, and nine black beans and a white one into another veſſel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean anſwered preſided firſt, and the reſt according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they preſided was thirty-five days, and was called *Prytania*, the *Attic* year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors ſay, that the firſt four *Prytania* contained thirty-ſix days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation conſiſted of 354 days; but others affirm, that theſe four days did not belong to any of the *Prytania*, but were ſpent in the election of magiſtrates, and that during this ſpace the *Athenians* were without magiſtrates [k]. The *Prytanes* while the ſenate conſiſted of five hun- d dred were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confuſion therefore, ten of theſe preſided a week, during which ſpace they were called *Proedri*, and out of theſe an *epiſtate* or *preſident* was choſen, whoſe office laſted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reaſon of this was, that he had in his cuſtody the public ſeal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer [l]. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh between the *Epiſtates* and *Proedri* laſt mentioned, and thoſe ſpoken of in the former paragraph, becauſe though their titles were the ſame, their office were perfectly diſtinct. The ſenate aſſembled by direction of the *Prytanes* e once every day, excepting feſtivals, and ſometimes oftener, in the ſenate houſe, which was thence called *Prytaneum*. When a member of the ſenate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they came next might be prepared to ſpeak to it; at the ſubſequent aſſembly the *epiſtates* opened the matter, after which every ſenator that pleaſed delivered his ſentiments, then any of the *Prytanes* drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became *Pſephiſma*, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwiſe it was of no force longer than the ſenate who decreed it ſubſiſted. The power of the ſenate was very great, for they took the account of magiſtrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the proviſions made for poor citizens out of the public treaſure; they had the ſuperintendency of public priſons, and a power of puniſhing ſuch as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewiſe of the fleet, and beſides all theſe they had many other branches of authority, which it is not neceſſary for us to mention. Before they took their ſeats they were conſtrained to undergo a very ſtrict examination, wherein the whole courſe of their lives was enquired into; and if the leaſt ſlur on their reputation appeared they were ſet aſide. When this examination was over they took an oath, whereby they bound themſelves to promote in all their councils the public good, to adviſe nothing contrary to the laws, and

h Vide Sigon. & Ubbo. Emmius. Rep. Athen. l. viii. c. 9. Harpocrat.

i Steph. Byzant. de Urb.

k Pollux.

l Pollux ubi ſupra.

a and to execute their functions exactly. The highest fine the senate could impose was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender deserved a heavier mulct, they then transmitted the cause to the *Thesmothetæ*, who punished them as they thought fit. The senators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the less to do, they always punished such of their number as they found offended by expulsion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled senator was notwithstanding eligible to any other office, the most trivial omission being sufficient to procure a dismission from the senatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes chose their senators they also chose a certain num-
b ber of subsidiaries, out of which when a senator was expelled another was substituted in his place [m]. Each senator was allowed a *Drachm* every day, for it was a constant rule with the *Athenians* that the public ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore such of the poor *Athenians* as thought fit to demand it had three *Oboli* for going to the assembly. If during their administration any ships of war were built the senators had crowns decreed them; but if not they were forbid to sue for them. The senate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the *Athenian* state, we will now speak of the other.

The court of *Areopagus* was so called, because it assembled on a hill not far from the citadel called *Areos Pagos*, i. e. *Mars*'s *hill*. Some say, that *Mars* was the first criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who instituted this court; some ascribe
c it to *Cecrops*, others to *Cranaus*, and many to *Solon*, among whom though *Plutarch* and *Cicero* are reckoned, yet it is certain, that they were mistaken, for *Aristotle* affirms directly the contrary; nay, *Plutarch* himself cites a law of *Solon*'s, wherein the sentences of the *Areopagi* are mentioned as things of an old date [n]. The source of this error seems to be *Solon*'s restoring the power of this court, and making it superior to the *Ephetæ*, whom *Draco* had made superior to it. It is very difficult to ascertain the number of which this court consisted, because authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though some say only such of the *Thesmothetæ*, as had given an account of their administration before the *Legistæ*, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this senate; this was *Solon*'s
d institution, and was strictly observed for a long course of years, whence it became the most sacred and venerable tribunal in *Greece*. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was seen to be sitting in a tavern or public-house, it was sufficient to bar his admission. *Demosthenes* affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been questioned [o]. They had cognizance of all capital causes, and with them the intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect; 'till *Pericles* lessened their
e power they were a check upon the people; they could, if they thought fit, cancel the sentence of an assembly, where a a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the management of the public funds, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices, to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing of idleness, and, in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in *Athens* on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the
f *areopagi*. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly to this court. *Plato* therefore, having learned in *Egypt* that there was but one God, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being questioned by the *Areopagites* [p]; and St. *Paul* was on this account arraigned before them as a setter-forth of strange gods, when he preached *Jesus* and *Anastasis*, i. e. *the resurrection* [q]. As to state affairs, the court of *Areopagus* rarely meddled in them, unless in times of public calamity, when the citizens fled to them as their last refuge. They

met

[m] Æschin. in Timarch. Aristoph. Avibus. Pollux, ubi supra. Demost. Timocrat.
[n] Meurs. in Areop. [o] Aristocrat. [p] Justin. Martyr. [q] Acts xviii. 18, 19.

met three times every month, *viz.* on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if any ſudden occaſion required their aſſembling they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is obſervable, that this court always ſate in the open air; ſecondly, that they decided all cauſes in the dark, that ſeeing neither plaintiff nor defendant their paſſions might be uninfluenced. Cauſes of murder were introduced by the *Baſileus* or ſecond archon, who in right of his office had a ſeat amongſt them; but before he took it he was obliged to lay aſide his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the *Areopagus*, we ſhall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occaſion to inſert it in a note. All the great men of *Athens* paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal till *Pericles* roſe, who, becauſe he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took ſuch a pique to them, that he left no means uneſſayed to diminiſh their authority and ſink their credit, which by the help of *Ephialtes* he in a great meaſure effected, cauſing moſt of the buſineſs which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which ſome authors, not without reaſon, have aſcribed the ſudden degeneracy of the *Athenians*, and, in conſequence thereof, the ruin of this ſtate[k].

We come now, having ſpoken of the *Athenian* people, the ſenate, and court of *Areopagus*, to the magiſtrates. The chief of theſe were the *Archons* or *Archontes*; they were, as we obſerved, nine in number, and were choſen by lot; but after they were choſen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the ſenate-houſe called *Anacriſis*, the other in the *Forum* called *Docimaſia*; in theſe they were aſked who were their anceſtors, whether by three deſcents they were *Athenian* citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to *Apollo Patrius*, or *Jupiter Hercæus*, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had ſerved the appointed times in the wars, had the eſtate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; theſe queſtions ſome think were put to every other magiſtrate: theſe demands being ſatisfactorily anſwered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in theſe words; *I will be punctual in the obſervance of the laws, and if I am deficient in this reſpect, I will for every ſuch default conſecrate a ſtatue of gold as big as myſelf to the Delphian Apollo*[l]. Theſe ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, ſome parts of which they executed ſeparately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of puniſhing with death ſuch malefactors as deſerved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, and had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of inquiring into the conduct of other magiſtrates. As the reward of their labour in the ſervice of the public, they were free from all taxes whatſoever, and if any was ſo hardy as to ſtrike or affront them, he was puniſhed with infamy[m]. The firſt of them was ſometimes ſtiled *Eponymos*, becauſe the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all cauſes between men and their wives, all matters relating to poſthumous children, dowries, legacies, and teſtaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans, to decide ſuch diſputes as aroſe between neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feaſts and the regulation of ſtage-plays were alſo within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature wherein he heard cauſes: If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he ſuffered death[n]. The ſecond archon, who was ſtiled *Baſileus* or *king*, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controverſies among prieſts, took information on impiety, blaſphemy, and ſuch-like crimes; he preſided in all the great feaſts, and aſſiſted in all the public ſacrifices for the proſperity of the republic. It was required, that his wife ſhould be a citizen of *Athens* and a virgin, and ſhe too was ſtiled by the *Athenians Baſiliſſa*. Accuſations of murder were firſt lodged in his court, and then he introduced them into the court of *Areopagus*[o]. The *Polemarchos* or third archon had all ſojourners and ſtrangers within his juriſdiction; he was bound alſo to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Mars*, and another to *Diana*, and to take care, that the children of ſuch as loſt their lives in the ſtate ſhould duly receive the maintenance ſettled on them by law. As it often hapened, that theſe three magiſtrates, by reaſon of their youth, were not ſo well ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their reſpective offices; they choſe each of them two grave

[k] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Meursius Areop. [l] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. [m] Demosth. in Midian. [n] Pollux, ubi ſupra. [o] Demost. in Neær. & in Lacrit.

a grave and distinct persons who underwent the like examinations with themselves, to sit with them as assessors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their posts [p]. The other six archons were stiled *Thesmothetæ*; they had one common tribunal where they heard causes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, settled the court-days in the several judicatures of *Athens*, took care that no laws should be passed contrary to the interest of the public, and prosecuted such as endeavoured to persuade the people to give their consent to any such laws; they were likewise obliged every year to examine the whole *Corpus Juris*, in order to discover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of statutes about the same thing, or whether
b there were any so doubtful as to render it it impossible to know their true sense, which if there were, then the *Thesmothetæ* drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the state of the case; this was hung up in a publick place, and the next assembly of the people voted which of the laws should be preserved, and which repealed or altered [q]. Inferior to the archons there were many public magistrates; 'twill be necessary to mention some of them, because they will frequently occur in the course of this history. In the first place they had *Nomophylaces*, who were also stiled *the eleven*, because they were so many in number, one chosen out of each tribe, and a clerk or secretary who made up *the eleventh*. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to seize robbers and other capital of-
c fenders, and if they confessed to put them to death. Dr. *Potter* thinks they resembled our sheriffs [r]. The *Phylarchi* were the presidents of the *Athenian* tribes; but in time this became a military title. The *Philobasileus* was an officer in each tribe who did the same things within his jurisdiction, as the *Basileus* did with respect to the state. The *Demarchi* were the principal magistrates in wards, the *Lexarchi* were six in number, and were bound to take care, that the people came duly to assemblies; in their custody was the public register of citizens names; they had under them *Toxotæ* who were lictors or bailiffs; they were sometimes a thousand in number; these men were necessary, but like most of their sort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of *Aristophanes*; they were gene-
d rally *Scythians*, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded [s]. The *Nomothetæ* were a thousand in number, their business was to watch over and inspect into the laws. There were two sorts of orators in the service of the state, some were appointed to defend an old law when a motion was made to repeal it; these had their fee from the state, but the same man was incapable of being elected twice. Besides these there were ten settled orators called *Retores*, elected by lots; their business was to plead public causes in the senate-house; for this they had their stated fees, and with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus; "Let no one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied
" them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who hath refused to serve in
e " the army, who hath thrown away his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd
" women, notoriously effeminate, or has run out his patrimony. If any man who
" has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him be brought
" to trial upon the spot [t]. Let an orator have children lawfully begotten, and
" an estate within *Attica* [u]; if in his oration he talks impertinently, makes idle
" repetitions, affects an unbecoming railery, digresses from the point in question,
" or after the assembly is over abuses the president, let the *Proedri* fine him fifty
" drachmæ; and if that is not thought enough, let him be brought before the
" next assembly and fined again" [x]. We shall conclude this draft of the *Athenian* government with an account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the *Areo-*
i *pagus*, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence stiled, *Alpha*, *Beta*, *Gamma*, &c. When an *Athenian* was at leisure to hear causes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he presented to the *Thesmothetæ*, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who presented him a sceptre, and gave him admission. When the causes were over, every judge went and delivered his sceptre to the *Prytanes*, and received a stated fee for every cause that was tried. But as this was intended

[p] Pollux, ubi supra. [q] Æschin. in Ctesiph. [r] Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. [s] Aristophan. ejusq; Schol. Acharn. & Thesmoph. [t] Æschin. in Timarch. [u] Dinarch. in Demosthen. [x] Æschin. ubi supra.

intended only to compensate their loss of time, so that there might be no appearance of covetousness, a man was forbid to sit in two courts on the same day [y]. The first criminal court, after the *Areopagus*, was that of the *Ephetæ*, of the institution of which the reader has already had an account; it consisted of fifty-one members, all upwards of fifty-one years old; *Draco* gave it a very extensive jurisdiction, but *Solon* took away from them the power of judging in any other causes than those of manslaughter, accidental killing, and lying in wait to destroy; the *Basileus* entered all causes in this court [z]. The second criminal court was called *Delphinium*, because it was held in the temple of *Apollo Delphinius*, it had cognizance of such murders as were confessed by the criminal, but at the same time justified under some pretence or other [a]. The *Prytaneum* was the third criminal court, it held plea of such cases where death ensued from inanimate things; causes were heard here with the same solemnity as in other courts, and on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occasioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of *Athens*. This judicature was as ancient as the reign of *Erechtheus*, and the first thing tried therein was an ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter*'s priests killed an ox which had eaten some of the consecrated cakes, and who, as soon as he had committed the fact, secured himself by flight [b]. The last criminal court was stiled *Phreatum*, it sat in a place not far from the sea-shore, and such persons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to *Attica*; the proceedings of this court were so severe, that they did not permit the criminal to come on shore, but obliged him to plead his cause in his vessel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and seas [c]. Of the judicatures for hearing civil causes, the first was the *Parabaston*, so called, as some think, because in it no matter could be heard, if the cause of action was above one drachm [d]. The *Cainon* or new court was the second tribunal [e]. The third was stiled the court of *Lycus*, because it assembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whose statue, which was represented with the face of a wolf, was set up in all the courts of justice [f]. The *Trigonon* was so called, because it was triangular in its form [g]. The court *Metidius* derived its appellation from the architect who built it [h]. The sixth and last court was called *Heliæa*, it was by far the greatest, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges sitting in the open air exposed to the sun. All the *Athenians*, as we observed before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to sit in these courts as judges. But before they took their seats were sworn by *Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter the king*, that they would decide all things righteously, and according to law where there was any law to guide them, and by the rules of natural equity where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who sate in the court last mentioned, is reported by *Demosthenes* in these words; "I will give "sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of *Athens* and the "council of five hundred; I will not consent to place the supreme power in the "hands of a single person, or a few; nor permit any man to dissolve the com- "monwealth, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such "a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make a "division of lands or houses: I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor "pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city con- "trary to the laws and decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor permit "any other person to do it: I will not elect any person into any public employ, "and particularly I will not create any man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, embassador, "public herald, or synedras, nor consent, that he shall be admitted into any of those "offices which are elected by lots upon the same day with the archons, who "has undergone any former office and not given in his accounts; nor that any "person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the same office in one year: "I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit "any other person to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to per- "vert justice in the court of *Heliæa*: I am not under thirty years of age: I will "hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in all "the causes brought before me: I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I "violate

[y] ATHEN. Deipnos. lib. vi. [z] POLLUX lib. viii. c. 10. [a] POLLUX ubi supra. [b] ÆLIAN Hist. var. lib. viii. c. 3. POLLUX ubi supra. [c] SIGONIUS de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. c. 3. [d] PAUSAN. Atticis. [e] ARISTOPH. Vesp. [f] POLLUX, SUIDAS, ARISTOPH. ubi supra. [g] SIGON. ubi supra. ARISTOPH. ubi supra. [h] POLLUX, HARPOCR.

a " violate this oath or any part of it, may I periſh with my whole family; but if " I religiouſly obſerve it, may we live and proſper " [i]. The *Helæaſtic* court conſiſted at leaſt of fifty, but its uſual number was five-hundred, judges, when cauſes of very great conſequence were to be tried, a thouſand ſate therein, and now and then the judges were increaſed to fifteen hundred, and even to two thouſand; there were many inferior courts in *Athens* for the deciſion of trivial cauſes, but of theſe there is no neceſſity of ſpeaking, ſince we deſign no more than a ſuccinct view of the *Athenian* republic, as it was ſettled by, and in conſequence of, *Solon*'s laws.

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from *Athens* to viſit foreign climates for the ſake of acquiring wiſdom. He went firſt to *Egypt*, where he converſed with b *Pſenophis* the *Heliopolitan* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt learned prieſts of that age and country, from theſe he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things unheard-of by the *Greeks*, and particularly the ſituation and condition of the atlantic iſle, of which he wrote an account in verſe, which *Plato* continued. From *Egypt* he went to *Cyprus*, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof; this prince reigned in a little city called *Apeia*, i. e. *high*, built by *Demophoon* the ſon of *Theſeus* on an eminence near the river *Clarius*, but in a ſoil craggy and barren. *Solon*, obſerving, that there was a very pleaſant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. *Solon* himſelf aſſiſted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his ſcheme c ſucceeded ſo well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to ſettle themſelves therein, whence the king, whoſe capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it *Solos*. He is thought to have viſited about this time *Thales* the *Mileſian*, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance; *Plutarch* hath recorded a very ſingular paſſage which happened at this time; *Solon* enquiring of *Thales*, why, conſidering the happy ſituation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, *Thales* for the preſent made him no anſwer. A few days after he introduced a ſtranger properly inſtructed, who ſaid, that he came ten days ago from *Athens*; *Solon* immediately aſked him what news he brought from thence: " I know of nothing extraordinary (replied he), except that the whole city cele- d " brated the funerals of a young man, the ſon of a citizen moſt eminent for his " virtues, who, it ſeems, went abroad upon his travels". *Miſerable man*, cried *Solon*: *But did you not hear his name? I did*, returned the ſtranger, *but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wiſdom and his juſtice; Was it* Solon? (ſaid our philoſopher) *It was*, anſwered the ſtranger. Upon this our legiſlator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himſelf. But *Thales* interpoſing with a ſmile, addreſſed him thus: " Theſe, O *Solon*, are the things which " make me afraid of marriage and children, ſince theſe are capable of affecting even " ſo wiſe a man as you; be not, however, concerned, for this is all a fiction " [i]. Whether on this occaſion, or on the real loſs of a ſon, is uncertain, *Solon* being de- e ſired by a perſon not to weep, ſince weeping would avail nothing; he anſwered, with much humanity and good ſenſe, *And for this cauſe I weep.* At *Delphi* he had an interview with the reſt of the ſophiſts, and the year following at *Corinth* by *Periander*'s invitation; ſome think, that at this time alſo he went to *Crete* and viſited *Epimenides*, he likewiſe conferred with *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, as has been before related in the hiſtory of that prince [k] (M).

While

[i] Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis Herodot. lib. i. [k] Vol. II. p. 335.

(M) As to the interview between *Solon* and *Cræſus*, there were in *Plutarch*'s time many who thought it a fiction; and this great writer himſelf, though he thought it neceſſary to inſert it in *Solon*'s life, owns, that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to ſolve the difficulties in chronology which attended it. The very learned M. *Dacier* has the following note upon that paſſage; " *Solon*, they ſay, was archon the third year of the forty-ſixth *olympiad*, " and *Cræſus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the ſecond " year of the 58th, which makes it impoſſible for " *Solon* to be living at that time, that is to ſay, " 47 years after his archonſhip. This they prove " more ſtrongly, by making it appear, that *Solon* died " when *Hegeſtratus* was archon, in the ſecond year " of the 51ſt olympiad. Now *Cræſus* was not king " till the firſt year of the 56th olympiad, which was " twenty-two years after the death of *Solon*. How " then are we to make this voyage of *Solon* into " *Lydia* fall in with the reign of *Cræſus*? Eſpe- " cially, if according to *Plutarch*, this voyage was " performed even before the tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*. " This is ſo full of difficulties and contrarieties, " that it is impoſſible to reconcile them, unleſs we " agree with *Plutarch*, that the ancient chronolo- " gical tables are by no means exact, notwithſtand- " ing the great labour and pains ſeveral perſons have " been at to regulate them (28)". Mr. *Stanly* (fol- " lowing

(28) *In vit. Solonis.*

WHILE *Solon* was abroad *Athens* fell all into confusion again. The three factions before-mentioned began to be more troublesome than ever; *Lycurgus* put himself at the head of the country people; *Megacles* the son of *Alcmæon* was the chief of those who lived upon the coast, and *Pisistratus* placed himself at the head of the poorer sort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of *Solon* were indeed observed, because none of the factions found it for their interest to subvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneasy till it was effected, tho' how to change for the better none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim *Solon* returned, and his return seemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to shew him the deepest reverence and respect, beseeching him to resume his authority, and to compose the disorders of the state. But this, however, he declined on account of his age, which, as he said, rendered him unable to speak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he sent for the chiefs of each party, and spoke to them in the mildest and most pathetic terms, beseeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private interest [l].

Pisistratus, among all the principal persons of *Athens*, seemed to be most affected with *Solon*'s discourses. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great similitude in their dispositions. *Pisistratus* was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was blessed with a fair estate, so he was generous without profusion, and beneficent without ostentation. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin; when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any were dead insolvent, he comforted the one with a proper sum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cause, and if it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman: he would not so much as suffer his servants to shut his garden or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest; he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. *Solon* penetrated all these appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to shew him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, *Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in* Athens; and when he found this made no impression upon him, *Solon* said the same thing to others, that men might beware of his designs, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country.

ABOUT this time *Thespis*, who is generally esteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at *Athens*, with which the people were mightily charmed. *Solon*, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new divertisement, and after the performance was over, addressed himself to *Thespis* in these words: "*I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great an* "*audience*": *Thespis* replied, *That there could be no harm in giving a specious form to falshood, so that it were in jest*; *Ah, cried* Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, *if once we are pleased with your falshoods in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs* [n].

Pisistratus *assumes the sovereignty. Years after the flood* 2439. *Before Christ*, 560.

THE mischief, which *Solon* apprehended his kinsman *Pisistratus* would bring upon the state, was not long before it came to pass; that great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the present opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use or to keep. With this

[l] PLUT. ubi supra. DIOGEN. LAERT. ubi supra. HERODOT. lib. i. Solon. PLUT. ubi supra. CICER. de Orat. lib. iii.

[m] DACIER. Not. in vit.

[n] PLUT. ubi supra.

lowing *Laertius*) and many others have thought, that the placing this interveiw, not before, but after *Pisistratus* made himself master of *Athens*, would set this business quite right, and accordingly Sir *Isaac Newton* places this conference in the year after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty, or rather in the same year, and makes this the year before the death of *Solon* (29). But to return from so perplexed a subject to the mention of a point or two not taken notice of in the account before given of this conference in our history of *Lydia*: *Plutarch* says, that *Æsop* the fabulist was at the court of *Cræsus* at the same time with *Solon*, and that he was extremely concerned when he saw how much the king slighted so great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving *Solon* the following short piece of advice, *Let your visits to kings be as seldom or as pleasant as you can*. To which our *Athenian* answered, *No, rather let them be as seldom or as profitable as you can* (30). The love of liberty was so strong in *Solon*, that he could not gain say so much as in a compliment.

(29) *Short Chronicle, p.* 40.

(30) *Plutarch ubi supra.*

this view having wounded himself and (as *Herodotus* says) the mules that drew his
a chariot [o], he lashed into the market-place as if pursued by his enemies, and shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they testifying loudly their concern, *Solon*, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, *Son of* Hippocrates, *you do not act* Homer's Ulysses *well, since you deceive your fellow citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of his country.* A general assembly was presently convened, wherein *Ariston* moved, that *Pisistratus* might have a guard of fifty persons armed with clubs. *Solon* opposed it;
b he told the citizens, that if misfortunes befel them, they must not charge the gods with them, but themselves, for that evils were not accidental, but punishments; that crafty persons knew how to dress lies in the vestments of truth, and that before they made innovations they should well consider the consequences. After him *Pisistratus* spoke, and the people receiving all he said with loud applause, *Solon* contented himself with saying,

"You doat upon his words and soothing speech."

The meaner sort of people adhering unanimously to the proposition of *Ariston*, and the richest *Athenians* remaining silent when they saw how things would go, *Solon* took his leave, saying, that he was *wiser* than some, and *stouter* than others; *wiser* than those who did not penetrate *Pisistratus*'s design, and *stouter* than those who
c did not oppose it. When he was gone the assembly proceeded to vote *Pisistratus* a guard, but what number is not easily settled; it should seem from *Plutarch*'s account that he had but fifty [p]. *Herodotus* does not mention any number at all [q]. *Polyænus* makes them three hundred [r], but *Solon* himself in his letter to *Epimenides* says expressly there were four hundred; however it was, he made use of his guard to seize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to *Herodotus* [s] and *Plutarch* [u], assumed the sovereignty. But *Polyænus* hath given us a very singular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the *Athenians* to defend themselves, even against the small number of men under his command. He summoned an assembly to be held at the *Anacium*, and directed,
d that the people should come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, *Pisistratus* harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not well hear what he said, he pretended, that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and advised them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and *Pisistratus* then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they listened with deep attention, *Pisistratus*'s guard conveyed away their arms, so that when he had done speaking, the *Athenians* saw themselves naked and all power of resistance taken from them [x]. All historians agree, that amidst the confusion which followed this transaction
e there was an assembly held, wherein *Solon* made a speech, inveighing against the meanness of his countrymens spirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he set down his own arms, and contented himself with saying, *To the utmost of my power I have striven for my country and my laws.* *Plutarch* says, that he refused to leave his country, and that on *Pisistratus*'s sending to know what it was that inspired him with boldness enough to treat him in such a manner, he answered, *My old age* [y]. But other authors say, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominions of *Athens*. About this time it is most likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in *Crete* [z].

Solon to *Epimenides*:

"NEITHER are my laws likely to benefit the *Athenians* long, nor have you
"done the city much good by your lustration. For sacred rites and wise lawgivers
"cannot alone benefit cities, since it is of great consequence, of what disposition
"those are who influence the common people; sacred and civil laws, if such men
"execute them well, are profitable, but if not, are of little use. My laws are
"now in a very indifferent condition, those in whom the government was lodged,
"making no opposition to *Pisistratus*'s designs, abandoned the state; this, when
"I fore-

[o] HERODOT. lib. i. [p] ubi supra. [q] lib. i. [r] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. [s] Vide Epist. Solon. ad Epimen. post. [u] ubi supra. [x] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. sect, ii. [y] ubi supra. [z] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vita Solon.

" I foretold, I could not be believed, the *Athenians* crediting rather his flatteries a
" than my truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my arms before the magazine, and
" said, that I was wiser than those who did not see *Pisistratus* aimed at tyranny,
" and stouter than those who were afraid to resist him. For this they looked upon
" *Solon* as a madman; however, I hesitated not to make this protestation before I
" departed; Behold, O my country, *Solon* ready to vindicate thee in word and deed;
" they again cried out that I was mad. Thus, finding myself alone in opposing
" *Pisistratus*, I left them; let them still, if they please, guard with their arms
" this their tyrant, for you must know, my friend, that the man very artfully pos-
" sessed himself of the sovereignty; he complied at the first with the democracy,
" afterwards wounding himself, he came into the *Eliaea*, exclaiming, that he was b
" thus wounded by his enemies, desiring, that they would grant him a guard of four
" hundred men, which they, regardless of all I could say, complied with; after
" this he dissolved the popular government. In vain I laboured to bestow free-
" dom on the meaner sort of people, since now the people of all sorts are become
" *Pisistratus*'s servants ".

Pisistratus, in possessing himself of the supreme power in *Athens*, did not overturn the laws established by *Solon*; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and lost nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable [a]. With respect even to *Solon* himself, he preserved for him the highest veneration, and was so much disturbed at his leaving his country, that he c wrote to him the following letter to engage him to return [b].

Pisistratus to *Solon*:

" I am not the only person among the *Greeks* who have acted in this manner,
" nor am I without right to the kingdom I possess, being the descendent of
" *Codrus*. That which the *Athenians* swore to preserve to *Codrus* and his heirs and
" yet took away, I have recovered. I offend neither against God or man. I
" take care to see those laws framed for the *Athenians* strictly put in execution,
" and suffer none to do wrong. I claim no other privileges, though a tyrant, d
" than the honour and dignity, and accept no more than what was thought, due
" to the ancient kings. The *Athenians* indeed pay the tenths of their estates, not
" to me, but for the defraying the expences of the public sacrifices, the other char-
" ges of the commonwealth, and that we may have wherewithal to carry on a war
" if we should be engaged in one. I do not at all blame you for discovering my
" intention; you did it out of regard to your country, rather than out of hatred
" to me; you were ignorant of the form of government I meant to establish: had
" you known it, you would perhaps have borne it, and not have gone into banish-
" ment; however, return, and believe me without an oath, *Solon* shall never suffer e
" hurt from *Pisistratus*; my very enemies have nothing to charge me with of that
" kind. If you will be of the number of my friends, you shall be the first, for I
" never observed any thing of fraud or falsehood in you; if you are resolved to
" continue otherwise, live at *Athens* as you will, only for our sake do not deprive
" yourself of your country ".

Solon to *Pisistratus*.

" I believe I shall not suffer any harm by you, for before you were a tyrant
" I was your friend, and at present am no more your enemy than any other *Athenian* f
" who dislikes tyranny. Whether it be better they be governed by a single person
" or by a democracy, let both parties determine. I pronounce you the best of
" tyrants; but to return to *Athens*, I think not fitting, least I incur censure, who
" settled an equality in the *Athenian* commonwealth, and would not accept of the
" tyranny, by returning, I should comply with thy actions ".

Solon kept strictly to his word, and returned no more to *Athens*, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his decease was not agreed even in the days of *Plutarch* [c], who says, that *Heraclides Ponticus* affirmed, that *Solon* lived a long time after *Pisistratus* assumed the sovereignty, whereas *Phanias* the *Ephesian* reported, that he did not live after it quite two years; *Ælian* agrees pretty well with

[a] Plutarch. ubi supra. Arist. Polit. lib. v. c. 12. [b] Diogen. Laert. ubi supra,
[c] In vita Solonis, prope fin.

a with this computation [d], for he ſays he died a little after, being decrepid with age; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he reached the age of fourſcore [e], but *Lucian*, however, will have it, that he lived a hundred and upwards [f]; where he died is another very diſputable point; ſome ſay it was in *Cyprus* [g], others not [h]; *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that he directed that his bones ſhould be burnt, and their aſhes carried to *Salamis* and ſcattered over the iſland [i]. *Plutarch* treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the ſame time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly *Ariſtotle* [k]. The *Athenians*, after the death of *Solon*, paid him the higheſt honours, and erected for him in the forum and at *Salamis* a ſtatue in braſs with his hand in his gown, the poſture in which he was wont to ſpeak; which he b certainly deſerved for the mighty ſervices rendered by him to his country (N) [l]. But to return to *Piſiſtratus*:

At the very beginning of his adminiſtration, *Megacles* and his family retired out of the territories of *Athens*, but they did this with a view only to preſerve themſelves from being cut off to render his principality the ſurer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correſpondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his aſſociates entred into a treaty with *Lycurgus* and his party, and having brought them into a ſcheme for overturning *Piſiſtratus*, they proſecuted this with ſuch effect, that he found himſelf obliged to retire, and ſeek, as they had done, ſhelter in a foreign clime; and the *Athenians*, notwithſtanding all the inſtances c of love they had ſhewn him, were ſo far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publickly ſold. However, though this reſolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no-body but *Callias* who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehenſion, no doubt, that one time or other he would be reſtored [m].

As *Megacles* and his party had negotiated with *Lycurgus* the ruin of *Piſiſtratus*, ſo ſome time afterwards, finding, that *Lycurgus* and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with *Piſiſtratus*, and to offer him, in caſe he would marry the daughter of *Megacles*, to reinſtate him in his principality, to which *Piſiſtratus* readily aſſented. It is eaſy to conceive, that this affair required rather d fraud than force for its being conducted with ſucceſs. *Piſiſtratus* and *Megacles* reſolved

[d] Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 16. [e] ubi ſupra. [f] In Longævis. [g] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 3. [h] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [i] ubi ſupra. [k] ubi ſupra. [l] Æsch. in Timarch. [m] Plut. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i.

(N) We have already ſaid ſo much of the genius of *Solon*, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we ſhall therefore take notice only of ſome remarkable paſſages which were related concerning his death, give a ſuccinct account of his writings, and of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by the moſt eminent among the ancient *Romans* as well as *Greeks*. The very laſt day of his life ſome friends of his ſitting in the chamber fell into a diſcourſe, to which he liſtened with great attention; being aſked the reaſon, he anſwered, *I do this, that when I have learned whatſoever it is you diſpute about, I may die* (31). A little before his laſt agonies, hearing his brother ſinging an ode of *Sappho*, he was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reaſon of this being alſo demanded, *It is*, returned he, *that I may learn while I am departing out of this life* (32). As to his writings, we ſtand indebted to *Laertius* for the following account; his laws; orations to the people; poems; the *Atlantic* hiſtory, which was his laſt work and left unfiniſhed; again attempted by his kinſman *Plato*, and by him alſo left unfiniſhed. Occaſional epiſtles; amongſt theſe there is the following one, preſerved by *Laertius*, addreſſed to the tyrant of *Corinth*, who was eſteemed one of the ſeven ſages of *Greece*; it is very ſhort, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

Solon to *Periander*.

"You ſend me word there are many who plot "againſt you; if you ſhould put them all to death, "it would advantage you nothing; ſome one there "may be of thoſe whom you ſuſpect not who "plots againſt you, either fearing himſelf, or diſ-"daining you, or deſirous to ingratiate himſelf "with the city; though you have done him no "injury. It is beſt, if you would be free from "jealouſy, to acquit yourſelf of the cauſe; but if "you will continue in tyranny, take care to pro-"vide a greater ſtrength of ſtrangers than is in "your own city; ſo ſhall you need to fear no "man, nor put any to death (33)".

Plato, in various places, commends the wiſdom, learning, and genius of *Solon* (34), ſo alſo does *Ariſtides* (35); *Dion Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks of him with the greateſt reſpect (36), as an orator and legiſlator, as a warrior and a patriot; *Demoſthenes* has in few words celebrated his praiſes (37); *Cicero* affirms, that before the times of *Solon* and *Piſiſtratus* eloquence was unknown (38); *Seneca* mentions *Solon* with great reſpect (39), and *Valerius Maximus*, as he records many things relating to him, ſo he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, ancient and modern writers agree, that without flattery, *Solon* might be ſtiled brave, wiſe, and honeſt; how ſhall we commend him more?

(31) *Valer. Maxim. lib.* viii. *c.* 7. (32) *Stob. Serm.* xxix. (33) *Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon.* (34) *In Amator. de Repub. &c.* (35) *Orat. Paraſth.* (36) *Orat.* xxi. (37) *In Amator.* (38) *De Orat.* (39) *Epiſt.* xc.

resolved to rest all upon an expedient which *Herodotus* stiles a ridiculous project; but, ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman, whose name was *Phya* the daughter of *Socrates*, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was it seems of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; her they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before, with orders to speak to the people in these terms, "Give a kind reception, O *Athe-*
"*nians*, to *Pisistratus*, who is so much honoured by *Minerva* above all other men,
"that she herself condescends to bring him back to the citadel"; when the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Pisistratus*, and in the city the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received *Pisistratus*. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of *Megacles*, and out of gratitude to *Phya* gave her in marriage to his son *Hipparchus* [n].

It was not long *Pisistratus* enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so oddly restored; we have already observed, that he kept his word to *Megacles* in marrying his daughter, and it seems *Pisistratus* conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had children by a former wife, and that *Megacles*'s family were held by the *Athenians* to be *execrable*, he never conversed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time she concealed; but at length mentioning it to her mother, the family so highly resented his proceeding, that *Megacles* instantly began to negociate with the malecontents, which *Pisistratus* perceiving, and seeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted *Attica* voluntarily, and retired to *Eretria*. There, as soon as he found himself in safety, he consulted with his sons what course was fittest to be taken in the present situation of their affairs. *Hippias* proposed the reducing *Athens* by force, which was agreed to, and immediately *Pisistratus* applied to several of the *Grecian* cities to furnish him with men and money for the carrying this design of his into execution. Several yielded him their assistance as they were desired, but the *Thebans* exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of *Argives* were quickly levied by the help of these subsidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindness of *Lygdamis*, a *Naxian*, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a considerable number of men, and advanced also a large sum of money. In the eleventh year of their banishment, says *Herodotus*, *Pisistratus*, with his family and the army he had drawn together, marched from *Eretria* and entered *Attica*. The first place they possessed themselves of was *Marathon*, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of *Athenians*, who loved the government of *Pisistratus* better than a democracy. It seems, the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous steps, though they knew that *Pisistratus* was raising men and borrowing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards *Athens*, they assembled all their forces to defend themselves and to repel the invader. In the mean time, *Pisistratus* advancing with his army from *Marathon*, arrived at the temple of the *Pallenian Minerva*; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, *Amphilytus*, a prophet of *Acarnania*, by divine impulse went to him, and pronounced this oracle in *Hexameter* verse:

The net is spread, and dexterously thrown,
By the clear moon-light shall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered these words, *Pisistratus* comprehending the oracle, and saying he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time the *Athenians* having drawn their forces out of the city and taken their dinner, betook themselves afterwards to dice or sleep. So that the army of *Pisistratus*, falling upon them by surprize, soon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their escape, *Pisistratus* contrived an artful stratagem in order to disperse them so intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his sons to ride before with speed, and in his name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation [o]. Thus *Pisistratus* became a third time possessed of the sovereignty of *Athens*, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly contrary

[n] Herodt. ubi supra. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 2.
[o] Herod. lib. i. c. 61.

a contrary to that which *Theseus* had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of *Attica* retire from the country, and live together in the city, *Pisistratus* obliged them to addict themselves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market-places and cabal against him. By this means he greatly mended the state of the *Athenian* territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over *Attica*, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees [p]. He likewise commanded, that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery [q]. The *Athenians* being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things
b right in themselves were commanded by persons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greatest misery. On this account it was, that *Pisistratus*'s laws against idleness were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in support of those of *Solon*. He received as prince of *Athens* the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the ancient revenues were, *viz.* to the service of the state, seemed to the *Athenians* an intolerable grievance. It happened once, that *Pisistratus* being in the country, perceived an old man busy in creeping over the rocks and picking something. *Pisistratus* asked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. *Troubles and a few plants of wild sage*, replied the old man, *and of*
c *these* Pisistratus *must have the tenth*: to which *Pisistratus* made him no reply, but on his return to the city discharged him from paying this duty [r]. He endeavoured by all means possible to eradicate the fierceness of the *Athenians*, but to little purpose, for as he was averse to severity, so it was a difficult thing for them to learn submission. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feast, in their return met his wife and insulted her grossly; the next day, however, when their spirits were cooler, they went in the most humble manner to ask him pardon. *Pisistratus* heard their apology very graciously, and when they had done, *I would advise you, gentlemen*, said he, *to behave for the future more modestly; but as for my wife she was not abroad yesterday* [s]. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; and when the *Athenians*, to shew their aversion to him, went and eased themselves there, he first endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from so scandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that such as for the future were guilty of that offence should suffer death [t]. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, mentioned before in our description of the city of *Athens*. He was the first who built a library for public use, and directed, that *Homer*'s poems should be digested into regular order as we have them at present. In all other respects he was a great encourager of learning, and conversed familiarly with *Crotoniates* the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the *Argonauts* [u]. As to his military virtues,
e we have already shewn what a share he had in the reduction of *Salamis*; he is also reported by *Herodotus* to have conquered the island of *Naxus*, which he put into the hands of *Lygdamis*; he also conquered the city *Sigeium*, and purified the island of *Delos*; so that on the whole, it seems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince [x]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his station, but when he heard he was accused in the court of *Areopagus* of a murder, he came like a private man and submitted himself to judgment [y]. At another time having some way offended certain *Athenians* of principal dignity, and they retiring to the castle of *Phylæ*, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag
f on his back; when they asked him what he meant, Either, said he, to engage you to go back with me to *Athens*, or to stay with you myself, and therefore you see I am come provided [z]. From the time of his first possessing himself of the sovereignty to his death there intervened thirty-three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from *Aristotle*, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, *Herodotus* tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only [a]. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, *viz.* *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*,

[p] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xiii. [q] Suidas in voce Κατουηχοι. Zenobius. Cent. iv. Prov. 76. [r] Plutarch. Apothegm. [s] And. Schot. Append Vatic. Prov. Cent. i. p. 82. [t] Suidas. Vitruvius. Præt. lib. vii. A. Gellius. Noct. Attic. lib. vi. c. 17. [u] Herodot. lib. i. [x] Arist. Polit. l. v. c. 12. [y] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [z] Polit. l. v. c. 12. Herodot. l. i.

parchus, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined, *Thucydides* a more than once affirms that it was *Hippias*, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross error [b]. *Polyænus* says the same thing [c], yet *Plato* is as positive that *Hipparchus* was the eldest [d]. *Ælian* follows him, and *Heraclidus Ponticus* seems to be of the same opinion. *Thucydides* supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned *Meursius* are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better asserted (O).

THE

[b] Bell. Pelop. lib. i. & lib. vi. [c] Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14. [d] In Hipparch.

(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of *Pisistratus*, and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the *Athenians* during this space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in ancient authors relating to the *Pisistratidæ* should be somewhere preserved and explained. As to the descent of *Pisistratus* himself, we see from his own letter to *Solon* that he was of the house of *Codrus*, the last king of *Athens*. Ancient authors assure us, that he was of the same family with *Nestor* (40), so that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than *Pisistratus*. His father's name was *Hippocrates*, as we are more than once told by *Herodotus*; and as the ancients were very circumspect in noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, so as to the nativity of *Pisistratus* something very extraordinary is recorded. *Hippocrates*, being at the celebration of the *Olympic* games, caused a victim which he had slain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian*, being present when this prodigy happened, immediately addressed himself to the *Athenian*, advising him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son, to abdicate him; but *Hippocrates* did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of *Pisistratus*, he educated the child with great care; nor is it unlikely, that *Hippocrates* apprehended why the *Lacedæmonian* gave him this advice, since he called his son after the name of the son of *Nestor*, that he might continually remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother, we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following passage, which shews that she lived to be pretty far in years. When her son was possessed of the principality of *Athens*, she fell in love with a young man, with whom she conversed secretly and with great caution; however, *Pisistratus* had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they rose from table, *What think you, my friend*, said Pisistratus, *of your treatment to day? That it was most excellent, Sir*, answered he, *Why then*, replied Pisistratus, *you may be assured, that you shall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you please my mother* (42). As to his affability and generosity we have spoken sufficiently already; but it may not be amiss to note, that the wisest, both of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of *Pisistratus*, which they agree was the chief instrument he used in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another testimony still stronger than the former, *viz.* from the mighty apprehensions the *Athenians* were in, that *Pericles* would attempt to make himself a prince, because in his countenance and manner of speaking he was said to resemble *Pisistratus* (44). *Cicero*, writing to *Atticus* concerning *Cæsar*'s conquest of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain, whether the victor would prove a *Phalaris* or a *Pisistratus* (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worst of tyrannies and the best. It may therefore be affirmed of *Pisistratus*, that of all the sovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greatest justice, since both *Solon* and *Cicero* testify as much, and since it was thought the highest compliment that could be paid *Cæsar*, that he governed like another *Pisistratus*. We have seen many instances of his humanity; there is yet another which ought not to be suppressed. *Thrasibulus* or *Thrasimedes* was in love with *Pisistratus*'s daughter, and it seems was not hated by her. When therefore she was going in a public procession to sacrifice, the young man imprudently kissed her, with which *Pisistratus*'s family was so much disgusted, that they entreated him to punish severely this insolent offender; to which *Pisistratus* mildly answered, *if we are severe to those who love us, what shall we do to those that hate us?* *Thrasimedes*, either encouraged by this, or distracted by his passion, drew in some young men of his acquaintance to assist him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as she came to the shore to offer sacrifice to the sea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the sail they could for *Ægina*. *Hippias*, being at that time employed in scowring the seas of pyrates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark and recovered his sister. When the delinquents were brought before *Pisistratus* and threatened with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their offence. *Pisistratus*, when he had a while considered them, told *Thrasimedes* that he bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the *Athenians* on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his interest (46). Amongst the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of *Homer* is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore necessary to inform our readers how this was performed, the rather, because it is contained in an extract from a *Greek* book, the whole of which is hitherto unpublished; and this very extract not easily met with. Our author says, that *Pisistratus*, considering the various ways by which *Homer*'s poems had been corrupted, and fearing lest in the end they should be totally lost, caused public notice to be given throughout *Greece*, that all who were possessed of any genuine works of *Homer* should bring them to him, promising to give them so much a line, which he punctually performed, even where several persons brought the same verses; because to the first

(40) *Herodot. lib.* v. *c.* 65. *Eustath. ad Iliad.* γ. (41) *Herodot. lib.* i. *Diog. Laertius in vit. Chilonis.* (42) *Plutarch. Apoptheg.* (43) *Dion. Chrys. Orat.* xxii. *Cicer. de Orat. lib.* iii. *c.* 34. *Isocrat. in Panathen.* (44) *Plutarch. in vita Periclis.* (45) *lib.* vii. *Epist.* 20. (46) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* v. *c.* 14.

a THE brothers *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* ſhared, as moſt think, the ſupreme authority between them, ſome ſay, that the former only had the title, and others, that *Piſiſtratus* bequeathed his authority, not only to theſe two, but alſo to his third ſon *Theſſalus* [g]; clear it is, that *Hipparchus* and *Hippias* lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a perſon of great ſweetneſs of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and alſo himſelf a very learned man. He directed, that the rhapſodiſts, a ſort of bards by profeſſion, ſhould at the great feaſt ſtiled *Panathenæa* ſing all the poems of *Homer*, that the *Athenians* might be generally inſtructed both in the ſciences and in the moral conduct of life. He treated *Simonides* the poet with great kindneſs, and kept him always near his perſon, and ſent a galley on purpoſe to bring the
b celebrated *Anacreon* to *Athens* [h]. *Onomacritus* was another of his favourites, but he having been caught in the fact of interpolating the oracles of *Muſæus*, *Hipparchus* not only diſmiſſed him his court, but baniſhed him *Athens* [i]. So aſſiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he cauſed in city and country, but eſpecially in the latter, ſtatues of *Mercury* to be ſet up, and certain wiſe counſels in *Elegiac* verſe to be inſcribed on both ſides of them. Sometimes there was only a ſhort ſaying, ſuch as, *This is the precept of* Hipparchus, *be thou ſtrictly juſt*, or, *deceive not thy friend*. On account therefore of theſe ſhining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the *Piſiſtratidæ* ſeemed to be thoroughly and quietly eſtabliſhed [k]. But when it was leaſt expected, a conſpiracy was formed
c for taking off both the brothers, which ſucceeded in reſpect to *Hipparchus*, and narrowly miſſed with regard to *Hippias*. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumſtances; as to the moſt material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are theſe: There were two young men in *Athens*, *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, the former was exquiſitely beautiful in his perſon, and on that account, according to the infamous cuſtom of the *Greeks*, violently beloved of the other; this *Harmodius* was alſo beloved by *Hipparchus*, who, if we may believe *Thucydides*, forced him; *Ariſtogiton* grievouſly reſented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their reſentment, *Hipparchus* finding that *Harmodius* endeavoured to avoid him, publickly affronted him, by
d not permitting his ſiſter to carry the offering of *Minerva*, as if ſhe was a perſon unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to ſhew any public ſigns of reſentment, conſulted privately with their friends, among whom it was reſolved, at the approaching feſtival of the *Panathenæa*, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to reſtore *Athens* to liberty; the conſpirators believing that the people would be unanimous in ſupport of a deſign ſo manifeſtly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this deſign into execution, and the conſpiracy appeared, as it had been agreed on, near the perſon of *Hipparchus*, they perceived at a diſtance one of their own number talking very familiarly with *Hippias*; this amazed them, they
e were afraid that he had diſcovered to him the conſpirators, taking courage therefore from the ſuppoſed deſperate ſtate of their affairs, they inſtantly fell on *Hipparchus*, and with a multitude of wounds diſpatched him. The people, however, did not ſecond

[g] ATHENÆUS Deipnoſ. lib. xiii. THUCYD. ubi ſupra. HERAC. PONT. Fragm. [h] PLATO, ubi ſupra. [i] HERODOT. lib. vii. [k] PLATO, ubi ſupra.

firſt the money was due, and the latter he ſaid deſerved it for their good will; he cauſed the whole to be reviſed by the moſt experienced critics, amongſt whom *Zenodotus* and *Ariſtarchus* were the chief (47). He is ſaid to have had three wives, two before he arrived at the ſovereignty, and the third the daughter of *Megacles*, whom, as we have ſhewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the firſt he had *Hipparchus*, whom *Juſtin* calls *Diocles*, and *Hippias*, but her name is not known; the ſecond was called *Timonaſſa*, an *Argive* by birth, by whom he had *Jophon* and *Theſſalus*; when he was about to marry this woman, his ſons came to him and aſked him, If any miſbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? *No*, anſwered he, *I approve your conduct ſo much, that I would have more children like you* (48). Yet he refuſed to have children by his laſt wife, becauſe her family, though noble, was ſtained with an indelible mark of infamy among the *Athenians*. The name of his daughter is not known. Beſides theſe children by his wives, he had a baſtard ſon, by an *Argive* woman, whoſe name was *Hegiſtratus*, to whom he left the principality of *Sigeium*, whither his ſon *Hippias* retired when expelled by the *Athenians* (49). As to the dates when the ſeveral memorable tranſactions above-cited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them, we ſhall therefore poſtpone what we have to ſay of them, till we come to the death of *Hippias*, and then conſider the whole matter together.

(47) *Diomed. in Comment. Dionyſ. Thrac. de Arte Gram. apud. Meurſ. in Præfat. Gronov. Theſ. Grec.* (48) *Plutarch. de vit. Caton.* (49) *Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi ſupra.*

cond them in this exploit, but ſuffered *Harmodius* to be killed upon the ſpot by *Hip-* a
parchus's guard, and having ſeized *Ariſtogiton* themſelves, delivered him up [n]. *He-*
rodotus, who was very curious in picking up ſtrange ſtories, relates a very odd one
in relation to this tranſaction; *Hipparchus*, he tells us, in the night preceding the
day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handſome youth ſtanding by him,
who repeated diſtinctly theſe obſcure lines;

Lion unmov'd, ſuſtain the greateſt ill;
For puniſhment attends injuſtice ſtill.

At break of day he acquainted ſuch as had ſkill in dreams with what he had
ſeen: what their interpretation was, *Herodotus* does not inform us; he adds, that at
length *Hipparchus*, deſpiſing this omen, went to celebrate the feaſt, and was there ſlain b
in the manner we have related [o]. *Hippias* behaved on this occaſion with great pru-
dence; he diſſembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better pre-
ſerve himſelf and family: he approached the great croud of people with his guards,
and having picked out ſuch as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged
him to believe conſpirators, he diſmiſſed the reſt [p]. As for the *Athenians* in general,
though they ſeemed to have a high eſteem for the *Piſiſtratidæ*, and had been govern-
ed by them with great gentleneſs for the ſpace of a long ſeries of years, and had not
made any general inſurrection in order to favour the attempt of *Harmodius* and *Ari-*
ſtogiton, yet they carried their reſpect for them after their deaths to a height ſcarce to
be accounted for; they cauſed their praiſes to be ſung at the *Panathenæa* [q]; they c
forbad any citizen to call his ſlave by either of their names [r]; they erected brazen ſta-
tues for them in the forum, which ſtatues, as *Pliny* informs us, were the work of
Praxiteles [s]; theſe ſtatues *Xerxes* afterwards carried into *Aſia*, from whence they were
ſent back to *Athens*, either by *Alexander* [t], *Antiochus* [u], or *Selucus* [x]; for authors do
not agree which. They likewiſe granted ſeveral immunities and honorary privileges
to the deſcendents of theſe patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory
venerable, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere [y] (P).

The ſupreme power being now in the hands of *Hippias*, he began to alter his
conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a ſeverity unknown to his fa- d
mily before, and which was the worſe borne, becauſe himſelf had been ſo mild a
prince. The firſt effects of this change in his temper fell upon thoſe concerned in
the late conſpiracy, he ordered *Ariſtogiton* to be put to the torture, in order to extort
from him the names of thoſe who were privy to this tranſaction. This man, as
ſoon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named ſome of
Hippias's beſt friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more,
who received the ſame fate, and when *Hippias* aſked him if there were not ſtill ſome
others, he replied ſmiling, *I know of none now, but yourſelf, that deſerves to ſuffer*
death [z]. But it was not *Ariſtogiton* only who triumphed over the cruelty of *Hippias*;
a woman he kept, whoſe name was *Leæna*, behaved with no leſs intrepidity than
he. *Hippias* having directed her to be tortured in order to extort diſcoveries, ſhe e
bore it patiently as long as ſhe was able, but when ſhe found ſhe could endure it
no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue, and ſpit it out, that it might not be in her power
to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man ſhe loved. The *Athenians*, con-
ceiving

[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Plato, ubi ſupra. Ælian. var. Hiſt. lib. xi. 8 [o] Herodot. lib. v. Thu-
cydid. lib. vi. [p] Dion. Chrys. Orat. xi. Philost. in vit. Apoll. lib. vii. c. 2 [r] Liban. De-
clam. xxix. [s] H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. [t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. [u] Pausan. in Atticis.
[x] Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 10. [y] Demost. Orat. in Leptin. [z] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 22.

(P) The hiſtory of *Hipparchus*'s murder is vari-
ouſly reported. *Thucydides* ſays expreſly, that *Har-*
modius, who was in the flower of his age, was be-
loved by *Ariſtogiton* a citizen of the middle rank,
and aſcribes the murder of *Hipparchus* to his rival's
hatred (50). *Ariſtotle* calls *Harmodius* and *Ariſto-*
giton lovers (51), and ſo does *Maximus Tyrius* (52).
Juſtin differs from every body, and gives quite ano-
ther turn to the whole affair. After *Piſiſtratus*'s
death, *Diocles*, one of his ſons, ſays he, having ra-
viſhed a virgin, was killed by the brother of the
maid (53). He had this probably from *Trogus Pom-*
peius, whoſe work he abridged; but where he had it
is not known. *Ariſtogiton* is by ſome authors ſaid to
have been an humble dependent on *Harmodius*, and
his miſtreſs *Leæna* no better than a ſinging woman
who uſed to attend at feaſts (54). On the whole
therefore, whatever honours the *Athenians* thought
fit to decree theſe men, their conſpiracy ſeems ra-
ther the effects of paſſion, than any deſire to do
their country good; or at beſt, the latter was pre-
tended to cover the former; but it ſuited the *Athe-*
nians, who were violent enemies to the government
of a ſingle perſon, to magnify this action as glori-
ous, and to give the actors therein the title of
heroes.

(50) *Thucyd. lib.* vi. (51) *Rhetor. lib.* ii. (52) (53) *lib.* ii. *c.* 9.
(54).

ceiving it indecent to ſet up the ſtatue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themſelves with erecting that of a lioneſs without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven theſe words, *Her tongue herſelf bit off* [a]. This conſpiracy being, as *Hippias* conceived, thoroughly quaſhed, he took all the meaſures, which human policy could ſuggeſt, to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he increaſed his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the *Athenians* to bring in their ſilver coin at a certain price, and coined new. Theſe violent methods ſoon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preſerved it ſo long. *Hippias* held the ſovereignty only three years after the demiſe of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled [b] (Q).

The Piſiſtratidæ *expelled* Athens, *and the democracy reſtored.*

We have already obſerved, that *Megacles*, who was of the family of *Alcmæon*, left his country, when *Piſiſtratus* was a ſecond time reſtored, but he and thoſe who were with him carried away a great ſum of money; the *Alcmæonidæ*, for ſo the family of *Megacles* from their great anceſtor *Alcmæon* were ſtiled, ſettled at *Lipſydrum* in *Paeonia*, and there gave refuge to all who fled from *Athens*, which were not a few; for *Piſiſtratus*, as ſome ſay, or as others report, *Hippias*, baniſhed all that depended on that family, and ſuffered not ſo much as the dead to reſt in their graves, on the old ſuperſtitious account, it may be, of their being thought *execrable* [c]. This family reſiding, as we have ſaid, at *Lipſydrum*, buſied themſelves intirely in contriving means for expelling the *Piſiſtratidæ*, and at laſt deviſed a method which proved not unſucceſsful. They agreed with the *Amphictyons* or ſtates-general of *Greece* to rebuild the temple of *Delphi*; as they were poſſeſſed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontiſpiece with *Parian* marble inſtead of common ſtone, to the uſe of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public ſervice of *Greece*, they ſerved themſelves too a little, for they corrupted the *Pythia*, i. e. ſhe who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the *Lacedemonians* who came to conſult the oracle, either on behalf of the ſtate or on their private account, to deliver *Athens*. This had the effect they expected, for the *Lacedemonians*, finding this admonition inceſſantly inculcated, ſent *Anchimolius*, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into *Attica* to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithſtanding the *Piſiſtratidæ* were at that time their good friends and allies [d]. *Hippias*, however, receiving advice of theſe proceedings, ſent to the *Theſſalians*, who were his confederates, to demand their aſſiſtance, who readily ſent him a thouſand horſe under the command of *Cineas* one of their princes. A ſhort time after, *Anchimolius* with his fleet arrived on the *Athenian* coaſt, and immediately after the army landed and incamped. The *Piſiſtratidæ* did not, however, abandon *Athens*, but *Hippias*, having cleared the adjacent country in ſuch a manner that the *Theſſalian* horſe might act with eaſe, attacked the *Lacedemonians* ſuddenly, routed

[a] Plut. de Garr. [b] Herodot. lib. v. c. 45. [c] Suidas. [d] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(Q) It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that in ſpeaking of the government of the *Piſiſtratidæ* we have aſſerted, that they did not greatly violate the laws or conſtitution of their country. In order to explain this, we muſt deſcend a little into the particulars of *Piſiſtratus*'s policy. He pretended, as we ſee in his letter to *Solon*, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth, but ſuffered them to continue veſted with the ſame power they had before, taking care, however, that the archon ſhould be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on, ſo that he at once preſerved that ſuperiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was ſo pleaſing to them. That all the family of *Piſiſtratus* had in their turns a ſhare in the adminiſtration, might be made appear from various teſtimonies; at preſent we will inſiſt only on one. *Piſiſtratus*, the ſon of *Hippias*, and grandſon of the great *Piſiſtratus*, as we learn from *Thucydides*, placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the *Pythian Apollo*; the inſcription on the former the *Athenians* demoliſhed, but that on the latter they ſuffered to remain, which run thus: *This monument, during the time of his magiſtracy,* Piſiſtratus *the ſon of* Hippias *placed in the temple of the* Pythian Apollo. It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, becauſe the year in which he was archon could not be ſettled, however, the authority before produced may be aſſuredly relied on. The exceſſes committed by *Hippias*, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildneſs of the adminiſtration preceding it; for few things that he did would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with obſerving, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* affected, like *Piſiſtratus*, to leave the popular magiſtrates and the ſenate in the nominal poſſeſſion of their authority, tho' at the ſame time he held the ſupreme power himſelf.

routed them with a great slaughter, slew their general *Anchimolius*, and obliged the 2
shattered remains of his army to betake themselves to their ships. The body of
the *Spartan* general was honourably interred near the temple of *Hercules* in the Cyn-
sarges. The *Lacedemonians*, incensed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to
send another army into *Attica*, which accordingly they did under their king *Cleo-*
menes, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the *Athenian* territories
defeated the *Thessalian* horse, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own
country, he made use of this opportunity to besiege *Hippias*, who had retired within
the *Pelasgic* wall; this siege, however, could not have produced any great matter,
Hippias and his forces being well provided with all things within, *Cleomenes* and his
army destitute of all things without; but an accident changed the scene, and
constrained *Hippias* to abandon *Athens*. The *Pisistratidæ* were so careful of their
children, that to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted
to send them out of *Attica*; which measure of theirs, though intended for the pre-
servation of their offspring, proved the ruin of themselves, their children falling
into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Pisistratidæ*, retaining still the same af-
fection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of *Attica* in
order to redeem them [e]. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any danger
of wanting a place of refuge, the princes of *Thessaly* invited them into their country,
the king of *Macedon* offered them a city and territory if they would retire into his
dominions [f]. But *Hippias* and his family chose rather to go to the city of *Sigeum*,
which *Pisistratus* had conquered and left behind him to his posterity, *Herodotus* says
to *Hegistratus* his natural son. From this time forwards the *Athenians* pursued this
family with implacable hatred, retaining such a sense of their usurpation, that, let
other eminent persons should imitate them, and through their interest in the peo-
assume the sovereignty, they were most ready to banish even the most worthy of their
citizens, that at all events they might be safe, as we shall have frequent occasion to
shew in the succeeding pages of this history.

The *Athenians* did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, as they expected, after the
expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*. The people were quickly divided into two factions, at
the head of the one was *Clysthenes*, the most eminent of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and at the
head of the other *Isagoras* the son of *Tirsander*, a man of great quality and in high
esteem with the nobility of *Athens*. *Clysthenes*, who was a person of great parts, as
we may guess from his having a principal hand in corrupting the *Pythia*, which
was the prime cause of *Hippias*'s expulsion, applied himself chiefly to the people,
and, in order thoroughly to engage them in his interest, sought by all methods pos-
sible to encrease their power. With this view he altered many things in *Solon*'s scheme
of government; for whereas till this time the *Athenian* tribes had been but four in
number, he augmented them to ten, and encreased the senate from four hundred
to five. *Isagoras*, penetrating his design, and readily conceiving that by this course
he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately resolved to seek aid
from the *Lacedemonians*. This seemed to him the more easy, because in their last
expedition he had contracted a strict friendship with *Cleomenes* their king; he like-
wise devised a very proper expedient for the expulsion of his rival, *viz.* the so often
mentioned story of the putting to death *Cylon*'s associates after their taking sanctuary
in the temple of *Minerva*; but, as we have heretofore observed, the *Alcmæonidæ* were
of the same family with *Megacles*, who was principally concerned in that trans-
action: the *Lacedemonians* readily came into *Isagoras*'s proposition, and *Cleomenes* sud-
denly dispatched a herald to *Athens*, with a declaration of war in case the *Alcmæonidæ*
were not immediately banished. The *Athenians*, either dreading the *Lacedemonian*
power, or being tired already of *Clysthenes*, made no great difficulty of the thing,
but to avoid a war banished their benefactors. The worst of it was, that this did
not answer their end, for *Cleomenes*, at the head of a *Spartan* army, soon after en-
tered *Attica*. On his arrival at *Athens* he drove seven hundred families into banish-
ment, exclusive of those whom the *Athenians* had before banished with *Clysthenes*;
after this he would have dissolved the senate, and have vested the government in
three hundred of the principal persons of *Isagoras*'s faction; this was pushing the
matter too far; the *Athenians* therefore, perceiving that either they must submit
to slavery or resist the *Lacedemonian*, immediately took up arms, and constrained
Cleomenes

[e] Aristoph. Lysistr. Pausan. in Lacon. [f] Herodot. ubi supra.

a *Cleomenes* and his troops to retire, together with *Iſagoras* and his friends, into the citadel, where they beſieged them for two days. On the third the king of *Lacedæmon*, being now convinced that force would do nothing with the *Athenians*, ſurrendered upon theſe terms, that all who were in the citadel ſhould have leave to retire out of *Attica* unmoleſted. The *Athenians*, however, fell upon ſuch as were ſeparated from the army, and put them to death without mercy; amongſt theſe was *Timeſitheus* the brother of *Cleomenes*, ſo that the *Athenians* no longer kept any meaſures with the *Lacedæmonians*, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things ſought to ſubvert that democracy, of which they were ſo fond, and to conſtitute an ariſtocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the *Spartans*,
b who, where-ever they had authority, ſet up that form of rule. One reaſon of which among others was this, that they could better depend on the friendſhips of ſuch ſtates than ſuch as were governed by the people, who very ſeldom know their true intereſt, and are frequently prevailed on to change their councils. But to return to the current of our hiſtory.

Cleomenes and his *Spartans* had no ſooner quitted the *Athenian* territories, than the people of that country recalled *Clyſthenes* and all the families they had ſent into exile, that they might be the better able to ſupport a war which they foreſaw they ſhould be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, *Cleo-*
c *menes* raiſed forces throughout all *Peloponneſus*, though without declaring poſitively his intention, which was to make *Iſagoras*, who was ſtill with him, tyrant of *Athens*. When all things were ready, the *Lacedæmonian* king engaged the *Bœotians* on one ſide, and the *Chalcidians* on the other, to attack the *Athenians*, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of *Eleuſis*. The *Athenians*, knowing that it was impoſſible for them to ſet on foot armies ſufficient to look all their enemies in the face, reſolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the *Bœotians* and *Chalcidians*, and with all the forces they could draw together to march againſt *Cleomenes*. This reſolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution, but before the armies were ready to engage, the *Corinthians*, who were among the forces of *Cleomenes*, began to doubt the juſtice of their cauſe, and, thinking it ſafeſt not to act where they
d were doubtful, marched back to their own country. *Damaratus* the ſon of *Ariſton*, the other king of *Sparta* and collegue of *Cleomenes*, was alſo againſt this expedition; and his oppoſition was the more remarkable, becauſe till then he had never differed with his collegue. The confederates obſerving, that neither the *Lacedæmonian* princes could agree amongſt themſelves, or prevail upon the *Corinthians* to remain with the army, began to diſtaſte this buſineſs, and, dropping, off by degrees, put the *Athenians* out of fear.

When the *Spartans* and their allies were withdrawn, the people of *Athens* determined to revenge themſelves upon the *Chalcidians* againſt whom the army marched immediately; but finding the *Bœotians* had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces
e between them and the *Euripus*, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Bœotians* were intirely routed, a great number of them ſlain, and ſeven hundred taken priſoners. This victory opened a free paſſage into *Eubœa*, whither the *Athenians* paſſed over the ſame day, and falling upon the *Chalcidians*, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vaſt number of priſoners, whom with the *Bœotians* they carried back with them to *Athens*, leaving in *Eubœa* four thouſand men. All the priſoners taken in this battle the *Athenians* put in irons, though they afterwards ſet them at liberty on receiving two *Minæ* for each man by way of ranſom. The fetters, however, they hung up in the citadel, and having conſecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ran-
f ſom, they purchaſed therewith a chariot with four horſes a-breaſt, which they ſet up in the portico of the citadel with this inſcription:

Warm with juſt rage, when the *Athenian* youth
O'ercame *Bœotian* and *Chalcidian* bands;
Their foes in fetters bound; to *Pallas* then
Theſe, as the tenth of all their ſpoils, they plac'd.

This happy ſucceſs of the *Athenian* arms falling out in a ſhort time after the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, *Herodotus* makes the following obſervation thereupon; "thus the affairs of the *Athenians* flouriſhed, yet they are not the only example "of this kind. For all places abound in inſtances of the proſperity that attends "an equal diſtribution of power. Under their tyrants indeed they were not

" inferior in war to any of their neighbours: But they had no sooner freed them- a
" selves from that servitude, than they far surpassed all the rest, and became the
" principal nation of *Greece*; which manifestly shews, that as long as they were
" oppressed they acted remissly, and would not exert their courage to the utmost,
" because they knew their victories could only redound to the advantage of their
" masters; whereas, after they had recovered their liberty, every man contended
" who should do best, because they fought for themselves. And such was the
" state of the *Athenian* affairs" [g]. That *Herodotus* had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from the subsequent conduct of the people of *Athens*, who, no longer passive under any affronts, took up arms frequently against her insulting neighbours, and forced them to be both quiet and submissive.

The war with Æginæans.

The *Bœotians*, stung with the indignities offered to their countrymen, when made prisoners by the *Athenians*, resolved to revenge themselves; and, as the custom of those times was, before they began the war, sent to consult the oracle at *Delphos*. Having received its answer, and spent a considerable time in consulting on its meaning, they at last resolved to engage the inhabitants of *Ægina* to invade *Attica* at the same time, which it was easy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coast. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the *Athenians*, and being elate on account of their great wealth, readily embraced the proposal; and while the people of *Athens* bent all their attention towards the *Bœotian* war, landed a considerable army on the opposite side, and wasted all the sea-coasts. The *Athenians* immediately took fire at this, but sending to-and-fro-to *Delphi* before they equipped a fleet against *Ægina*, they had suddenly a new affair upon their hands.

Cleomenes, when he returned to *Sparta*, after his unsuccessful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he said he had found in the citadel of *Athens*, while he was besieged therein; the purport of these oracles was, that *Athens* would in time rival *Sparta*. On the back of this came out the discovery of *Clysthenes*'s confederacy with the priestess of *Apollo*, whereby the *Lacedæmonians* had been engaged to drive the *Pisistratidæ* out of *Athens*, or, in other words, to sacrifice their fast friends to such as by their interests were bound to be their enemies. The *Spartans*, repenting d sorely of the folly they had committed, sent for *Hippias* from *Sigeium*, in order to restore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their summons, and, though it cost him a long voyage by sea, came in person to *Lacedæmon*, where the kings of *Sparta*, and the deputies of the states in alliance with them, were in deep consultation. *Sosicles* the *Corinthian* made a long harangue against the proposition for restoring *Hippias*, which had such an influence on the deputies from the rest of the confederates, that the *Lacedæmonians* found it impossible to engage them in this design, and were therefore constrained to abandon it themselves, so that *Hippias* was obliged to return to *Sigeium*, without relinquishing, however, his hopes of one day reducing *Athens*.

The Ionian *war.*

Aristagoras the *Milesian* having set on foot a revolt in *Ionia*, and having failed in his attempt to engage the *Lacedæmonians* to abet it, came to *Athens*, and, as *Herodotus* observes, found it easier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to persuade the *Lacedæmonian* king. In consequence of his fine speeches, they decreed, that twenty ships should be sent to the assistance of the *Ionians* under the command of *Melanthius*, an *Athenian* nobleman universally esteemed; by the assistance of which fleet the *Ionians* did many great exploits, and amongst the rest sacked *Sardis*, of which when the *Persian* king had advice, he declared himself the sworn enemy of *Athens*, and solemnly besought God, that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the source of those wars which followed afterwards between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, and which were so fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the *Ionians* were unsuccessful, and the *Persians* reduced them again under their yoke.

When the *Ionian* war was ended, the *Persian* king sent to demand *Earth* and *Water*, as tokens of submission, from the *Greeks*, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at sea, most of the islanders yielded, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of *Ægina*. The *Athenians*, as soon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads, that this nation had submitted themselves to the great king, that they might

[g] Herodot. lib. v.

a be at liberty to act againſt the *Athenians*, under colour of their being ſubject to the *Perſian* crown. On this account *they*, that is the *Athenians*, ſent embaſſadors to *Sparta* to accuſe the inhabitants of *Ægina* of treachery towards the *Greeks*. The *Spartans* upon this complaint ſent their king *Cleomenes* to *Ægina*, who on his arrival attempted to ſeize the perſons principally concerned in making their ſubmiſſion to the *Perſians*. But when he attempted this, *Crius* the ſon of *Polycritus* interpoſed, and told him, he ſhould not carry away any of his countrymen, becauſe he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commiſſion from the *Lacedæmonians*. This exceedingly irritated *Cleomenes*, who notwithſtanding was conſtrained to return without effecting what he deſigned; his collegue *Damaratus* b having accuſed him at home. But having after he came back procured his collegue to be depoſed, and his own kinſman *Leotychides* to be crowned in his ſtead, he brought the laſt mentioned prince with him into the iſland of *Ægina*, and having ſeized ten of the principal perſons of that iſland, and amongſt them *Crius* before mentioned, he brought them away priſoners, and delivered them up to the *Athenians*. Not long after having in his phrenzy killed himſelf, all his tyrannical acts were diſapproved by the *Spartans*, who on the inhabitants of *Ægina*'s accuſing *Leotychides* for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who, however, deſired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to *Athens* in order to ſolicit the releaſe of *Crius* and his aſſociates. When they arrived there c the *Spartan* king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to ſhew, that the hoſtages were only depoſited by him and his collegue in *Athens* that they might be ſafe, and that, now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the *Athenians* did not, or would not, underſtand, ſo that the war between them and the people of *Ægina* was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The latter being informed, that the *Athenian* galley, which went annually to *Delphi*, lay at anchor at *Sunium*, they reſolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many perſons of diſtinction aboard it. The *Athenians*, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one *Nicodromus*, a perſon of great intereſt in *Ægina*; he had been formerly baniſhed his country by thoſe who then governed d it, and in order to be revenged on them reſolved to betray it to the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* for this purpoſe fitted out a conſiderable fleet, but not thinking it ſufficient for their purpoſe, *Ægina* being then miſtreſs of thoſe ſeas, they had recourſe to the *Corinthians* for their aſſiſtance; this ſtate, being the faſt friend and ally of *Athens*, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they were forbidden to lend their ſhips; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the *Athenians* obtained what they wanted; and yet the *Corinthians* did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ſhips in conſideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty fruſtrated the *Athenian* hopes, for *Nicodromus*, depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed ſeized on e the old town and declared for the *Athenians*; but he and his party not being able alone to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, they were obliged to ſecure themſelves by flight, which they did the very day before the *Athenian* and *Corinthian* fleet appeared before *Ægina*. This defection of *Nicodromus*, however, proved very beneficial to the *Athenians*, for they having aſſigned to him and his aſſociates land on the ſhore oppoſite to *Ægina*, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the iſſue was of this war, *Herodotus* does not inform us: It is generally conceived, that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the *Athenians* and for *Greece* in general, for it exerciſed that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the uſe and conſequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little f underſtood. When the firſt news came, that the *Perſian* had in view the conqueſt of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Ægina*, as well as the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, compromiſed their differences, that they might be the better able to reſiſt the power of the great king, who threatened at leaſt the liberties of the *Greeks* in general, in revenge for the *Athenians* aſſiſting the *Ionians* when they ſought to recover their freedom [g].

We have already taken notice of the diſpleaſure which *Darius* had taken againſt the *Athenians* on account of the ſacking of *Sardis*; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of *Hippias* in order to obtain by force the principality of *Athens*, from

Hippias *endeavours to be reſtored to the principality of* Athens.

[g] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

from whence, as we have before related, through the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from *Lacedæmon* to *Asia*, went to *Artaphernes*, governor of the adjacent provinces for the *Persian* king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promising, that himself would be obedient to *Darius*, and greatly further all his designs, in case he could be restored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at *Athens*. The *Athenians* were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propositions he had made to *Artaphernes*, they therefore sent embassadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to *Hippias*'s proposals, but to suffer the people of *Athens* to remain free and quiet as they were. But *Artaphernes*, conceiving that it would be more for his master's interest to have a prince governing *Athens*, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, answered the *Athenians* haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they must receive *Hippias* and obey him; but this was so distasteful to that generous people, that they immediately resolved to give the enemies of *Darius* all the assistance they could, and to endeavour, if it were possible, to cut him out so much work near home, that he might have no opportunity to attempt any thing either against them or *Greece*. At last, however, *Darius* commissioned *Mardonius* to revenge him of the insults which he conceived had been put upon him by the *Greeks*, but *Mardonius* and his troops, through a storm at sea and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, *Datis* and *Artaphernes* the son of *Artaphernes* were commissioned to do what he was to have done [h].

The Persian war.

The misfortune which the *Persians* had had in suffering shipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of *Athos*, made such an impression on the commanders last mentioned, that they resolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of *Cilicia*, and passing over from thence through the *Cyclades* to *Eubœa* in order to destroy *Eretria*; and from thence to proceed to *Athens*, they having it in charge from *Darius* to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his disposal. The *Eretrians*, as soon as they had advice of the arrival of the *Persian* fleet among the *Cyclades*, sent to demand assistance from the *Athenians*. That state, with a magnanimity scarce to be parallelled, ordered the four thousand men whom they had left in the *Chalcidian* territory to advance to the aid of the *Eretrians*, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither steady nor honest; one party was for receiving the *Athenian* succours into the city and holding out to the last extremity; a second was for abandoning the city and retiring to the mountains of *Eubœa*: A third party sought to betray their country to the *Persians* for the sake of private advantage. *Æschines* the son of *Nothon*, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the situation things were in, generously informed the commanders of the *Athenian* troops, and advised them to return home: in consequence of which advice they immediately retired to *Oropus*, and thereby escaped that total destruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of *Eretria*. For that city, being betrayed to the *Persians* by some of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants sold for slaves, according to the command of *Darius*.

The *Athenians*, who, as we have often remarked before, were generally divided among themselves, and persecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal and earnestness, when they heard that the *Persians* were so near them. They raised with the utmost expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not draw together above nine thousand men. These, with a thousand *Platæans* who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these were *Miltiades*, *Aristides*, and *Themistocles*, all men of distinguished valour and great abilities. But it being generally conceived, that it would be impossible for them, with their small forces, to give any interruption to the *Persians*, they sent *Phidippides* to *Sparta* to intreat the immediate assistance of that state. This man, as *Herodotus* informs us, affirmed afterwards to the *Athenians*, that passing by mount *Parthenius*, he heard himself loudly called by his name, upon which turning about, he beheld the god *Pan*, who, after asking him why the *Athenians* held him in no greater esteem, assured him, that he had deserved very well of their state, and would continue to do so, of which when the people of *Athens* had information, they caused a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thence-forward with annual sacrifices,

[h] Id. ibid.

a fices and a lamp continually burning. *Phidippides*, after this ſtrange adventure, arrived on the ſecond day at *Sparta*, where he communicated his buſineſs to the ſenate in the following terms: *Men of* Lacedæmon, *the* Athenians *deſire you to aſſiſt them, and not to ſuffer the moſt ancient of all the* Grecian *cities to be enſlaved by the* Barbarians. Eretria *is already deſtroyed, and* Greece *conſequently weakened by the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place.* The *Lacedæmonians* readily agreed to what he propoſed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the ſame time declared, that they would not depart in leſs than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition, but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The *Perſians* in the mean time being informed by *Hippias*, that the plains of *Ma-*
b *rathon* would be the moſt advantagious place for them to engage in, becauſe it would afford them room to act with their horſe, following his advice, after the deſtruction of *Eretria*, made all the haſte they poſſibly could thither, of which when the *Athenians* had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to *Marathon* alſo. An act of amazing confidence, conſidering the mighty diſproportion between the *Perſian* and *Athenian* army.

THE *Athenians*, being encamped at the temple of *Hercules*, were there joined by a thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the little city of *Platæa*, which ſhe now hazarded in the cauſe of *Athens* out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held here, the generals were very much divided in their
c opinions; ſome were for fighting, others not; *Miltiades*, obſerving this, and conſidering the great importance of the matter in debate, addreſſed himſelf to *Callimachus* of *Aphidna*, who was *Polemarch* and whoſe power was equal to that of all the other generals, in theſe words; "You alone, O *Callimachus*, muſt now deter-
"mine, either to ſee the *Athenians* reduced to the condition of ſlaves, or, by pre-
"ſerving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monument of your fame,
"ſurpaſſing the glory of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. For the *Athenians* were never
"in ſo great danger from the time they were firſt a people. If they fall under
"the power of the *Medes*, one may eaſily imagine what uſage they muſt expect
"from *Hippias:* But if they conquer, *Athens* will be the principal city of *Greece*.
d "To let you know then by what means theſe things may be effected, and from
"what cauſe the fate of *Athens* is now in your hands, I ſhall acquaint you, that
"we are at this inſtant divided in opinion touching a battle; ſome of us propo-
"ſing to fight, and others adviſing the contrary. If we decline a battle, I foreſee
"ſome great diſſenſion will ſhake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to
"a compliance with the *Medes*. But if we fight before the corruption ſlides into
"the hearts of the *Athenians*, we may hope from the equity of the gods to obtain
"the victory. All theſe things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the
"reſolution you ſhall take. For if you would ſupport my opinion with the ac-
"ceſſion

The battle of Marathon. *Year after the flood*, 2509. *Before Chriſt*, 490.

(R) The city of *Platæa* was in old times free. *Herodotus* has given us a very full account of the reaſons which induced its inhabitants to raiſe their utmoſt force in the cauſe of *Athens*. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words; "The *Platæans* were already under the "protection of *Athens*, and the *Athenians* had gone "through many dangers in their defence. For "when the *Platæans* ſaw themſelves oppreſſed by "the *Thebans*, they firſt offered their ſubmiſſion to "*Cleomenes* the ſon of *Anaxandrides* and to the "*Lacedæmonians*. But they rejected the offer in "theſe terms: *We are placed*, ſaid they, *at ſuch a "diſtance from you, that in time of neceſſity our ſuc-"cours will prove ineffectual. For your country may "be frequently ravaged before we can be informed of "your danger. We adviſe you therefore to put your-"ſelves under the protection of the* Athenians, *who are "your neighbours, and ſufficiently able to defend you.* "This counſel the *Lacedæmonians* gave, not out of "any good will to the *Platæans*, but becauſe they "were deſirous to ſee the *Athenians* weakened by "a war againſt the *Bœotians*. However, the *Pla-"tæans*, approving their advice, went to *Athens*, "and arriving there, when the *Athenians* were met "to ſacrifice to the twelve gods, they ſat down by "the altar in the poſture of ſuppliants, and made "their ſubmiſſion to that place. Which when the "*Thebans* heard, they ſent an army againſt *Platæa*, "and at the ſame time the *Athenians* marched to "aſſiſt the *Platæans*. But as they were ready to "engage in battle, the *Corinthians*, apprehending "the conſequences, interpoſed their good offices to "reconcile the contending parties, and, with the con-"ſent of both ſides, determined the diſpute on this "agreement; *That the* Thebans *ſhould permit all "thoſe* Bœotians, *who would no longer be accounted "members of* Bœotia, *to do as they thought moſt con-"venient for themſelves.* After this reconciliation "the *Corinthians* returned home, and as the *Athe-"nians* were retiring likewiſe, the *Bœotians* fell "upon them in their march, but were repulſed "with loſs. Upon which ſucceſs the *Athenians* "enlarged the frontiers of the *Platæans*, and inſtead "of that appointed by the *Corinthians*, fixed the "limits of the *Thebans* at *Aſopus* and *Hyſia*. In "this manner the *Platæans* came under the pro-"tection of the *Athenians*, and joined their forces "at *Marathon* (55)".

(55) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

" ceſſion of your vote, you will ſee your country free, and *Athens* the moſt illu- a
" ſtrious city of *Greece*: But if you join with thoſe who would diſſuade us from
" a battle, you can expect no other conſequences, than ſuch as are moſt contrary
" to theſe hopes". *Callimachus*, whoſe voice was deciſive according to the *Athe-*
nian laws, joined directly with *Miltiades*, and declared for giving battle imme-
diately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but *Ariſtides* giving up
his day to *Miltiades*, the reſt did ſo too. That excellent perſon accepted this com-
pliment for the good of his country, but he would not fight till his own proper
day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent ſparks of jealouſy
and envy, any of the generals ſhould be led not to do their duty. But when the
day before-mentioned came, he, without waiting for any farther ſuccours, diſpoſed b
the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his ſtrength in the wings.
Callimachus, as *Polemarch*, commanded on the right, the *Platæans* were poſted on the
left, and the ſacrifices being offered, they began inſtantly to advance with inex-
preſſible ardour towards their enemies. The *Perſian* army was ranged in battalia near
a mile off, and when they beheld the *Athenians* running towards them, they im-
puted it to folly and ignorance of military diſcipline, and were convinced of this,
when they obſerved that they had neither horſe nor pikemen. However, they ſoon
found their error when the charge began: For the *Athenians* and *Platæans* fought c
with ſuch obſtinate valour on the right and left, that the *Barbarians* were forced to fly
on both ſides. The *Perſians* and *Sacæ*, however, perceiving that the *Athenian* center was
weak, charged with ſuch force that they broke through it: This thoſe on the
right and left perceived, but did not attempt to ſuccour it, till they had put to
flight both the wings of the *Perſian* army; then bending the points of their wings
towards their own centre, they encloſed the hitherto victorious *Perſians*, and cut
them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army d
fled, as faſt as they could, to their fleet, whither the *Athenians* purſued them. When
therefore the *Perſians* in haſte hurried on board the booty they had acquired in *Eretria*,
and ſought to eſcape by ſea that ill-fate which attended them on ſhore; the *Athenians*,
in order to hinder this, began to ſet the ſhips on fire, and to board ſuch as lay
neareſt the ſhore; in which bold attempt, though they had ſome ſucceſs, yet the
Perſians at laſt got under ſail, and bore away for *Athens* [i]. It was reported in thoſe
times, that the *Alcmæonidæ* encouraged the *Perſians* to make a ſecond attempt, by
holding up, as they approached the ſhore, a ſhield for a ſignal; however it was, the
Perſian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of *Sunium* with a view to ſurprize
the city of *Athens* before the army could return. But *Miltiades* ſeeing the danger his
countrymen were in, leaving *Ariſtides* with a thouſand men to guard the priſoners
and the ſpoil, marched at the head of the other nine thouſand with ſuch diligence,
that they arrived at the temple of *Hercules* in *Cynoſarges*, which was but at a ſmall
diſtance from the city, before the *Barbarians* were in a condition to attack it. e
Which when the *Perſian* admiral had notice of, he ſailed from the port of *Phalerum*
for *Aſia*, and ſo put an end to a very unfortunate expedition [k].

The battle of *Marathon* makes deſervedly a great figure in hiſtory; *Cornelius*
Nepos aſſigns a juſt reaſon, becauſe never before had ſo ſmall a body of forces over-
come ſo vaſt a hoſt [l]. *Herodotus* tells us, that ſix thouſand three hundred of the
Perſians were ſlain there, and of the *Athenians* one hundred ninety-two [m], which is
infinitely more probable than what *Juſtin* relates of the *Perſians* loſing two-hundred
thouſand men in the battle and by ſhipwreck [n]. The ſame author ſays, that the
Athenians took many of the ſhips, and deſtroyed many more; *Herodotus* ſays, there f
were only ſeven ſhips taken. Certain it is, that the *Athenians* behaved with amaze-
ing intrepidity, and that ſeveral amongſt them diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a moſt
extraordinary manner. *Callimachus* the *Polemarch*, after having done all that a
brave and wiſe officer could do, loſt his life in the field; *Staſileus* the ſon of
Thraſylus, one of the ten commanders, was alſo killed; *Cynegyrus* the ſon of *Eu-*
phorion laid hold on the prow of one of the *Perſian* ſhips with both his hands, and
having them ſtruck off by an ax died of his wounds; this is *Herodotus*'s account.
Juſtin carries matters much farther; he ſays, that *Cynegyrus*, having done wonders
in the fight, purſued the *Perſians* to the ſhore, and laid hold of a ſhip ready to
ſail

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Miltiad. Valer. Max. &c. [k] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. [l] ubi ſupra. [m] ubi ſupra. [n] lib. ii. c. 9.

a fail with his right hand, when that was cut off he ſeized it with his left, of which being likewiſe deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his ſpirit being ſuch, that, untamed by long fatigue and the loſs of both his hands, he, with the rage of a wild beaſt, fought at laſt with his teeth. *Herodotus*, who ſpeaks ſo modeſtly of *Cynegyrus*'s bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one *Epizelus* the ſon of *Cephagoras*, he ſays, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a ſudden loſt his ſight without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the reſt of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if *Herodotus* had not affirmed that he heard this man declare, that he thought he ſaw a man of uncommon height ſtanding by him in complete armour, holding a ſhield, which was covered by his b beard; and that this phantom afterwards, paſſing by him, killed the perſon who was poſted next to him. Whatever we may think of the *Athenian* ſtory, this muſt be admitted an indubitable proof, that *Herodotus*'s account of this battle deſerves credit in all probable circumſtances, ſince what he relates he had from the mouths of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes. The numbers of the *Perſians* is very differently reported; *Juſtin* ſays, that they were ſix-hundred thouſand, *Cornelius Nepos* makes them ten times the number of the *Athenians*, that is one hundred thouſand, which is probably not far from truth [o].

Amongst the many eminent perſons who were preſent in this famous engagement, was *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, who hoped through the power of the *Per-* c *ſians* to be reſtored to the principality of *Athens*. He it was, who, as we have ſaid before, conducted the *Barbarians* into the plains of *Marathon*, when, as *Herodotus* tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded, that he ſhould be reſtored and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was buſy giving direction as to the diſpoſal of the booty taken at *Eretria*, and putting the *Perſian* troops in order on the ſhore, he was ſeized with ſuch a fit of coughing and ſneezing, that moſt of his teeth grew looſe, and one of them fell out of his head upon the ſtrand, for which when thoſe about him had long ſought in vain, *Hippias* fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, *This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be ſubdued by us, and I ſhall have no other part here than* d *that where my tooth lies.* This was his ſecond, and, as it happened, the more juſt conſtruction of his dream [p]. As to what became of him in the battle, both *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are ſilent thereupon. *Juſtin* [q] and ſome other later authors ſay, that he was killed there; if he was, the *Athenians* loſt in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving miſchiefs againſt them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting (S).

Ariſtides,

[o] In vit. Miltiad. [p] ubi ſupra. [q] ubi ſupra.

(S) We have more than once in the text promiſed to ſpeak of the family of *Hippias*; he married *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Callias*, by whom he had five children (56); he had alſo another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one *Charinus* (57). Among theſe children was *Piſiſtratus* junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had alſo a daughter whoſe name was *Archidice*, who, married the ſon of the tyrant or prince of *Lampſacus*. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inſcription to the following effect; *This earth covers* Archidice *the daughter of* Hippias, *a man in his time famous throughout* Greece, *who tho' her father, huſband, and brothers were princes, ſuffered not her mind to be elated therewith* (58). *Hippias* viſited her before he went to the *Perſian* court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehenſion that the expedition, in which he was about to embark, might ſome way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was certainly, according to the uſual rules of interpretation, fortunate, and ſo it was accounted to *Julius Cæſar* (52); but it may be that this interpretation was with a reſtriction, that the perſon dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas *Hippias* at the time of this dream was in the *Perſian* hoſt warring againſt his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deſerves any farther account, *viz.* that among the *Perſians* it was held ominous, and a ſign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, *Cicero* ſpeaks of it in theſe terms, *Nefarius Hippias Piſiſtrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit, arma contra Patriam ferens* (61). *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it likewiſe (62); yet *Suidas* tells us quite another ſtory; he ſays, that the *Barbarians* being routed, *Hippias* retired to *Lemnos*, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes brought on a miſerable and painful death, which he reckons a puniſhment for his having conducted the *Perſian* forces into the plains of *Marathon*. The reader will pardon the length of our hiſtory of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, when he conſiders, that, from the time of *Piſiſtratus* his aſſuming the ſovereignty to the death of *Hippias* at the battle of *Marathon*, there intervened upwards of fourſcore years.

(56) *Thucyd. lib.* vii. (57) *Clidem. ap. Athæn. lib.* xiii. (58) *Thucyd. ubi ſupra.* (59) *Suetonius in vit. J. Cæſaris. cap.* vii. (60) *Achem. Oenocrit.* cxxviii. (61) *Ad. Attic. lib.* ix. *c.* 10. (62) *Ad. Gentes.*

Ariſtides, who remained on the field of battle while *Miltiades* marched back to *Athens*, diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity; for tho' there was much gold and ſilver in the *Perſian* camp, and though the tents and ſhips they had taken were full of riches of all ſorts, yet he neither took any thing himſelf, nor omitted to the utmoſt of his power the neceſſary precautions to prevent other people's meddling therewith. Yet ſome there were, who, in ſpight of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themſelves by private plunder, particularly *Callias the torch-bearer*, *Ariſtides*'s couſin german (T). For this man having long hair and a fillet about his head, one of the *Perſians* took him for a king, and falling down at his feet diſcovered to him a vaſt quantity of gold hid in a well; *Callias* not only ſeized it and applied it to his private uſe, but moſt inhumanly put to death the poor man who ſhewed it him, to prevent his diſcovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemiſhed his own reputation, but tranſmitted infamy to his poſterity, who, notwithſtanding their eminency in the ſtate, were ſtiled by the comic poets *Laccopluti*, i. e. *enriched by the well*[r], an example which merits conſideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in hiſtory. The *Athenians* in token of their reſpect towards thoſe brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inſcriptions containing their names and the names of their tribes and families. At ſome diſtance they erected other monuments for the *Platæans*, *Bœotians*, and ſlaves, who were ſlain here. They likewiſe cauſed this battle to be painted in the *Pœcilian* portico, where the *Platæan* auxiliaries were repreſented, as well as the *Athenian* ſoldiers, and at the head of theſe their ten captains, *Miltiades* holding the firſt place[s], which was all the reward they beſtowed upon them.

It cannot ſeem ſtrange, that the *Athenians* were highly elate on this victory. In the firſt tranſports of their joy they granted all the *Platæans* the freedom of their city; as for *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*, who had exceedingly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, they were for the preſent treated with all the marks of gratitude and reſpect they could have wiſhed, though in their turns we ſhall ſee them all ſlighted, proſecuted, and condemned. While *Miltiades* was thus high in the people's favour, he propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, that he ſhould be intruſted with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips well manned and provided, promiſing them, that he would put them in poſſeſſion of great riches, and make the expedition in other reſpects turn to vaſt account. The *Athenians* readily embraced this project, and fitted out ſuch a fleet as he deſired, of which *Miltiades* taking the command ſailed to *Paros*. The reaſon he pretended for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants thereof had aſſiſted the *Perſians* with ſhips in the expedition of *Marathon*, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one *Lyſagoras* a *Parian* had done him ill offices with *Hydarnes* the *Perſian*. As ſoon as he arrived on the iſland, he ſent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hundred talents to be paid him, threatening in caſe of refuſal to beſiege the city, and, in caſe he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers. The *Parians*, however, were not to be terrified, they refuſed ſo much as to deliberate on his propoſition, but, on the contrary, provided themſelves the beſt they could for an obſtinate defence. *Miltiades* cauſed the place to be inveſted, and carried on the ſiege with great vigour, till one *Timo* a *Parian* woman, who was a prieſteſs,

[r] Putarch. ubi ſupra. [s] Corn. Nepos. in vit. Miltiad.

(T) *Torch-bearers*, ſtiled in *Greek Daduchi*, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even into the moſt ſacred myſteries. On this account, *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office (63). We have obſerved in the text from *Plutarch*, that *Callias* was miſtaken for a king, becauſe of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in uſe among the eaſtern nations; the reaſon of this was, that amongſt the ancients it was an opinion almoſt univerſally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and prieſt; on this account the *Romans* preſerved the title of *Rex* among their ſacred officers when they expulſed the *Tarquins*, and the *Athenians*, as we have heard, ſtiled their ſecond archon, who preſided in the public ſacrifices, *Baſileus*; ſo that in affairs relating to the gods, both the *Athenians* and the *Romans*, though they hated monarchy, made uſe of kings. The ſame notion prevailed through the eaſt, for we find *Jerobeam* ſtanding by the altar at *Bethel*, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64.) And *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, when he had been victorious over the *Philiſtines*, *Arabians*, and *Ammonites*, was lifted up in his heart, and deſired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being prieſt of the moſt High God (65).

(63) *In Atticis.* (64) 1 *Kings* xiii. (65) 11 *Chron.* xxvi. 16.

priestess, pretended to inform him how he should take the city. In consequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of *Ceres the lawgiver*, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being seized with a sudden horror and resolving to go back, he re-ascended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot slipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or dislocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was constrained to raise the siege, after having lain twenty-six days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without effecting any thing to *Athens*[u]. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and *Xanthippus* the father of the famous *Pericles* accused him to the general assembly for deceiving
b the *Athenians*, as *Herodotus* says; of treason, as *Cornelius Nepos* informs us; or rather of peculation, as *Justin* from *Trogus Pompeius* acquaints us, for that is much the most probable opinion, and for this he demanded that they should pass upon him sentence of death. The unhappy *Miltiades* was in no condition to defend himself, nature had already passed that judgment which his enemies sought; his wound perhaps through lowness of spirits had induced a mortification, so that he could not be moved out of his bed. His brother *Tisagoras* spoke for him; he represented to the *Athenians*, that this *Miltiades*, who had failed in his last expedition, had saved *Athens* at *Marathon*, and had conquered for them the island of *Lemnos*; he therefore en-
treated them to remember his past services, as well as his present error, and to
c pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deserved capital Punishment, but at the same time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the *Parian* expedition; and because he was unable to pay this great sum, they put him into a goal, says *Cornelius Nepos*, where he died; but *Herodotus* says, that his son *Cimon* paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in prison, himself being also sent thither on the same account, and remaining confined, till *Callias* furnished him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife *Elpinice*, who was also his sister by the one side. Such was the gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* and his family. If the nature of this work would have
d allowed it, we should have digressed in favour of so great a man, who, out of his passion for his country, quitted sovereignty to serve the *Athenians*; but considering that this manner of writing would protract the *Athenian* history exceedingly, we have contented ourselves with throwing into a note at the bottom of the page such circumstances relating to *Miltiades* as are necessary to be known (U).

The

[u] Herodot. ubi supra. [x] Herodot. ubi supra. Justin. ubi supra. Cornelius Nepos in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The history of the family of *Miltiades*, and their becoming princes is related by *Herodotus*; he says, that the *Thracian Dolonces*, inhabiting a part of *Chersonesus*, and having suffered much in a war against the *Absynthians*, sent to inquire of the oracle at *Delphi* whom they should elect king, to which they received for answer, that they should invite him to lead a colony into their country, who should first invite them into his house, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the *Dolonces* passed by the sacred way, through the territories of the *Phocians* and the *Bœotians*, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. In that time *Pisistratus* had indeed the supreme power, but *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus* was not without authority in *Athens*, being of an illustrious family anciently descended from *Æacus* and *Ægina*, and afterwards established among the *Athenians* by *Philæus* the son of *Ajax*, the first of that blood who settled there. This *Miltiades* sitting before his gates, and seeing the *Dolonces* passing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, called out to them, and upon their coming to him desired they would be his guests, and accept the entertainment of his house. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hospitably entertained acquainted him with the oracle, and requested him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. *Miltiades* hearkened to their proposition, and complied with more readiness, because he grew impatient of the government of *Pisistratus*, and desired an opportunity to withdraw. In these sentiments he went to *Delphi* to consult the oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the *Dolonces*, and received an encouraging answer from the *Pythian*. Upon which *Miltiades* the son of *Cypselus*, who had formerly been victorious in the *Olympian* chariot-race, taking with him all such *Athenians* as were willing to join in his expedition, set sail with the *Dolonces*, and arriving in their own country was invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did was to build a wall upon the Isthmus of *Chersonesus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pontya*, in order to prevent the *Absynthians* from infesting the country for the future with their incursions; this Isthmus is thirty-six stades in breath; and the whole length of *Chersonesus* beginning in that place is four hundred and twenty stades. When *Miltiades* had built this wall on the neck of *Chersonesus*, and by that means excluded the *Absynthians*, he in the next place made war upon the *Lampsacenians*, and falling into an ambuscade was taken alive by the enemy. *Cræsus*, king of *Lydia* being informed of this event, threatened the people of *Lampsacus* with his displeasure, in case they did not release *Miltiades*; which they taking into consideration,

The contests between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

THE people of *Athens*, being now releaſed from all apprehenſions of foreign war, a fell as uſual into diſſenſions among themſelves; they were divided on the old ſubject, whether all things ſhould be in the power of the people, or whether the ſtate ſhould be governed only by the beſt. *Ariſtides*, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and *Themiſtocles* was chief of the other. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the character of each of theſe great men, that the nature of their diſputes and the conſequences of them with reſpect to the ſtate may be the better known. *Ariſtides* was the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, of the tribe of *Antiochis* and ward of *Alopece*. *Themiſtocles* was the ſon of *Neocles* of the tribe of *Leontes*, by his mother's ſide a ſtranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family; *Plutarch* tells us, that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, b not only in ſerious matters, but even in their ſports and plays; nor could it well be otherwiſe, for *Ariſtides* is ſaid by him to have been firm and ſteddy in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared juſt, and incapable of uſing the leaſt falſhood, flattery, or deceit, even in jeſt; whereas *Themiſtocles* was of an impetuous nature, full of ſpirit, ſubtle, daring, complaiſant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he ſpent even his times of recreation in ſtudy, and was wont to divert himſelf with compoſing orations, in which he either excuſed or accuſed ſome of his companions, whence his ſchoolmaſter pronounced thus of him; *Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary perſon, but will at ſome time or other become either a mighty bleſſing, or an outragious curſe to thy country.* As they grew c up, they differed ſtill the more in their ſentiments and conduct; *Ariſtides* ſtudied the laws of *Lycurgus*, and by the reaſoning of that great man became a favourer of ariſtocracy. *Themiſtocles*, rather out of ſpleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cauſe of the people: and thus childiſh quarrels, ripening into a ſtrong averſion in the breaſts of two private men, created great diſorders in a potent ſtate, and ſhook the very conſtitution of *Athens*[z].

How much ſoever the diſſenſions between *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* might in fact injure the *Athenian* ſtate, and how ready ſoever they might be to oppoſe each other, even in points where they were conſcious that what they oppoſed was right, yet

[z] Plut. & Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ariſtid. & Them.

tion, and being afraid to diſoblige ſo great a monarch, reſtored *Miltiades* to freedom. Thus having eſcaped by the means of *Croeſus*, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to *Steſagoras* the ſon of *Cimon*, his brother by the ſame mother. The *Cherſoneſians* honour him with ſacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accuſtomed manner, having inſtituted gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes on that occaſion, in which no *Lampſacenian* is permitted to contend for a prize. During the war which ſtill continued againſt the people of *Lampſacus*, *Steſagoras* likewiſe died without children; being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who, pretending to be a deſerter, was indeed a moſt cruel enemy. After his death the *Piſiſtratidæ* ſent *Miltiades*, the ſon of *Cimon* and brother of *Steſagoras*, to *Cherſoneſus* with one ſhip to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in *Athens*, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father *Cimon*, who was aſſaſſinated by their order. Arriving in *Cherſoneſus*, he kept himſelf retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Steſagoras*; which the *Cherſoneſians* hearing, the principal perſons of every city aſſembled together, and coming to his houſe with intentions to condole with him, were all ſeized and impriſoned. By this means *Miltiades* made himſelf maſter of *Cherſoneſus*, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married *Hegeſipla* daughter of *Olorus* king of *Thrace*. But he had not been long in poſſeſſion, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian Nomades*, who, having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had aſſembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of *Cherſoneſus*. Nevertheleſs upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was again reſtored by the *Dolonces*; and in the third year after this, hearing that the *Phœnicians* were at *Tenedus*, he put all his riches on board five ſhips and ſailed for *Athens*. The reader may poſſibly think this note very long, but there was a neceſſity for it, ſince ſo eminent an author as *Cornelius Nepos* hath rendered the hiſtory of this great man unintelligible by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiſcuouſly the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting *Lemnos* into the hands of the *Athenians*, it happened thus: The inhabitants of that iſland, having had long differences with the *Athenians*, and being admoniſhed by the *Delphian* oracle to compromiſe them, they ſent to *Athens* to know upon what terms it might be done; the *Athenians* offered them no other than the abſolute ſurrender of their country, to which the *Lemnian* deputies anſwered, that they would obey when a ſhip from the *Athenian* dominions ſhould come with a north-wind in one day into a haven of *Lemnos*, which becauſe *Attica* was ſituated on the ſouth of *Lemnos* they conceived impoſſible; but *Miltiades*, being poſſeſſed of the *Cherſoneſus* and ſailing from a port in the *Helleſpont*, arrived in one day at *Lemnos*, driven thither by a ſtrong north-wind, upon which he immediately demanded that the iſland ſhould be given up to him, which, partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the *Athenian* territories. As to the impriſonment of his ſon as well as himſelf, and the manner in which his fine was at laſt diſcharged, *Cornelius Nepos* expreſsly aſſerts it, as delivered in our text, whereas the account given of it by *Plutarch* is neither clear nor conſiſtent.

a yet it muſt be owned, that they ſincerely loved their country, and were aſhamed and ſorry for the very things they did. *Ariſtides* was the honeſter man of the two, and therefore the moſt frank. When *Themiſtocles* had one day propoſed to the aſſembly of the people ſomething much for their advantage, *Ariſtides* made a long oration againſt it, which ſo far miſled the people, that they rejected what *Themiſtocles* had propoſed. *Ariſtides* was, however, ſo much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the aſſembly he could not help ſaying, *The* Athenians *can never be perfectly ſafe, till they have ſent* Themiſtocles *and me to goal* [a]. We have before ſhewn, how not only men of rank in *Athens*, but all *Athenian* citizens, had ſeats in courts of judicature. As theſe rivals differed in every thing, ſo they were oppoſite
b in their notions of what a man's duty was in ſuch a ſtation. *Ariſtides* conceived, that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and paſſion; whereas it was a common ſaying with *Themiſtocles*, *God forbid, that I ſhould ever ſit on a tribunal, where my friends ſhould not have more favour than ſtrangers*. *Ariſtides*'s conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himſelf ſo much upon acting ſtrictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the ſirname of *juſt*, and was looked upon as the moſt worthy and virtuous of the *Athenians*. *Themiſtocles*, inſtead of repining, rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an eaſy thing to deſtroy a rival arrived at ſo high a reputation [b]. The *oſtraciſm* was already introduced into the *Athenian* ſtate, though it is not certain
c by whom, ſome ſay by *Piſiſtratus*, or rather by his ſons; others by *Clyſthenes*; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the *oſtraciſm* till we come to a particular inſtance of it. By this men, eminent to ſuch a degree as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years. *Plutarch* ſays, this exile was not a puniſhment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, uſed as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people for thoſe apprehenſions with which they were ſo often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the *oſtraciſm* was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or ſhell, on which having wrote the name of the perſon he would have baniſhed, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place which was incloſed with raiis;
d then the magiſtrates began to count the number of the ſhells; for if they were leſs than ſix thouſand, the vote did not take place; but if they ſurpaſſed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of ſhells was of courſe exiled for ten years, with free leave, however, to make what uſe he thought fit of his eſtate (X) [c]. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Themiſtocles* could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he effected it by cauſing it to be whiſpered about, that *Ariſtides*, having aſſumed

[a] Plut. ubi ſupra, [b] Plut. in vit. Themist. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ariſt. [c] Plut. in vit. Ariſt.

(X) The *oſtraciſm* makes ſo great a figure in all the *Greek* hiſtory, and occurs ſo often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit, that we ſhould give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from *oſtracon*, which ſignifies *a tile*, becauſe at firſt the names of perſons baniſhed in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen veſſels (66). *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that ſuch as were ejected from their country by the *oſtraciſm* were allowed to return in five years (67); but in this he is miſtaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whom this puniſhment fell to quit the *Athenian* territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the groſs number of the ſhells, and rendering the *oſtraciſm* void, if they did not amount to ſix thouſand, was a great point in favour of eminent perſons, ſince in a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it muſt have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon ſuch a deſign. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the author of ſo extraordinary a law as this ſhould not be known; and yet it is certain, that about no hiſtorical point authors differ more. *Ælian* aſcribes it to *Clyſthenes* beforementioned (70); *Diodorus Siculus* ſays it took place under the *Piſiſtratidæ* (71), and many are of that opinion beſides him. For *Plutarch* reports, that *Hipparchus* was baniſhed under their adminiſtration (72). *Heraclides* fixes this general aſſertion to *Hippias*, whom he expreſsly declares the author of this ſevere practice (73). *Photius*, in his extracts from *Ptolomy Hephæſtion*, aſcribes it to *Achilles* the ſon of *Lyſon* (74); but *Suidas* and *Euſebius* both ſet it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, *viz.* under the reign of *Theſeus*. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no diſpute, that it ended in the baniſhment of *Hyperbolus*. This practice *Ariſtotle* ſeems to aſcribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are aſſured by various authors, that the *Argians*, *Miletians*, *Megarenſians*, and *Syracuſians* had the ſame law, though under different titles, amongſt them.

(66) *Suidas. Heſychius.* (67) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (68) *Pollux, Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt.* (69) *Scholiast Ariſtophan. ad Equit.* (70) *Var. Hiſt. lib.* xiii. *c.* 14. (71) *Biblioth. lib.* xi. (72) *De Rep.* (73) *De Rep.* (74) *Biblioth. lib.* vi. (75) *Polit. lib.* iii. *c.* 13.

assumed the name of *just*, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had insensibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; *for what* (said the agents of Themistocles) *constitutes a tyrant but giving laws?* On a sudden, and when it was least expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the *forum*, and demanded the *ostracism*. One of the clowns from a borough in *Attica*, who could neither write nor read, brought his shell to *Aristides*, and said, *Write me* Aristides *upon this*. *Aristides* surprised asked him, if he knew any ill of that *Athenian*, or if he had ever done him hurt. *Me hurt!* (said the fellow) *no, I don't so much as know him, but I am weary and sick at heart on hearing him every where called the just*. *Aristides* therefore took the shell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a strong proof of his firmness of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magistrates signified to him that the *ostracism* fell upon him, he retired modestly out of the *forum*, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, *I beseech the Gods, that the* Athenians *may never see that day which shall force them to remember* Aristides [f].

THE war against the inhabitants of *Ægina* revived after the battle of *Marathon*, and was carried on by both parties with great animosity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of *Nicodromus*'s party, and put many of them to death, with such circumstances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneasy. The *Athenians* had revenged the death of their confederates in several expeditions, but the inhabitants of *Ægina* had in their turn done the subjects of *Athens* considerable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at sea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ships better, than their neighbours. *Themistocles* considering this continually exhorted the *Athenians* to observe and weigh it in their minds. He also gave them to understand, that in his opinion the *Persian* war was so far from being ended that it was but begun, because it was unreasonable to suppose, that *Xerxes*, who succeeded his father in his empire, would not also succeed him in his hatred to the *Grecians*, from whom the honour of his empire had suffered so much. Having often insisted on these topics, he had at last the boldness to move, that the money produced by the silver mines, which hitherto the *Athenians* had divided amongst themselves, should be applied to building ships, with which, being thoroughly possessed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred gallies were immediately put upon the stocks; and this sudden increase of the *Athenian* fleet, with their addicting themselves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preserving, not only *Athens*, but all *Greece* in the enjoyment of its liberties, as *Themistocles* rightly foresaw it would [g].

The Greeks prepare to resist the Persians.

By this time, that is, about three years after the banishment of *Aristides*, the *Athenians* found, that *Themistocles* had spoke the truth, where he affirmed that the *Persian* war, instead of being ended, was but just begun; for *Xerxes*, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conquest of *Greece*, sent messengers with a *Greek* interpreter to its several republics to demand *Earth* and *Water*. *Themistocles*, desiring to make the breach still wider between these two nations, engaged the *Athenians* to seize the interpreter, and put him to death, for presuming to publish the decrees of the king of *Persia* in the language of the *Greeks*. This act of severity was followed by another; one *Artemius* of *Zele* a town in *Troas* had settled at *Athens*, and had an half freedom granted him; this man, having received large sums of money from the king of *Persia*, endeavoured to corrupt some of the principal persons of the city therewith, for which *Themistocles* procured him to be banished *Attica* by sound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Lastly, with the assistance of *Chileus* the *Arcadian*, he engaged the several states of *Greece* to lay aside their quarrels, and to provide for their mutual defence [h].

WHEN it came to be debated who should be appointed the general of the *Athenians*, in case the *Persians* should invade them, one *Epicydes*, a great orator, but a man otherwise little capable of the charge, influenced the people so much by his speeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. *Themistocles*, seeing the danger of his country and knowing the man to be covetous, strained his own circumstances and bought him off. By engaging him to desist, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then left capable of contending with him, so he was presently elected [i].

WHEN

[f] PLUTARCH. & CORN. NEPOS in vit. Arist. & Themist. [g] HERODOT. lib. vii. PLUT. in Themist. [h] ÆSCHIN. cont. Ctesiph. PLUT. in vit. Themist. [i] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themist.

When news came to *Athens*, that the *Persians* were upon the point of invading *Greece* by the streights of *Thermopylæ*, and that to this end they were transporting their forces by sea, *Themistocles* advised his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a distance; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himself at the head of their army, and having joined the *Lacedæmonians* marched towards *Tempe*. But when advice came, that the streights of *Thermopylæ* were forced, and not only *Thessaly*, but *Bœotia*, had yielded to the *Persians*, the army returned without effecting any thing [k].

The *Athenians* in this distress sent messengers to the *Delphian Apollo*, who, on their arrival having performed the usual ceremonies, sat down in the sanctuary, and there received from *Aristonica*, who was at that time priestess, the following oracle. *The responses of the* Delphian *oracle.*

Fly to the farthest regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and shun th' impending ill.
Fly from your houses, and desert your walls;
For total ruin shall subvert that place.
An angry *Mars* in *Asia* born shall come,
And all your stately piles, and temples burn.
I see the sacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with sweat and blood:
Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate [l].

The *Athenian* deputies were extremely amazed at this answer, they therefore humbled themselves in a most extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, beseeching a better answer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The priestess, feeling herself a second time inspired, delivered at length the following response:

Pallas in vain has used her utmost art,
To pacify the wrath of angry *Jove*.
So that my present answer must again
Of almost adamantin hardness be.
Yet for *Minerva*'s sake the god will give
A safe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of *Cecrops*, or *Citheron*'s sacred hills,
These, these alone impregnable shall prove,
But never stay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight,
The divine *Salamis* shall lose her sons;
Tho' *Ceres* be brought home, or left abroad [m].

The *Athenian* deputies having wrote down this answer brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at *Athens*, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning, many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understood, because, as we observed before, it was palisadoed, but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the *Athenian* fleet near *Salamis*. *Themistocles*, however, declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alledged, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the *Athenians*, she would not have called it the divine *Salamis*, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were stiled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the *Persians* who were scandalously effeminate. All discreet people concurred in their sentiments, that *Themistocles* had most judiciously interpreted the oracle, and that the *Athenians* could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The *many*, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto; the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder; their leaving the tombs of their ancestors and the temples of their gods hardest of all. But *Themistocles* had a set of arguments in store for them, he made the very notions which

[k] Id. ib. [l] Herodot. ubi supra. [m] Herodot. ubi supra.

which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over the prieſts who attended in the temple of *Minerva*, he cauſed them to give out that the dragon refuſed to eat, that the offerings ſet before him were found untouched, that at laſt it diſappeared, ſo that without doubt the goddeſs had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. By degrees the populace were ſo intoxicated with theſe pious frauds, that they made no manner of queſtion of the *Perſians* being defeated, and that *Salamis* would be the place. They therefore decreed, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of *Minerva*, that all ſuch as were of age to bear arms ſhould embark on board the fleet, and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken for the preſervation of children, women, and ſlaves. One *Cyrſilus* an orator vehemently oppoſed the decree, he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpleſs infants; but the *Athenians*, conceiving that the falling in with his propoſition would betray a mean deſire of preſerving life, tho' at the expence of liberty, ſtoned him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, and the women, to ſhew how little they reliſhed ſuch arguments, and how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of *Greece* ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife. And thus *Themiſtocles* not only perſuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their ſafety, but even infuſed into them the ſame ſpirit with which he himſelf acted [n].

The Athenians *quit their city.*

When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of *Areopagus*, who, from funds to us unknown, diſtributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this ſum not being ſufficient, *Themiſtocles* with his uſual quickneſs deviſed an expedient for furniſhing the reſt of the money. He gave out, that in the preſent hurry ſomebody had ſtolen from the ſtatue of *Minerva* her ſhield, whereon the head of *Meduſa* was engraven, and having authority granted him to ſearch for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the uſe of the public. The people, in this their great diſtreſs, began to lament the loſs of *Ariſtides*, and to expreſs their apprehenſions, leſt he, to revenge himſelf of the ingratitude of his country, ſhould go over to the *Perſians*. *Themiſtocles* thereupon propoſed a decree, that all who were baniſhed might return again in order to aſſiſt the *Greeks* with their counſels and perſons; thus he who had been baniſhed by the artifices of *Themiſtocles* was recalled by his virtue. *Ariſtides*, on his return, behaved himſelf with more than ordinary civility to *Themiſtocles*, and did not ſuffer any averſion to that general's perſon to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs [o] (Y).

Notwithstanding the *Athenian* fleet was ſuperior to that ſent by any of the confederates, nay to all the reſt of the fleet taken together, yet ſuch was the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, that the command thereof was committed to *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man either unſkilful, or wanting fortitude enough for ſuch an undertaking; for

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. [o] Id. ib.

(Y) At the ſame time that the *Greeks* thought of defending the paſs of *Thermopylæ* by land, they ſent a fleet to hinder the paſſage of the *Perſian* navy through the ſtreights of *Eubœa*, which fleet rendezvouſed at *Artemiſium*. We have taken no notice of this in the text, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elſewhere; but inaſmuch as the *Athenians* ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, and on board them *Themiſtocles*, to this place, we are obliged to take ſome notice of his conduct here. The *Eubœans*, not being able to prevail with *Eurybiades* to remain on their coaſt till they could carry off their wives and children, addreſſed themſelves to *Themiſtocles*, and made him a preſent of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed *Eurybiades*. Then *Adiamanthus* the *Corinthian* being the only commander who inſiſted on weighing anchor, *Themiſtocles* went on board him, and told him in few words, *Adiamanthus, you ſhall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater preſent for doing your duty than the king of the* Medes *would ſend you for deſerting the allies*. Which he performed by ſending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the *Eubœans* requeſted, and put 22 talents into his pocket. In the ſucceeding engagement *Themiſtocles* and all the *Athenians* behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applauſe of all *Greece*. At length, when it was thought neceſſary to retire from *Artemiſium*, *Themiſtocles* cauſed certain ſtones to be ſet up in all the ports, with inſcriptions, intreating the *Ionians* either to deſert the *Barbarians* and join the *Greeks*, who were fighting for their liberty, or at leaſt to act but faintly in the cauſe of their maſter, remembering, that they were originally *Greeks* themſelves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the aſſiſtance given by the *Greeks* to them. This he did with double intent; firſt to influence the *Ionians* to act as he deſired; ſecondly to give the *Perſian* monarch a jealouſy of them, that he might be the leſs inclined to truſt thoſe in whoſe power it was to do him moſt ſervice, ſince the *Ionians* were by far the beſt ſeamen in his fleet (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

a for he, when danger approached, was for ſtanding away for the gulph of *Corinth* in order to join the land army; which when *Themiſtocles* vehemently oppoſed, *Eurybiades* was pleaſed to ſay, *Such as riſe up before the reſt at the olympic games are laſhed.* To which the *Athenian* wiſely anſwered, *But they that are left behind are never crowned.* *Eurybiades* at this lifting up his batoon, as if he would have ſtruck him, *Themiſtocles* cried out, *Ay, ſtrike if you will, but hear me*; upon which *Eurybiades* laid down his ſtaff, and patiently attended to his diſcourſe. One of the *Lacedæmonians*, however, who had not ſo much ſenſe as the admiral, replied to *Themiſtocles*'s oration, that it did not become ſuch, as had neither houſe nor home of their own, to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their b habitations. *Themiſtocles*, taking fire at this, ſaid, "We have indeed, baſe fellow, "left our houſes and our walls, not thinking it fit to become ſlaves, for the ſake "of thoſe things that have neither life nor ſoul, and yet our city is the greateſt of "all *Greece*, as conſiſting of two hundred gallies, which are here to defend you, "if you pleaſe; but if you run away and leave us, as you did once before, the "*Greeks* will ſoon perceive, that the *Athenians* can find for themſelves as fair a coun-"try, and as large and free a city, as that they have left". In a word, he took ſuch pains to demonſtrate to this aſſembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madneſs to think of fighting any-where but where they were, that the wiſeſt of the *Grecian* captains concurred with him. The chief of his argu- c ments were theſe; he ſhewed them, that if once they retired from *Salamis*, the fleet would never fight at all, becauſe being made up of quotas from different ſtates, the ſeveral ſquadrons would immediately ſail back to their own ports, and leave the common cauſe of *Greece* without defence; that fighting before the iſthmus, which was the ſcheme of the oppoſite party, would be attended with two dreadful conſequences; the one, that *Salamis* and *Ægina*, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other, that with a ſmall fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open ſea; that, on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of *Salamis*, the *Perſians* would not have near ſo great an advantage from the number of their ſhips, becauſe the front of the line d would be on both ſides nearly equal, that fighting here would effectually ſave *Peloponneſus*, whereas retiring to the coaſt thereof would draw the *Perſians* thither, and induce all thoſe conſequences which thoſe that propoſed it ſought to ſhun. As to the wall built croſs the iſthmus upon which ſome depended, he ſhewed, that it was a fooliſh and ridiculous defence, in caſe they yielded the ſuperiority of the ſea to the *Barbarians*, who would then make their deſcents on every ſide of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. Theſe arguments, with the dread *Eurybiades* was in, that, in caſe he took other meaſures, the *Athenians* would deſert him and ſail to *Italy*, as *Themiſtocles* had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this reſolution they remained for ſome time.

e The courage of the *Athenians* on this occaſion can never be enough commended, ſince the chief cauſe of that fear which ſpread itſelf among the reſt of the *Greeks* was the miſerable deſtruction of the city of *Athens*. We have already given ſo full an account of this matter in the *Perſian* hiſtory, that there is no neceſſity of repeating it here. We ſhall content ourſelves with noting two or three things, which will illuſtrate the hiſtory now before us. Such of the *Athenians* as had fled to the *Acropolis* or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the ſword. The *Perſians*, with whom the deſcendents of *Piſiſtratus* returned, ſhewed no mercy to ſuch as obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit themſelves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples and ſetting fire to all the f ſacred things, which gave ſuch high offence to the *Greeks*, theſe were not ſo properly to be aſcribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to their zeal; for we have ſhewn before, that the *Perſians* were *deiſts* in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and looked upon temples, images, and altars, as they were the marks of *polytheiſm*, to be ſo many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cauſe that they deſtroyed them without pity, as their reſentment of the injuries done them by the ſtates of *Athens* engaged them to ſhew no mercy to ſuch of its people as fell into their hands.

When *Xerxes* drew down all his land-forces to the ſea-ſide, and at the ſame time cauſed his fleet to approach that of the *Greeks*, the *Peloponneſians*, who were in that navy, *Debates amongſt the generals of the* Greeks.

g Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preserve *Peloponnesus* from a being ravaged. To this end a council of war was summoned, for their murmurs ran so high, that *Eurybiades* was afraid of their deserting; in this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither listen to arguments, nor pay any respect to authority. *Themistocles* therefore, seeing his opinion set aside by the *Peloponnesians*, resolved to take measures for forcing them to stay; for, as *Herodotus* informs us, withdrawing privately from the assembly, he sent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a small vessel, properly instructed; the name of this man was *Sicinus*, he was tutor to *Themistocles*'s children, and every way capable of being made the instrument of great things. When he arrived in the *Persian* fleet, he was conducted to their council of general officers, to whom he delivered the following message, as from *Themistocles*. "The general of the *Athenians*, who is in the interest of the king, and desires your affairs may prosper rather than those of *Greece*, has sent me privately "away with orders to let you know, that the *Grecians* in great consternation have "determined to betake themselves to flight, and that you have now an opportunity "of atchieving the most glorious of all enterprizes, unless your negligence opens "a way to their escape. For being divided in their opinions, they will not oppose "your forces; but you will see those who are your friends fighting against those "who are not of your party". This message had its desired effect, the *Persians* conceived, not without some show of reason, that the *Athenians*, finding it to no purpose any longer to oppose the great king, were resolved by this piece of intelligence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be restored [q]. They therefore made all the preparations necessary for shutting up the *Grecian* navy, and reckoned that they were already so many prizes, and that now they should regain their honour, and compensate themselves for the loss which they had sustained at *Artemisium*. *Aristides* was the first who perceived what the *Persians* aimed at; he immediately went to *Themistocles*, and when they were alone he addressed him, if we may believe *Plutarch*, who in the mean time is supported by *Herodotus*, in these terms: "If we are wise, *Themistocles*, we shall now "for ever lay aside that vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between "us, and begin a more safe and honourable emulation, by contending which of us "two shall do most towards the safety of *Greece*; you by performing the part of a "wise and great general, and I by obeying and assisting you with my person and "advice. I understand, that you alone have determined rightly, advising to engage in the streights without delay. Your allies are of a different opinion, but "the enemies themselves seem to confirm and strengthen your advice; for the sea "all round us is covered and shut up by their fleet, so that they who have opposed "coming to an engagement must be forced to fight, and shew themselves men of "courage, there being no room left for flight.". To this *Themistocles* replied, "I am ashamed, *Aristides*, at your having got the start of me in this noble "emulation; I shall use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning, which is so "much to your honour, and to obscure, if possible, this glorious step of yours by "the lustre of my future actions". At the same time *Themistocles* acquainted him with the stratagem made use of to compel the enemy to take the measures they did, and which in fact compelled also the *Grecians* to take those which were most adviseable for their own interest, and to which he had so often pressed them, though to little purpose. Thus ended the interview between these two rivals for reputation, whose new cemented friendship proved of the utmost consequence to the cause of *Athens* and of *Greece* [r].

The battle of Salamis. Year after the Fod. 2519. Before Christ, 480.

THE detail of the battle of *Salamis* is unnecessary here, since the reader has met with it before in our account of the *Persian* affairs. We shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that the *Athenians* reaped the highest honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occasion, though *Herodotus* is for bestowing the palm on the inhabitants of *Egina*. We have more than once noted, that till *Themistocles* persuaded the *Athenians* to apply themselves to maritime affairs, the people of this little state were lords of the sea. It is not therefore to be wondered, that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a sea-fight, of which the *Persian* emperor was a spectator in person, and on the event of which their own liberty and that of all their confederates depended. The *Athenians*, after the *Persian* fleet was once

[q] HERODOT. lib. viii. [r] PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid.

once broke, drove their ſcattered ſhips towards the coaſt of *Attica*. The ſquadron of *Ægina*, ſtretching out to ſea, got on the other ſide of the flying *Perſians*, and ſunk many of thoſe veſſels which outſailed the *Athenians*. Thus the ſkill and conduct of thoſe two nations preſerved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewiſe obliged the *Perſians* to account it a great happineſs, if after this extraordinary defeat they preſerved any part of that navy which had ſo lately darkened the coaſts, and ſtruck a panic through *Greece*.

THE morning after the battle of *Salamis*, the *Greeks*, perceiving the enemy's land-forces ſtill encamped in the ſame place, conjectured, that their fleet was retired into the *Phalerum*, one of the ports of *Athens*; but they were miſtaken, for *Xerxes* had given orders, that they ſhould ſail with the utmoſt diligence to the *Helleſpont*, while himſelf with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial Iſthmus in order to unite the iſland of *Salamis* to the continent of *Attica*. The *Greeks* in the mean time were for purſuing the *Perſian* fleet, in hopes of taking ſtraggling ſhips in order to increaſe their booty; but coming to *Andros* without diſcovering any of the enemy's ſhips, they there called a council of war, in which *Themiſtocles* gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould ſhape their purſuit by the way of the iſlands, and make all the ſail they could for the *Helleſpont*, in order to deſtroy the bridge which *Xerxes* had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with *Aſia*. *Plutarch* ſays, that he communicated this to *Ariſtides*, who oppoſed it; but *Herodotus*, with greater probability, aſcribes this oppoſition to *Eurybiades*. That *Themiſtocles* communicated his ſentiments to *Ariſtides* might be, but that he informed *Eurybiades* of them is morally certain, becauſe he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not *Ariſtides* oppoſed the carrying them into execution, becauſe he thought, that ſhutting *Xerxes* into *Europe* with ſuch a mighty army would be to compel him to repair his former omiſſions, and to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the *Greeks*. When *Themiſtocles* perceived that this reaſoning prevailed, and that the *Grecian* chieftains were likely to come into it unanimouſly, he formed another ſcheme, which, *Plutarch* ſays, he likewiſe communicated to *Ariſtides*, and that was this; he ſent a truſty meſſenger to *Xerxes* to inform him, that the *Greeks* intended to break down his bridge over the *Helleſpont*; wherefore he adviſed him to march back with the utmoſt ſpeed, promiſing to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. *Herodotus* ſays, that he actually adviſed the *Athenians* to give over the purſuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houſes, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wiſh for a quiet retreat, after having ſo long endured ſo violent a tempeſt; but at the ſame time our author intimates, that *Themiſtocles* had in view the ſafety of the *Perſians*, and not the intereſt of the *Athenians*, which he attributes to his foreſight of following misfortunes, and his willingneſs to ſecure an aſylum, when the envy of his countrymen ſhould doom him to baniſhment. Theſe ſort of cenſures are the tribute paid by the great for the luſtre of their actions. Whether *Themiſtocles* really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is univerſally allowed, and that this advice ſuited his ſcheme of making *Xerxes* of his own accord abandon the war in *Greece*, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarniſh his glory by receiving ſuch inſinuations, and we had better ſuppoſe, that he did not foreſee his diſgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminiſh the reputation he acquired as a true patriot[s].

Herodotus relates another thing of *Themiſtocles*; he ſays, that while the *Grecian* fleet and army were employed in beſieging *Andros*, this general ſent to *Paros* and other iſlands, and threatening the inhabitants of them, that the *Greeks* would invade their country, extorted from them vaſt ſums of money, which he inſinuates he applied to his own private uſe. *Plutarch* relates another paſſage, which muſt have happened pretty near this time, *viz.* that when the *Grecian* fleet was arrived at *Pegaſa*, a maritime town of *Magneſia*, where it wintered, *Themiſtocles* made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared, that he had it in his mind to do ſome-thing which would prove of infinite conſequence to *Athens*; but that it was of ſuch a nature, that he could not communicate it to the aſſembly. Upon this the *Athenians* directed him to communicate it to *Ariſtides* only; and in caſe he approved it, to

[s] HERODOT, ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Themiſt.

to put it in practice. When therefore these great men were alone, *Themistocles* dis- a
covered in few words, that his scheme was to burn the rest of the *Grecian* fleet, which would leave *Athens* mistress of the seas. *Aristides* made his report to the people, that what *Themistocles* intended was indeed the most advantagious thing that could possibly happen to them, but at the same time it was the most unjust; upon which they readily directed him to think no more of it, esteeming it far better to sacrifice their interest to their fame, than for the sake of present advantage, how great soever it were, to hazard the censure of succeeding ages, and the stain of infamy never to be blotted out,

WHEN the fleet was returned to *Salamis*, and the booty was divided amongst all who had served on board it, the *Greeks* resolved to sail to the isthmus in order b
to confer there the customary honours on him, who by the free votes of the chiefs had deserved best, and these being assembled in the temple of *Neptune*, and directed to write down his name who deserved best, and also his who deserved next, each chief put down his own in the first place, and the name of *Themistocles* in the second, whereby, without designing it, they unanimously proclaimed him the most worthy of the *Greeks*. From thence he went to *Lacedæmon*, where he was received with the greatest honour and respect, and the *Spartans*, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to *Eurybiades*, assigned that of prudence to *Themistocles*, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they presented him also with the most magnificent chariot in *Sparta*, and when he c
returned to *Athens* he was escorted by five hundred horse, an honour never paid to any stranger but him.

The Persians *attempt to treat with the* Athenians.

ON *Themistocles*'s coming back to *Athens*, there were not wanting some who endeavoured to insinuate, that his receiving such high honours from the *Lacedæmonians* was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated these clamours with contempt, and contented himself with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired and the respect paid them by all the states of *Greece*. About this time some of the families of the *Athenians* returned from *Salamis* to *Træzene*, where they had taken refuge while the *Persians* ravaged *Attica*; the former belonged d
to the *Athenians*, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid also the best school-masters they could find for taking care of their youth; such a high regard had the generosity of the *Athenians* in abandoning all for the sake of liberty drawn from every state in *Greece*. The *Persians* themselves were no less ready in preferring them to all the *Greeks*: *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left to command the army destined for carrying on the war, chose to treat with the *Athenians*, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made use of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, a person well known and highly respected at *Athens*. Him, as a tributary and ally of the *Persian* king, e
he sent to make proposals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his master. When he arrived the *Athenians* entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foresight, that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be long after hearing this news before they sent embassadors, which accordingly came to pass. They then appointed a day for *Alexander* to have audience of the people, on which, as *Herodotus* informs us, he spoke to this purpose: "*Athenians*, I am sent by *Mardo-*
"*nius* to tell you, that he has received a message from the king in these words:
"I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have done me, and therefore, *Mar-*
"*donius*, observe the following orders: Reinstate them in the possession of their own
"territories; give them moreover whatever other country they shall chuse; let
"them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt,
"if they will come to an agreement with me. Having received these orders, I am
"obliged to put them in execution, unless you prevent me; and now I myself
"would ask you, what madness pushes you on to make war against a king you will
"never conquer, nor always be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the nume-
"rous forces and great actions of *Xerxes*; you have heard of the army I have, and
"if you should happen to be victorious and to defeat us, which you can never hope
"so long as you have the use of reason, another much more powerful will come
"against you; suffer not yourselves then to be dispossessed of your country, and
"continually alarmed for your own lives, by measuring your strength with the
"king;

" king; but be reconciled to him, since you have now so favourable an oppor-
" tunity in your hands from the present disposition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into
" an alliance with us sincerely and without fraud, and continue to be a free
" people. These, O *Athenians*, are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to say
" to you: For my own part, I shall not mention my constant affection to your
" state, because you have had sufficient proof of that in former time. I beseech
" you then, hearken to the counsel of *Mardonius*; for I see you will not always
" be able to make war against *Xerxes*. Had I not known this, I should never
" have undertaken to bring you such a message; but the king's power is incompa-
" rably greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach so extensive, that, unless
" you immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the conse-
" quences to you, who lying in the way of danger more than any other of the con-
" federates, and possessing a country placed as a prize between the contending
" parties, must be always most exposed to ruin. Let these reasons prevail with
" you, and consider the important advantages you will receive, if the great king
" forgives you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes your friend". The *Lacedæmonian* embassadors spoke in their turns, as soon as *Alexander* had made an end of his oration; they said, " that they were commissioned to exhort the *Athenians* not
" to listen to the proposals of the *Barbarians*, because it was a thing unreasonable on
" many accounts; *First*, because the original quarrel was between the *Persians* and
" *Athenians*, into which the rest of the *Greeks* were drawn merely through their respect
" to them: *Secondly*, that the *Athenians* were always wont to be the foremost in the
" cause of liberty, which it would not become them now to desert: *Thirdly*, that
" there were no grounds to believe the *Persians* would observe any terms with a people
" they so much hated, when occasion would serve; that the *Spartans* were exceedingly
" grieved for their misfortunes, and as a mark of their regard would in conjunction
" with their allies take care of their wives and children till this war was at an end, and
" give them what other assistance was in their power." The *Athenians*, having delibe-
rated on this proposition, answered first that of *Alexander*. They said, " they were well
" acquainted with the great power of the king, but that they were also well assured
" of the justice of their own cause; that as long as the sun and moon endured they
" would never desert the cause of *Greece*, nor forget the injuries done them by the
" *Persians*." To the *Lacedæmonians* they answered, " they were sorry they should con-
" ceive so meanly of them, as to think they would ever compare interest with glory;
" that they would continue firm to their confederates without being a burden to them;
" but that, it being probable *Mardonius* would be ready for action in the spring, they
" hoped the *Lacedæmonians* would think it more reasonable to meet him with united
" forces in *Bœotia*, than to suffer him to ravage *Attica* again[t]."

WHAT the *Athenians* foresaw came exactly to pass; *Mardonius*, according to the orders of his master, marched directly into *Attica*, and began to waste and plunder the country, levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to the ground such as the *Athenians* had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to *Athens*, which its inhabitants were forced a second time to abandon, the *Spartans* sending help so slowly, that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, so that the *Athenians* were constrained to retire with their families to *Salamis*, and to send the army which they had raised, under the command of *Aristides*, to join that of the *Spartans* and other states of *Greece*, which, under the conduct of *Pausanias* tutor of king *Pistarchus*, was preparing to resist the *Persians*. This army soon after advanced into *Bœotia*, where they fought the famous battle of *Platæa*, in which they made a far greater slaughter of the *Persians* than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our present purpose to say any thing more of this battle here, because it was fought out of the territory of *Athens*, and the *Lacedæmonians* had the supreme command. It will be necessary, however, to observe, that *Aristides*, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with such bravery and resolution, as procured him the praise of all the *Greeks* who were their cotemporaries, and hath transmitted their fame, both for valour and prudence, even to this far distant age. The same day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought in *Greece*, the *Persians* were also defeated at *Mycale* in *Ionia*. The *Grecian* fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*.

Athens a second time destroyed.

Year after the Flood, 2521. *Before Christ* 478.

It

[t] HERODOT. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid. & Themist. JUSTIN. lib. ii.

It is univerſally allowed, that the *Athenians* behaved better than any of the reſt of a
the *Grecians* in this engagement, of whom, *Herodotus* ſays, that *Harmolycus* the
ſon of *Eutheinus*, a famous wreſtler, deſerved the firſt place. When they had
defeated the *Perſian* navy, the *Greeks* had the boldneſs to land and to attack the
forces they found on ſhore, whom having alſo routed, they plundered all the coun-
try, and carried off an immenſe booty. Having done this they ſailed to *Samos*,
where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to tranſport
the *Ionians* into *Greece* and leave *Ionia* to the *Barbarians*, ſince it would be very
difficult, if not impracticable, for the *Athenians*, or indeed for the reſt of the con-
federates, to aſſiſt them at all times, and in caſe they were not protected, their pre-
ſent revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewiſe propoſed, in caſe they were b
tranſported to *Greece*, to give them the territories of ſuch *Greek* ſtates as had in this
war ſided with the *Perſians*; but after all the *Athenians* changed their minds, and
ſhewed a viſible reluctance, when this deſign ſhould have been put in execution.
They were apprehenſive, that if the *Ionians* were tranſported into *Greece* they would
rival them in point of trade, or at leaſt throw off that obedience and reſpect which
hitherto they had paid *Athens*, as their mother city and conſtant protectreſs. They
were likewiſe uneaſy at the *Peloponneſians* interfering in matters relating to their colo-
nies, and as the *Athenians* were at this time the ſtate of greateſt conſequence in
Greece, their confederates thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy them by their particular
condeſcenſion in this point, and therefore, after promiſing the *Ionians* ſuch aſſiſtance c
as they ſhould have occaſion for from time to time, the fleet left their coaſt. The
Lacedæmonians ſailed back to *Laconia*, but the *Athenians*, under the command of
Xanthippus, reſolved to make ſome farther attempts before they quitted theſe ſeas[a].

The ſtrong fortreſs of Seſtos *taken.*

This reſolution being taken, the *Athenians* croſſed over to the *Cherſoneſus* and be-
ſieged *Seſtos*. It was a ſtrong place, and had a great garriſon under the command
of *Artayctes* a *Perſian*, whom *Herodotus* repreſents as a man of very diſſolute
morals. The ſiege was long and troubleſome, and autumn drawing on, the *Athe-
nians* were very deſirous of returning home, but their general *Xanthippus* declared,
that he would not depart till he had either taken *Seſtos*, or was recalled by a decree
of the *Athenian* people, becauſe *Artayctes* had been guilty of ſacrilege in rifling the d
ſepulchre of *Proteſilaus*, and taking thence a vaſt ſum of money. At laſt, the
garriſon, being preſſed with hunger and having no hopes of relief, reſolved to
ſhift for themſelves, and accordingly made their eſcape in two parties, the one led
by *Oibazus*, the other by *Artayctes*; *Oibazus* and his party were overtaken by the
Thracians, who, after ſurrounding him and his guards, killed moſt of them, and
took him and his family priſoners; after which they ſacrificed him to *Pliſtorus* a
Thracian god, and put the reſt of their captives to the ſword. The *Athenians*, as
ſoon as they were maſters of the place, ſent out detachments to ſcour the country,
and one of theſe coming up with *Artayctes* and his corps of troops, near the river
Æges, engaged, routed them, and made him and his ſon priſoners. When they e
were brought back to *Seſtos* and put under a guard, *Herodotus* relates a very extraor-
dinary prodigy, which he attributes to the ſacrilege before-mentioned. He ſays, that
one of the *Athenian* ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody this *Perſian* general was committed,
broiling ſome dried fiſh, ſaw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been juſt
taken out of the water, upon which *Artayctes* addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe
words; "*Athenian* friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned in this pro-
"digy. *Proteſilaus*, though dead and embalmed at *Eleus*, admoniſhes me by
"this ſign, that the gods have given him power to revenge the injury he has re-
"ceived: Reſolving therefore to make him reparation, I will conſecrate a hun-
"dred talents to his divinity, inſtead of the riches I took out of his temples; f
"and I will give two hundred talents to the *Athenians*, if they will ſpare my life
"and the life of my ſon". But their general *Xanthippus* would not be perſuaded by
theſe promiſes, partly becauſe he himſelf was averſe to the thing, and partly becauſe
the people of *Eleus*, to avenge the injuries done to *Proteſilaus*, earneſtly ſollicited
him, that *Artayctes* might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that
part of the ſhore, where the bridges of *Xerxes* terminated, or, as others ſay, to an
eminence ſtanding near the city of *Madytus*, they cauſed him to be impaled on a
ſtake fixed in the ground for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time ſtoned his ſon before
his

2

[a] Herodot. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Justin, &c.

his eyes. When the *Athenians* had done these things, they returned with their fleet to *Greece*, carrying, besides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to be consecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year [x] (Z).

THE victories of *Platæa* and *Mycale* sealed the freedom of *Greece*, and particularly eased the *Athenians* of their apprehensions; they therefore brought back all their families into *Attica*, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmost expedition, but also with some degree of magnificence [y]. The people were more elate than ever, they were conscious of the mighty share they had in driving the *Barbarians* back into *Asia*, and were therefore resolved to preserve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had so warmly contended against strangers. *Themistocles*, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in these expectations, and *Aristides*, having thoroughly considered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they so much desired, than to hazard new disturbances by the rising up of different factions. He therefore proposed, that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the archons should be chosen out of the body of the people without preference or distinction; with this the commons were satisfied, and the men of figure were also contented [z]. *Themistocles* proposed also at this time, that *Athens* should be instantly fortified in the best manner possible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately sustained by the sudden invasions of the *Persians*. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for discovery, so he contented himself with moving that first which was first to be put into execution. The *Lacedæmonians*, as soon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in *Greece*, and were, of consequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore sent embassadors to *Athens*, who on their arrival declared to the assembly, that the *Spartans*, having nothing in view but the general good of *Greece*, could not avoid remonstrating against the proceedings of the *Athenians* in fortifying their city, since it was clear to them, that this measure must prove very disadvantagious to their confederates, because if the *Persians* should again make an irruption into *Attica*, with the same success as before, and possess themselves of a fortified city, they would make use of it as a bridle on *Greece*, and fill it with such a garison as would render it inexpugnable. These arguments seeming to have no great weight with those to whom they were urged, the *Spartan* embassadors proceed to exert an authority which had been admitted in other *Grecian* cities, that is, they absolutely forbid the *Athenians* to carry their walls any higher. The people infinitely offended at this, and at the same time doubtful how it might be remedied, listened readily to *Themistocles*'s advice, which was to the following effect: He said, that considering their own imbecility and the power of *Sparta*, they were in this case to make use rather of prudence than prowess. That to free themselves from the *Lacedæmonian* embassadors, who were but a kind of spies, they should promise not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embassy of their own they should give satisfaction to *Lacedæmon* and the rest of their allies. He then offered to go himself at the head of that embassy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy conclusion [a].

Themistocles,

[x] HERODOT. ubi supra. DIOD. SICUL. lib. xi. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 5. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

(Z) The story of *Artayctes*'s sacrilege we have from *Herodotus*, who relates it thus: "The government of the whole province was in the hands of "*Artayctes*, a person of profligate and detestable "manners, who had been placed in that station by "*Xerxes*, and, by imposing a fraud upon him "when he marched to *Athens*, had rifled the trea"sures of *Protesilaus*, the son of *Iphicles*, which "were at *Eleus*. For in the city of *Eleus* in *Cher*"*sonesus* the sepulchre of *Protesilaus* was erected in "the midst of this temple, and a great sum of "money, with gold and silver plate, vessels of "brass, and other offerings, were taken from thence "by *Artayctes*, in virtue of a grant from the king, "which he obtained by this artifice: *Sir*, said he, "*here is the habitation of a certain* Grecian, *who* "*having entered your territories with an army, pe*"*rished as he well deserved. Give me the house of* "*this man, that for the future none may dare to invade* "*any part of your dominions.* By this representation "he doubted not to obtain the house from *Xerxes*, "because he could have no suspicion of his pro"ject; and told him *Protesilaus* had invaded the "royal dominions, because the *Persians* imagine that "all *Asia* is the property of their kings. Thus "after *Artyactes* had obtained his request, he brought "away the treasure to *Sestos*, converted the sacred "place into pasture and arable land; and when he "was at *Eleus*, lay with divers women in the "sanctuary (76).

(76) *Herodot. lib.* ix. *prope fin.*

The Lacedemonians deceived by Themistocles.

Themistocles, according to his own proposal, being named with some other *Athenians* embassadors to *Sparta*, he set out before the rest, having intimated to the senate that it would be for the interest of the state, if they delayed as long as possible sending the rest of the embassadors to *Sparta*. When he arrived at *Lacedæmon*, he put off some time receiving audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his collegues. These in the mean time exhorted the *Athenians* to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, sparing neither houses nor sepulchres for materials, while women, children, strangers, servants, and citizens, all wrought night and day, so that in a short space the walls were almost finished. The *Lacedæmonians* having received advice of this, and the collegues of *Themistocles* being arrived, they summoned them before the *Ephori*, who began immediately to exclaim against the perfidiousness of the *Athenians* in thus violating their promise. *Themistocles* denied the charge; he said his collegues assured him of the contrary, that it did not become a great state to depend on flying rumours, but that the *Lacedæmonians* ought to send deputies back with the *Athenian* embassadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himself remained as a hostage to be answerable for the event. This being agreed to, *Themistocles* engaged his associates to advise the *Athenians* to commit the *Spartan* embassadors to safe custody till he should be released. He then publicly avowed the whole transaction at *Lacedæmon*, took the scheme upon himself, and said, *That all things are lawful for our country.* The *Spartans*, seeing no remedy, concealed their resentment, and sent him home in safety [b].

THE next year, which was the last of the seventy-fifth olympiad, *Adiamanthus* being archon, *Themistocles* opened himself further to his citizens, as to the schemes he had formed for raising their power, and encreasing their wealth. He observed, that the port *Phalerum* was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore advised them to make the *Pyræum* the port of *Athens*, from whence he said that he was sensible, that great advantages would accrue to the state, but that it was not proper for him to disclose them to the assembly, or to lay down publicly the methods, by which his design might be carried into execution. He intreated them therefore to chuse two persons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The assembly thereupon made choice of *Aristides* and *Xanthippus*, to whom *Themistocles* freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the *Pyræum* the most capacious haven in *Greece*, and to unite the city thereto by long walls, for he did not conceive it fit that the port should be made part of the city, because, knowing that sailors are generally dissolute, he was afraid, that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He observed, that the *Ionians* were originally from the same stock with themselves, and that of consequence, if *Athens* were mistress of the sea, they would attach themselves to her rather than to *Lacedæmon*, which he said would be the case of the islanders also, who, having no idea of a land-force, would sue for protection to that state whose naval power was greatest; he concluded with shewing the easiness with which his scheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept secret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the *Spartans* had once an idea of what was intended. *Aristides* and *Xanthippus* went then out to the people, and told them, that *Themistocles*'s project was of the utmost advantage to the state, and yet might be performed with the greatest ease. This, instead of satisfying the assembly, inspired them with new suspicions, they therefore directed *Themistocles* to apply himself to the senate, and if they approved his design, they empowered them to furnish him with what he wanted; accordingly *Themistocles* addressed himself to that venerable body, and they went unanimously into all his measures. In the first place embassadors were dispatched to *Sparta*, to insinuate there how fit it would be for the *Greeks* to have some great port, where a fleet might always continue in safety in order to watch the designs of the *Persians*; having thus prepared the *Lacedæmonians* not to take offence at their first preparations for enlarging and establishing the harbour of *Pyræum*, *Themistocles* took such care, that every thing was finished, and the place in a posture of defence, before it was well known at *Sparta* what the *Athenians* were about [c].

The sovereignty of sea transferred to Athens.

THE *Greeks* continuing the war all this time against the *Persians*, *Aristides* and *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades* were sent commanders of the *Athenian* forces, *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*

[b] PLUT. in vit. Themist. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Themist. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [c] PLUTARCH. in vit. Themist. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

a *Lacedæmonian* having the command in chief. This *Pauſanias*, elate with the ſucceſs he had had at *Platæa* and full alſo of new deſigns, having engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the *Perſian* king, treated all the captains under his command with ſuch haughtineſs and ſtate, that they were not able to bear it; for he never ſpoke to them but in very harſh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themſelves or their ſoldiers, till his *Spartans* were all ſerved. As for the private men, under colour of preſerving diſcipline, he treated them as if they had been all ſlaves, making them for the ſmalleſt offences ſtand with an anchor bound down on their ſhoulders, ſo that it almoſt ſunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the juſtice of *Ariſtides* and the candour and generoſity of *Cimon* attracted
b the hearts both of captains and ſoldiers, they ſaw, that the *Athenians* were far more powerful at ſea than the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the authority of the latter was founded only in their pride; they therefore applied themſelves firſt to *Ariſtides*, to deſire, that he would interpoſe with *Pauſanias*, in order to hinder him from behaving ſo roughly; but when *Pauſanias* turned from him diſdainfully, and ſaid he was not at leiſure to hear him, they unanimouſly beſought the *Athenian* commanders to take them under their protection, promiſing for the future to acknowledge *Athens* as the firſt city of *Greece*. *Ariſtides* upon this propoſition told them, that he ſaw clearly not only the fitneſs, but the neceſſity, of what they propoſed; but as he would never hazard either the ſafety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what
c might not ſucceed, ſo he would never comply with their requeſt, till by ſome public act they put their ſincerity out of queſtion, and fix the concurrence of all the troops beyond a poſſibility of retracting. Upon this *Uliades* the *Samian* and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, having agreed together, ran foul of *Pauſanias*'s galley as ſhe rode at the head of the fleet before *Byzantium*, and upon his threatening to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only ſlighted his menaces, but alſo told him in anſwer, that the beſt thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at *Platæa*, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action reſtrained the *Greeks* from reſenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* loſt that pre-emi-
d nence which they had hitherto maintained, and the ſupreme command was transferred to the *Athenians*[d].

THE conduct of *Ariſtides* derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the ſtates of *Greece* ſaw very clearly, that it was neceſſary for them to be always on their guard againſt the *Perſians*, and they had already learned, that war was not to be made without money; they therefore inferred, that a ſtanding fund would be convenient for the maintainance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the ſettling the propoſitions of this fund, according to the abilities of the ſeveral ſtates, ſeemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all *Greece* caſt her eyes on *Ariſtides*, they demanded him of the *Athenians* as the only
e perſon who could be intruſted with ſuch a plenitude of power. He executed his commiſſion in ſuch a manner, that his taxation was unanimouſly ſtiled, *The happy lot of Greece*, all its ſtates being perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſums he allotted them to pay. The groſs account of this tax was four hundred and ſixty talents. When he had finiſhed this buſineſs, he obliged all the people of *Greece* to ſwear to the obſervation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himſelf taking the oath in the name of the *Athenians*, throwing at the ſame time pieces of red-hot iron into the ſea, when he pronounced curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate any article of the alliance they ſwore to. Afterwards indeed, when neceſſity compelled the *Athenians* to act a little againſt the letter of that treaty, *Ariſtides* adviſed them
f to transfer the curſes on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the puniſhments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the ſtate. *Themiſtocles* ſaw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and, in order to leſſen his reputation, he was pleaſed to ſay in a public aſſembly, that the praiſes beſtowed on *Ariſtides* were not praiſes worthy of a man, but of a money-cheſt, which ſafely keeps what is depoſited therein. But this did not avenge him of an obſervation which *Ariſtides* had made on a former ſpeech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greateſt excellency in a general to penetrate the deſigns of his enemy; to which *Ariſtides* replied, that it was indeed a moſt neceſſary qualification, but that there was

Ariſtides *taxes all* Greece by *common conſent*.

[d] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. c. 6. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Ariſtid.

was another equally illuſtrious, which was *to have clean hands, and not be a ſlave to* a
money. Thus when the *Athenians* were free from foreign wars and from any contentions with their confederates, they were continually employed in domeſtic quarrels; the diſſentions of eminent men were never failing to raiſe diſturbances among their fellow citizens. An obſervation which we ſhall content ourſelves with making here once for all, though the verification thereof will occur to our readers in almoſt every page of the *Athenian* hiſtory [e].

Themiſtocles baniſhed Athens, *and driven out of* Greece.

The *Lacedæmonians*, though at firſt they made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the *Greeks*, who transferred the pre-eminence with reſpect to maritime affairs from *Sparta* to *Athens*, yet in a ſhort time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, b
becauſe it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware, that they enjoyed not half an empire, yet their anger being moderated by the wiſdom of ſome of their citizens, they laid aſide all thoughts of war, and the *Athenians*, who had proviſionally built ſome ſtout gallies, reaped thereby ſome advantage from their threatenings. There ſeems juſt reaſon to believe, that the *Lacedæmonians* acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accuſed *Themiſtocles* to his countrymen of having conſpired with their king *Pauſanias* to betray the cauſe of *Greece*. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear, that *Pauſanias* had diſcovered his intrigues to *Themiſtocles*; but it appeared likewiſe, that *Themiſtocles* did all in his power to perſuade him to let them fall, ſo c
that he was acquitted of this accuſation with honour. But the minds of the people being once ſtirred againſt him, as well to gratify their own private reſentment as to make their court to the *Spartans*, there were enow found to calumniate *Themiſtocles*. We have already ſhewn ſome of the reaſons which induced the people of *Lacedæmon* to hate this great man, there remains yet one more, which deſerves the reader's notice, becauſe of all others it exaſperated them moſt. A little after the battle of *Platæa*, it was propoſed in the council of the *Amphictyons*, or ſtates-general of *Greece*, that all ſuch cities as had not fought againſt the *Perſians* ſhould loſe their right of ſending deputies to that aſſembly. This *Themiſtocles* oppoſed, for he foreſaw, that if the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and many others ſhould loſe their right of ſending d
repreſentatives to this aſſembly, the *Lacedæmonians* would rule all; wherefore he repreſented to the members there preſent, that there were but one and thirty cities, and moſt of them very ſmall ones, which had concurred in the war againſt the *Perſians*, and that if the deputies of thoſe only had ſeſſion in their council, it would undoubtedly come to paſs, that this auguſt ſenate would be entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once diſadvantagious and diſhonourable to *Greece*. Theſe ſuggeſtions of his having deſtroyed the *Lacedæmonian* ſcheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of *Themiſtocles*, and ſought to bring him into odium with the *Athenians*. *Timocreon* the *Rhodian*, who was a famous poet in thoſe times, wrote libels againſt *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, and *Cimon* promoted exceedingly that ſpirit of jealouſy which began to ſpring e
up againſt him. *Themiſtocles* himſelf gave them a handle, by erecting near his own houſe a temple which he dedicated to *Diana*, *the giver of the beſt council*; intimating, that himſelf had given the beſt council both for the ſafety of *Athens* and *Greece*. The end of theſe diſputes was, that the *Athenians* by the oſtraciſm baniſhed *Themiſtocles*. The *Lacedæmonians*, not ſatisfied with this, accuſed him afreſh of having been concerned in *Pauſanias*'s conſpiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at laſt to take ſhelter in the court of *Admetus* king of the *Moloſſians*; but the *Spartans* ſending embaſſadors thither to threaten that king with f
the *Greeks* making war upon him by a confederacy, he furniſhed *Themiſtocles* with money to make his eſcape into *Aſia*, where learning not only the *Perſians* manners, but the language alſo, he raiſed himſelf to greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, than any of the native *Perſians*, ſo that in time he beſtowed on him a *Perſian* wife, a large eſtate, and great privileges which deſcended to his poſterity, inſomuch, that *Plutarch* affirms, that he knew one of them, whoſe name was alſo *Themiſtocles*, who lived at *Magneſia* in full poſſeſſion of them, above five hundred years after the ingratitude of

[e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. [f] Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt.

a of the *Athenians* ſent this excellent perſon to receive his bread from ſtrangers, and to make known to *Perſia* thoſe virtues of which *Greece* was no longer worthy [f] (A).

THE

[f] Corn. Nepos in vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plut. in vit. Themiſt.

(A) As far as the affairs of *Themiſtocles* were mingled with thoſe of the ſtate of *Athens*, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now, when they are no longer connected, we think it neceſſary to throw together ſome memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that *Themiſtocles* when baniſh'd had any deſign either to revenge himſelf on *Athens*, or to take refuge in the court of the king of *Perſia*. The *Greeks* themſelves forced him upon this, or rather the *Lacedæmonians*; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to baniſh him, ſo by their procurement, after he was baniſhed, he was never ſuffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into *Perſia*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, was very dangerous; the great king having promiſed by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. *Nicogenes* the *Æolian* found means to convey him to court in ſafety, for having put him into a cloſe litter he cauſed the ſervants who attended him to give out that they carried a young *Grecian* lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman attending on the king's perſon; thus he arrived ſafely at the court of *Artaxerxes*, where he addreſſed himſelf to *Artabanus*, and informed him, that he was a *Grecian*, who deſired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which *Artabanus* having promiſed, demanded whom they ſhould ſay he was; for you ſeem, ſaid he, to be no ordinary perſon. *Themiſtocles* anſwered, no man muſt be informed of this before the king himſelf. When admitted to the royal preſence, and commanded to declare who he was, he ſpoke thus: "I am *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* baniſhed and perſecuted by the *Greeks*; I fly to thee for refuge, "mighty monarch: The evils I have done to the "*Perſians* are eaſily to be forgiven, in conſideration "of the many atchievments performed for them "when I hindered the *Grecians* from purſuing the "*Medes* after the fatal battles of *Salamis* and *Platæa*; when having freed my country, and placed "the *Greeks* in ſafety, my ambition led me on to "greater enterprizes; in which being ſucceſsful, I "gratified the far-extended *Perſian* empire, and "performed ſervices acceptable to the greateſt "prince on earth: Since which all things having conſpired to augment my preſent calamities, ſuitable "to ſuch a condition, I come hither hoping to receive mercy from a gracious reconciled emperor, "who hath laid aſide his anger, and is no longer "mindful of former evils; humbly imploring you, "that taking the *Greeks* for witneſſes of the ſervices I have done for *Perſia*, you will make uſe of "this occaſion to ſhew the world the nobleneſs of "your virtue, rather than the greatneſs of your reſentment. Hereby you will preſerve an humble ſupliant; if otherwiſe, you deſtroy a ſervant "of the *Perſians*, and a public enemy of the "*Greeks* (77)". *Thucydides* mentions a letter ſent by *Themiſtocles* to *Artaxerxes*, differing very little from this ſpeech, attributed to him by *Plutarch*. *Cornelius Nepos* hath copied this letter from *Thucydides*; and all agree, that the *Perſian* monarch received him with great kindneſs. *Plutarch* ſays, that he was ſo well pleaſed with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his ſleep, *I have* Themiſtocles *the* Athenian (78). The next morning the king ſent for him again, and as ſoon as the firſt compliments were over, ſaid, *I am in your debt two hundred talents, for ſo much I promiſed to him who brought Themiſtocles*; he likewiſe promiſed him far greater favours, and deſired he would ſpeak his mind freely of the affairs of *Greece*. *Themiſtocles* anſwered by his interpreter, *That diſcourſe, like a* Perſian *carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was ſcarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece*; he therefore deſired that he might have time to learn the *Perſian* language, which would enable him to diſcloſe his own ideas without the help of another. This anſwer of *Themiſtocles* is a noble proof of his extenſive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taſte, the ſentiment great, and the figure expreſſive; he delivered himſelf like a native *Perſian* the very firſt day that he appeared in the court of *Perſia*; the king readily granted him a year for the purpoſe he intended. At the end of that ſpace he appeared frequently at court, *Themiſtocles* being in a ſhort time ſo great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the *Perſian* kings were wont to promiſe any *Greek* whom they ſought to bring over to their intereſt, *that he ſhould live with them as* Themiſtocles *did with* Artaxerxes. He was alſo in favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the *Perſian* religion, and was inſtructed therein by the magi. He had three cities beſtowed upon him, which, alluding to their ſituation, the king of *Perſia* ſaid in pleaſantry, that they ſhould ſerve to provide him *bread, wine*, and *meat*; theſe cities were *Magneſia*, *Myon*, and *Lampſacus*; the firſt brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents, and the laſt had in its neighbourhood the nobleſt vineyards in the eaſt. *Themiſtocles* fixed his reſidence at *Magneſia*, where he liv'd with all the ſplendor of a *Perſian* grandee, inſomuch, that he ſaid one day at table to his children, *We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone*. He was ſo far from expreſſing any hatred againſt his ungrateful country, that *Plutarch* aſſures us the tenderneſs he retained for it had like to have coſt him his life; for ſeeing at *Sardis* a brazen ſtatue of a virgin which he had ſet up in *Athens*, when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to perſuade the governor of *Lydia* to ſend it back to *Athens*; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great paſſion, and threatened to inform the emperor, ſo that *Themiſtocles*, in order to extricate himſelf from danger, was forced to make large preſents to his woman. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble *Athenian* died. *Plutarch* ſays, that being preſſed by the king of *Perſia* to undertake an expedition againſt *Greece*, he made a ſolemn ſacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and ſo put an end to his life. *Thucydides*, who was cotemporary with *Themiſtocles*, ſpeaks very doubtfully of this buſineſs; *He died* ſays he, *of a diſtemper, but ſome report that he poiſoned himſelf, ſeeing it impoſſible to accompliſh what he had promiſed the king*. He was ſixty-ſix years old at his death; he was honoured with a ſtately tomb at *Magneſia*, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into *Attica* and buried there. Some ſay, that the *Athenians*, repenting afterwards of their ill uſage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the *Pyræum*. And *Plutarch* in ſupport of this quotes the following verſes from *Plato* the comedian:

Thy tomb is juſtly raiſed upon the ſtrand,
Where from all parts admiring ſtrangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made
The ſeat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy aſhes on this famous ſhore,
Both ſea and land may honour and adore (79).

(77) *de Bello Pelop. lib.* i. (78) *Plut. in vit. Themiſt.* (79) *Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt.*

THE popular party in *Athens* carried all things before them, after *Themistocles* was banished; and such a number of false witnesses arose, that those who were most concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. *Aristides* alone, when things came to extremity, shewed himself more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to *Themistocles*; he refused to join with *Alcmæon* and *Cimon* in prosecuting him capitally, and was so far from insulting him in his misfortunes, that he spoke of him with greater respect than ever. The war with *Persia* was not yet let fall, the *Greeks* found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, especially the *Athenians*, who, by means of their great force at sea, were continually enriching themselves at the expence of some or other of the *Persian* emperor's subjects. They therefore devised various reasons for sending fleets to sea, though the real intent was to aggran- b
dize and enrich themselves, by the skill and valour of their troops and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy-seventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the *Athenians*, and no less grateful to the *Greeks* in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own [g].

Cimon obliges the Athenians.

Cimon, the son of *Miltiades* by the daughter of the king of *Thrace*, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in the succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary that we should give the reader his character here. *Cimon*'s abilities were fair and solid, c
yet less so than his virtues; his father had distinguished himself by the firmness of his courage, *Themistocles* by the strength of his judgment, *Aristides* by his probity, *Cimon* was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper, which made him above deceiving, the only stain on *Themistocles*'s character; and an inflexible honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this *Cimon* whom the merciful *Athenians* put in chains for his father's fine, and for whose release his sister gave up her charms to *Callias*, remarkable only for being at the same time *worthless*, and *worth money*. In his youth *Cimon* did not promise much, he was d
little inclined to learning, which in an *Athenian* was a strange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were also thought blemishes in a young nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to understand that the greatest virtues are not the soonest seen; for, when on the first news of the *Persian* invasion, *Themistocles* advised the *Athenians* to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon universally decried, *Cimon* went immediately to the temple of *Minerva*, and offered up a bridle, to signify that horsemen were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships; after which he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. *Aristides*, observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to business, that his candour might balance the craft of *Themistocles*, in which he succeeded very happily; for *Cimon* only of all the *Athenian* generals e
was always beloved, and never suspected [h]. In this expedition he took the city of *Eion* from the *Persians*, but with little advantage to the *Athenians*, because *Butes*, who commanded in that city for the *Persian* king, set fire to the place, and burnt himself, his garison, and all the riches that were therein; however, *Cimon* settled colonies in that neighbourhood after revenging himself on the *Thracians*, who had assisted the *Persians* in *Ionia* with provisions. He afterwards reduced the island of *Scyros*, from whence he brought the bones of *Theseus*, which were honourably interred at *Athens* (B). After this he returned to *Athens*, and having increased his fleet to three hundred

[g] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. [h] PLUT. in vit. Cimonis. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd.

(B) This note hath the same subject with the last; we are to speak of the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the ashes of a great man, whom they treated ill when living, and sent to beg his bread; this was no less a person than *Theseus*, to whom in a great measure they owed their being a people. The oracle, in the latter end of the seventy-fifth, or beginning of the seventy-sixth olympiad, commanded the *Athenians* to bring home the ashes of this prince. When therefore *Cimon* made himself master of the isle of *Scyros*, he sought with great diligence for the tomb of *Theseus*; but being able to find no such thing, he inquired of the people of the island, who either could not or would not give him any intelligence; at last observing an eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her bill, and tearing up the earth with her talons, it came into his head to dig there. This being done, there was found a coffin of a man of more than ordinary size, the brazen head of a launce, and a sword lying by him, all which he took on board his galley, and brought them with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, transported with joy,

a hundred ſail, he ſteered for the coaſt of *Caria*, and having performed great things there, he ſailed for *Cyprus*, where he was informed the *Perſian* fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, their land-army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. *Cimon*, though the fleet was much ſtronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obſtinate engagement, gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ſhips, their crews abandoning them to ſeek refuge on ſhore. Unſatisfied with this, he debarqued his forces, and attacked their land-army; the *Perſians* fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the *Athenians* prevailed, and not only routed the *Perſians*, but poſſeſſed themſelves of their camp with all the riches contained therein; thus in one
b day he gained two important victories, one at ſea, the other at land, equal to thoſe of *Salamis* and *Platæa*[i]. *Plutarch* ſays, that he afterwards made himſelf maſter of eighty *Phœnician* veſſels which lay in a port of *Cyprus*, and were intended to ſtrengthen that navy which *Cimon* had deſtroyed. However it was, he gained ſuch an immenſe booty, that the *Athenians* were enabled thereby to build the ſouth wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of thoſe far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a mooriſh ground, they were firſt of all forced to ſink great ſtones, that they might have whereon to erect a ſuperſtructure, beſides various other things for the acccommodation of the citizens, and beſides what *Cimon* himſelf did out of his proportion of the ſpoils, which were very great; for he
c adorned the *forum* with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleaſant fountains. The wealth of *Cimon*, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, ſo it likewiſe put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he ſo much affected; he therefore demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed; he likewiſe kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the pooreſt *Athenians* eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was conſtantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, and whoſe pockets were well furniſhed with money. But if by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change
d cloaths with him; or if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs unſuitable, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed perſon privately. Thus, as one of the ancients ſaid of him very juſtly, he gained riches that he might uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular; on the contrary he ſided always with the nobility, and oppoſed openly ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches, which his victories poured into *Athens*, brought along with them their conſtant attendant corruption; but though the tide was ſtrong, yet *Ariſtides* in the midſt of a voluntary poverty, and *Cimon* who lived with the greateſt magnificence, eſcaped
e it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money[k].

Year after the deluge 2531. *Before Chriſt* 468.

The affairs of *Athens* were now in ſuch a proſperous condition, that they would not ſuffer any thing to be tranſacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The *Perſians* having invaded the *Cherſoneſus*, and by the help of the *Thracians* made themſelves intirely maſters of it, *Cimon* was ſent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ſhips, ſo that the *Barbarians* and their allies looked upon this as a very raſh attempt; however, *Cimon*, falling upon them ſuddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all *Cherſoneſus* under the *Athenian* power, after which he went againſt the *Thaſians*, who, revolting from the *Athenians*, had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers *Nyſſus* and
f *Strymon*, which tempted the *Athenians* to fall upon them. But before we enter into the

The Thaſians *revolt, and are reduced by* Cimon.

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [k] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

joy, went out to meet and receive the reliques of this great man with all the pomp imaginable. They interred them in the middle of the city, and made his tomb an aſylum or ſanctuary for ſlaves and people of mean condition, who fled from the perſecution of men in power, becauſe in his life-time he had been a protector of the diſtreſſed, and above all things delighted in doing the injured juſtice. They likewiſe ſacrificed ſolemnly to him on the 8th of *October*, becauſe he was reported to have returned from his *Cretan* expedition on that day. Thus the *Athenians*, who injured *Theſeus* living, revered him dead (80)!

(80) *Plut. in vit. Theſ.*

the event of this war, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that *Cimon* put the *Athe-* a
nians into a method of becoming irreſiſtible at ſea, and of ſaving their neighbours,
not at their own expence, but at the expence of thoſe they awed. It was thus:
Many of the *Greek* ſtates, who, by the treaty concluded with *Ariſtides*, were bound
to furniſh men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their ſupport, when
they ſaw themſelves out of danger from the *Barbarians*, were very unwilling to
furniſh their quota of men and ſhips; this moſt of the *Athenian* generals diſliking,
would have compelled them by high fines to remedy; but *Cimon* took a contrary
courſe, he permitted ſuch as were deſirous of ſtaying at home to remain there, and
took a certain ſum in lieu of a galley completely manned. By this means he inured
the *Athenians*, whom he took on board his gallies, both to hardſhip and diſcipline, b
while the allies, who choſe to excuſe themſelves in this manner, were enervated thro'
idleneſs, and ſo from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almoſt
ſlaves. The people of *Thaſus*, perceiving this, thought to have ſhaken off the
Athenian yoke; but *Cimon* proved too many for them, though the *Thaſians* be-
haved very bravely; for having firſt ſuſtained a great loſs at ſea, they afterwards
ſhut themſelves up in their city, and made a very obſtinate defence; while in
the mean time they ſent privately to the *Lacedæmonians*, and endeavoured to ſtir
them up to make war with the *Athenians*; but their affairs not permitting them to
comply with their requeſt, the *Thaſians* were obliged at laſt to ſubmit; and ſo the
gold mines, about which this war was commenced, fell into the power of the *Athe-* c
nians, who ſent a great colony to *Amphipolis* a city of *Thrace*, which for a time made
a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the *Edones*,
a great part of them were deſtroyed. In the laſt year of the ſeventy-ſeventh olympiad,
the *Lacedæmonians* finding themſelves extremely vexed by their *Helotes*, who were
their neighbours, ſent to demand aid from *Athens*, which produced very great diſ-
putes there; *Ephialtes*, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party,
oppoſed the motion for ſending, as the *Spartans* deſired, an army to their aſſiſtance.
Cimon, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the *Lacedæmonians*,
by whoſe intereſt he had been ſupported againſt *Themiſtocles*, earneſtly preſſed the d
Athenians to lay hold of this opportunity of ſhewing their virtue and magnanimity, by
ſuccouring their companion, who was the other eye of *Greece*. *Ephialtes* fought to
bring the people into his opinion, by ſhewing that *Sparta* had always been, and from
the nature of her conſtitution would always be, an enemy to *Athens*, and therefore
ought not to be ſuccoured now when the enemies her pride had excited were about to
layher low. The *Athenians*, however, liſtened rather to *Cimon* than to his adverſary,
and full of a generous concern for *Greece*, ſent that fortunate general at the head of
a great army to the aſſiſtance of *Lacedæmon*, which ſervice he very willingly per-
formed, and returned from thence with great honour; ſome time after, the *Lacede-* e
monians, being engaged in the ſiege of *Ithome*, ſent again to the *Athenians* for ſuccour,
and were again relieved, *Cimon* marching with a numerous body of troops to their
aſſiſtance; but the *Spartans*, finding that their other confederates had ſent troops ſuf-
ficient to enable them to make an end of the war ſucceſsfully, diſmiſſed the *Athenian*
ſuccours, as being either afraid of them, or caring leaſt to be obliged by them. This
grievouſly offended the people of *Athens*, who thenceforward not only hated the
Lacedæmonians, but all of their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to
that ſtate [1].

The Athenians *make war on* Ægina, *and ſend a fleet into* Egypt.

The *Athenians* engaged themſelves in two new wars, one againſt the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who, having been always free, bore very ill thoſe acts of ſovereignty which the *Athenians* exerciſed over them, as well as the reſt of their allies; the ſecond was againſt the great king in *Egypt*, which now revolted from him, and ſet up one *Inarus* for king. The fleet which the *Athenians* ſent hither performed wonders; for they enabled the *Egyptians* to beat the *Perſians* in the field, and to ſubdue two diſtricts of the great city of *Memphis*; but the third, which was called the *white*, they could not reduce, the *Perſians* who retreated thither, having carried with them a vaſt quantity of proviſions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a ſiege of three years; but this affair being already exactly related in our account of

[1] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos vit. ejuſd. Thucyd. lib. i.

a of the *Persian* monarchy, we need say no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the *Athenians* [m].

THEIR great business abroad did not so much take up the time of the people of *Athens*, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, *Pericles* and *Ephialtes*; the former of these was the son of *Xanthippus*, the famous *Athenian* captain who won the battle of *Mycale*, by *Agariste* the niece of the celebrated *Clysthenes*, who had so great a hand in expelling the *Pisistratidæ*. He studied under *Damon* and *Anaxagoras*; from the former he learned politics, though b he pretended to teach him music, and from the latter natural philosophy and the art of speaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence superior to that of any of his cotemporaries; but he was obliged to conceal these shining qualifications, because the *Athenians* had taken it in their heads that he resembled *Pisistratus* very much in his face, and still more in his eloquence, which was so nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the surname of *Olympius*. Notwithstanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good estate, and many relations who filled the first posts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined standing for public employments, but even speaking or appearing in publick, that he might not draw upon himself the envy of the great, or become formidable c to the people. But when *Aristides* was dead, *Themistocles* in banishment, and *Cimon*, generally speaking, employed in foreign affairs, *Pericles* began to apply himself strictly to public business, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of *Athens* had acted; for, instead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himself wholly to the lower sort of people, notwithstanding that it was contrary to his natural disposition, which by no means inclined him to a plausible insinuating behaviour. The reason was, that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could possibly attain to that eminence and superiority which he affected. *Cimon*, by the greatness of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate had placed himself at the head of the nobility, and was by d them considered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generosity and condescension. The *multitude* therefore were the sole resource of *Pericles*, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foresaw exactly the dangers he must be exposed to in consequence of his making court to them. To avoid these, he practised a behaviour equally singular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid visits, and but once in all his administration was present at a feast, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the *Prytaneum* or *assembly*; he preserved an unshaken gravity in his look, his gestures, and his speech, and always prayed, before he delivered an oration, that nothing might slip from him displeasing to the people. With all e these abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unless he could be as liberal as *Cimon*, to whom though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell short; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done since, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreased the salaries given to such of the *Athenian* citizens as sat in courts of justice, the money given to the poorer citizens for attending at assemblies, and to enable them to pay for seats in theatres [n] (C).

State of the factions in Athens at this time.

INASMUCH

[m] Universal History, Vol. II. p. 131.

[n] PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis.

(C) The reader might be justly offended, if we had suffered *Aristides*'s subsequent fortunes to have slipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the share he had, like the rest of the great men of *Athens*, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen. In this note therefore we will draw together such scattered passages in relation to this great man, as the course of the history did not permit us to take notice of in the text. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Ariston*, an historian of *Chios*, or, as M. *Dacier* will have it, of *Ceos*, said, that the contention between *Aristides* and *Themistocles* took rise from their being both enamoured of *Stesileus* of the island of *Ceos*, the most beautiful youth of his time, in which if there be any truth, it is an inconteſtable argument, that the morality of the *Greeks* was far from being pure or perfect, since *Aristides*, who valued himself so much on his probity, could persist in so base and unnatural a vice. What a high esteem all his cotemporaries had of the rigid virtue of *Aristides*, is better known to us from an accident, than from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of history. It happened, that *Aristides* was present the first time that *Eschylus*'s tragedy was played, which has this title, *The siege of* Thebes *by the seven captains*. A courier being therein introduced, relating to *Etcocles* the names and qualities of those that commanded, thus

INASMUCH as *Pericles* never pretended to any of the great offices of the com- a
monwealth, he could not of conſequence be choſen a member of the court of *Areopagus*, whence it came to paſs, that he diſtaſted their authority, becauſe he knew they could not be well pleaſed with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general aſſembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of the moſt venerable council among the *Athenians*, he encouraged *Ephialtes* his intimate friend to ſtir up the people againſt the *Areopagites*, and to make them believe, that this tribunal was the greateſt curb upon them, and the only bar to that extenſive liberty which their friends wiſhed to put into the hands of the commons of *Athens*; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatneſs in that of the people, but at the expence b of the ancient conſtitution and of the ſafety of the ſtate, as the courſe of this hiſtory will ſhew o.

WHEN things were in this ſituation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the deſtruction of *Cimon*. In order to this a proſecution was commenced againſt him for treaſon againſt the ſtate; this treaſon was pretended to conſiſt in receiving preſents or other gratifications from the *Macedonians*, whereby he was prevailed on to let ſlip the manifeſt opportunity he had to inlarge his conqueſts, after he had taken from the *Perſians* the gold mines in *Thrace*. *Cimon* made a defence ſuitable to his character, he ſaid, that he had proſecuted to the utmoſt of his power the war againſt the *Thracians* and other enemies to the ſtate of *Athens*; c but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into *Macedonia*, becauſe he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and becauſe he was ſtruck with reſpect for a nation modeſt in their carriage, juſt in their dealings, and ſtrictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the *Athenians*; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he muſt abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiſs. *Elpinice* his ſiſter engaged herſelf warmly in his behalf, ſoliciting all ſuch as ſhe thought might either influence the

o PLUTARCH. ubi. ſupra. & in vit. Cimonis. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi.

thus deſcribes the genius and temper of *Amphiaraus*.

He aims at real worth without the ſhow,
Reaping thoſe fruits which in his rich mind grow;
Whence ſage advice and noble actions flow.

As ſoon as theſe words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon *Ariſtides*, to ſhew that in their opinion this was his character alſo. He was appointed treaſurer, of *Athens*, and executed that office with great integrity; but inaſmuch as he had expoſed ſome of *Themiſtocles*'s frauds, that artful politician accuſed him of miſapplying public money, and though nothing was falſer than this charge, got him condemned. But, the court of *Areopagus* interpoſing, his fine was remitted, and he choſen treaſurer for the next year, when he ſuffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit, who thereupon extolled him to the skies, and, when the end of the year came, would have perſuaded the people to chuſe him a third time, when *Ariſtides* riſing up, addreſſed himſelf the aſſembly in theſe words: "When I diſcharged "my office with care, and managed your treaſure "faithfully and like an honeſt man, I was reviled "and evil ſpoken of; but now when I have taken "no care at all, but left it to the diſcretion of theſe "public robbers, I am, it ſeems, an admirable "treaſurer, and a moſt excellent patriot; I there- "fore declare to you, that I am more aſhamed of "the honour done to me this day, than of the "ſentence paſſed upon me laſt year; and with in- "dignation and concern I ſee, it is more merito- "rious with you to oblige ill men, than to deſerve "well of the commonwealth". The day before the battle of *Platæa*, a conſpiracy being diſcovered among the *Athenians* to introduce a democracy, *Ariſtides*, who commanded, would not ſuffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it ſhould occaſion ſome ſedition in the camp; but contented himſelf with telling ſuch as were ſuſpected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might juſtify themſelves, and ſhew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle *Ariſtides* proved himſelf to be as great a general as he was a ſtateſman, and gave as noble teſtimonies of his valour as he had ever done of prudence and juſtice; he lived but four years after *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed, and notwithſtanding he had exerciſed the greateſt offices in the commonwealth, yet he was ſo poor that he was unable to make a figure himſelf, or to leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being deſcended from ſuch a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public; we will inſtance but one thing more in relation to *Ariſtides*, which reſpects at once his poverty and virtue, and ſo conclude. His couſin *Callias the torch-bearer* being under a proſecution, the orator who ſpoke againſt him obſerved, that though he was immenſely rich, he ſuffered his couſin *Ariſtides* to labour under the deepeſt neceſſity. *Callias* perceiving that this made more impreſſion on his judges than the crime for which he was accuſed, ſummoned *Ariſtides*, who owned, that *Callias* had often preſſed him to accept money, and that he had as often anſwered, *It better becomes* Ariſtides *to make a ſhew of his poverty, than* Callias *of his wealth; for many people make a bad uſe of their riches, whereas there is ſcarce one to be found who bears poverty with an equal mind.* He died in the ſecond year of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, 467 years before Chriſt (S1).

(S1) *Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſdem.* *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *Juſt. lib.* ii. *c.* 15 *Senec. de Benefic.*

a the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongſt the reſt ſhe addreſſed herſelf to *Pericles*, who was one of the Perſons appointed by the people to accuſe *Cimon* at his trial. *Pericles* heard all ſhe had to ſay patiently, and then anſwered with a ſmile, *You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in ſuch affairs as theſe.* *Pericles* was noted for gallantry, and in all probabillity, he let fall this expreſſion to take off all ſuſpicion that *Elpinice* had made any impreſſion upon him; for it was obſerved, that when the trial came on, *Pericles* ſpoke but once, and then not only treated *Cimon* with great reſpect, but touched the buſineſs of which he was accuſed ſo lightly, that he ſeemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done ſpeaking he withdrew; the conſequence of this was, that *Cimon* eſcaped capital pu-
b niſhment, though he was baniſhed by the *oſtraciſm*, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehenſions from the people [p].

THE diſpoſition of the *Athenians* appearing now to be extremely favourable to thoſe who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, *Ephialtes* took this opportunity to humble the court of *Areopagus*, which he did by a decree, whereby moſt of the cauſes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elſewhere; and this the wiſeſt of the *Athenians* have looked upon as the firſt ſtep to their ruin, for it gave the people ſuch a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, *Ephialtes* did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets by *Ariſtodicus* a *Tanagrian*, as *Ariſtotle* reports,
c induced thereto by the nobility, though *Idomenes* of *Lampſacus*, an author quoted by *Plutarch*, aſcribes his murder to *Pericles*, who, when he had ſerved his purpoſes, thought it beſt to have him out of the way [q].

A WAR breaking out between the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians* on the one ſide, and the *Athenians* on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the *Athenians* conceiving, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* had ſome way or other been helpful to their enemies, ſent *Leocrates* their admiral at the head of a great fleet to puniſh that Iſland, which had always been troubleſome to the *Athenians*. The inhabitants of *Ægina*, vainly truſting to their ſkill in maritime affairs, ventured with a ſmall fleet, made up for the moſt part of new-built ſhips, to hazard a battle with
d the *Athenians*, in which, however, they ſuffered dearly for their raſhneſs, being totally defeated with the loſs of ſeventy ſhips, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Athenians*, and to purchaſe peace at the expence of honour and independence [r].

THE ſtates of *Peloponneſus*, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatneſs of the *Athenians*, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when ſhe was engaged in troubleſome affairs, and ſeemed to be leſs able to reſiſt them. On this account the *Corinthians* attacked the *Megarians*, whom they knew to be the allies of *Athens*, while the *Athenians* upon ſome freſh provocation were laying ſiege to *Ægina*; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, ſent
e *Myronides* their general, at the head of a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of their allies, without deſiſting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. *Myronides* behaved ſo well, that after ſeveral engagements the *Corinthians* were glad to return, ſo that this attempt to check the *Athenian* power ſerved, as many others had done, only to increaſe it [s].

THE *Lacedæmonians* having ſent a great army compoſed of their own troops and thoſe of their allies to the aſſiſtance of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians*, the *Athenians* reſolved to attack them in their return, having long wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging thoſe inſults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received, from the *Spartans*. The *Athenians* therefore, drawing in the *Argives*
f and *Theſſalians* to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty ſail, and with them approached the iſthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thouſand men and took poſſeſſion of the paſſages, ſo that it was impoſſible for the *Lacedæmonians* to return home without encountering them. The *Spartan* army commanded by *Nicomedes* conſiſted of eleven thouſand five hundred men; he did not, however, haſten raſhly to a battle, but turned aſide to *Tanagra* a city of *Bœotia*, where ſuch of the *Athenians* as inclined to an ariſtocracy entered into ſome correſpondence with him. But before their deſigns ripened, the *Athenian* army marched with great expedition

The Athenians *beaten at* Tanagra. *Year after the Flood*, 2541. *Before Chriſt* 458.

[p] PLUT. in vit. Cim. & Peric. CORN. NEPOS. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.
[r] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 283. [s] Id. ib.

expedition to *Tanagra*, ſo that a battle became inevitable. When the *Athenians* a were diſpoſing themſelves in battalia, *Cimon* preſented himſelf on a ſudden completely armed, and went to take poſt among the troops of his own tribe. But thoſe of the popular faction, forgetting all reſpect to their country and minding nothing but their private reſentments, raiſed a great clamour, alledging, that he came with no other view than to put himſelf at the head of his own party in order to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*; they therefore inſiſted, that the general ſhould not receive him, his time of baniſhment being not near expired; and *Cimon* being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneaſy, voluntarily retired, but before he withdrew, he addreſſed himſelf to *Euthippus* and the reſt of his friends, who were charged with being in a conſpiracy with him, earneſtly beſeeching them to behave in ſuch b a manner as might wipe off the aſperſion, and convince the *Athenians*, that they had not amongſt them either braver or honeſter men than *Cimon* and his friends. *Euthippus* and his companions made him no other anſwer than deſiring him to leave them his armour, ſince their generals would not permit him to ſerve at their head, which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the *Theſſalian* horſe, deſerting the *Athenians* at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of *Athens* and their confederates fought obſtinately, particularly the little body commanded by *Euthippus*, which, drawing cloſe together and having *Cimon*'s armour in the midſt of them, charged amongſt the c thickeſt of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all ſlain. In the end, however, the *Athenians* were routed with a very great loſs. This unfortunate buſineſs was followed ſhortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of *Attica*, the *Theſſalians* marched ſuddenly in the night to attack it. The *Athenian* eſcort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of *Tanagra*, received the *Theſſalians* as friends. But they ſuddenly falling upon them, the *Athenian* guard ſtood on their defence, and made a very gallant reſiſtance, till at laſt their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the *Theſſalians* with great ſlaughter; yet theſe in the end being ſuſtained by the *Lacedæmonians*, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being ſufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a ſhort truce, that after d ſuch rude encounters both ſides might have time to recruit their forces[t].

THE *Thebans*, who on account of their having joined *Xerxes* in his war againſt *Greece*, had loſt the government of *Bœotia*, applied themſelves now to the *Lacedæmonians*, entreating them to aſſiſt their recovery of it, and promiſing to be for ever their faithful allies againſt the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, conceiving this to be a very ſeaſonable propoſal, readily complied with it, and entered into a ſtrict league with the *Thebans*. By their aſſiſtance *Thebes* was reſtored to her ancient luſtre, rendered the head of *Bœotia*, and one of the firſt cities in *Greece*. The *Athenians*, however, were ſo much diſpleaſed at the conduct of the *Spartans* in this matter, that e they reſolved to ſend an army into *Bœotia* to overturn all they had been doing. *Myronides* the ſon of *Callias* was choſen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march againſt the enemy; when that day came, many whoſe names were in the muſter-roll did not attend; *Myronides*, however, began his march, and when many perſuaded him to wait a little, that ſuch as had been negligent might have time to come in, he anſwered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for ſuch people, ſince it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had with him in their early appearance in the field had given ſuch a teſtimony of their courage as ſeemed to promiſe victory. The *Thebans* and their allies, making up a numerous and well-diſciplined army, marched without ſcruple to meet *Myronides* f and his handful of *Athenians*; but the event did not anſwer their expectation, for after a long and obſtinate engagement *Myronides* prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed ſurpriſing, as *Diodorus Siculus* long ago remarked, that ancient authors have paſſed over ſo ſlightly this victory of the *Athenians*, which in ſome ſenſe was more glorious to them than either that of *Marathon* or *Platæa*. In both thoſe they fought againſt *Barbarians*, and were aſſiſted by their allies; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a ſuperior army compoſed of the braveſt of the *Greeks*. The firſt uſe which the *Athenian* general made of his victory was

[t] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 283. PLUTARCH. in vit. Cimonis.

a was to march to *Tanagra*, where the *Athenians* had been ſo hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by ſtorm, and, that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all *Bœotia*, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the *Locrians*, then penetrated into *Theſſaly*, where having chaſtiſed the inhabitants for their treachery to the *Athenians*, he returned home laden with riches and glory [u].

THE next year *Tolmides* the *Athenian* admiral, piqued at the great actions of *Myronides*, prompted the people to give him power to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, *Tolmides*
b aſked but for a thouſand men, which were readily granted him; but he, well knowing that this was too ſmall a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending, that he would chuſe the thouſand men out of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt of the youths of *Athens*, he privately ſolicited all ſuch to give in their names voluntarily, ſuggeſting, that it would be a ſtain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thouſand to give in their names, he then choſe another thouſand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thouſand men on board his fleet, which conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſtout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at *Methon* in *Laconia*, he
c took it, but the *Spartans* ſending a ſpeedy ſuccour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at *Gythium*, another ſea-port belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*, which he took and burnt, with all the ſhipping and naval proviſions that were therein; he likewiſe waſted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he ſailed for *Zacynthus*, which he reduced together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then ſailed over to *Naupactus*, which he took by compoſition, and, having ejected the *Lacedæmonians*, ſettled there a colony of *Meſſenians*, whom the *Athenians* had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no leſs to the honour of the *Athenians*, than thoſe undertaken in former years againſt the *Spartans* and their allies [x].

d ON the very back of this, *Pericles* was ſent with fifty ſhips and a thouſand ſoldiers to invade *Peloponneſus*, which he did with great good fortune, burning, ſpoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him, as was before ſaid, but a thouſand men, for the very fame of the *Athenians* half diſcomfited their enemies, and the reputation of ſo great a general took away almoſt the power of reſiſtance. On his return to *Athens* he found the people not a little out of humour, becauſe *Cimon* remained ſtill in baniſhment; the death of his friends in the battle of *Tanagra* fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been baniſhed, and therefore we need not wonder, that all *Athens* looked upon it as an act of juſtice due from their ſtate to recal him. *Pericles*, conceiving
e well what would be the conſequence of their compaſſion, immediately took the thing upon himſelf, and drew up an act for his reſtoration, which *Cimon* took ſo kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of ſcandal among the ancients, for ſome ſuch there always were, as it is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to poſterity, that this reconciliation between *Pericles* and *Cimon* was brought about by *Elpinice*, who, they ſay, ſtipulated for her brother, that he ſhould be content with commanding abroad, and allow *Pericles* to be at the head of the adminiſtration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, and generouſly preſerved the *Greeks* from falling upon each other [y].

The Athenians conclude a Peace with Perſia. *Year after the flood*, 2550. *Before Chriſt*, 449.

f *Cimon*, rightly judging that it would be impoſſible for the *Athenians* to lie ſtill, equipped two hundred gallies with an intent to make a freſh attempt upon *Cyprus*, that, by gaining new booties from the *Barbarians*, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the *Perſian* king, than to be haraſſing the *Lacedæmonians*, or oppreſſing their allies. *Plutarch* ſuggeſts, that he had in view no leſs a conqueſt than that of the whole *Perſian* empire; part of his fleet he detached to aſſiſt the *Athenians* in *Egypt*, with the reſt he remained in the neighbourhood of *Cyprus*, or, as *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, made himſelf maſter of *Citium* and *Malus*; after which he defeated the *Phœnician* fleet, beat the *Perſian* army commanded by *Megabyzus*, which

[u] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. p. 285. THUCYD. lib. i. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xi. p. 287. PLUT. in vit. Cimonis.

which lay encamped in *Cilicia*, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to *Cyprus*, where he beſieged the capital city. But the *Perſian* monarch, finding no eaſe from theſe *Athenians*, and no hopes of ſubduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, ſent orders to *Artabaſus* and *Megabyzus* his commanders to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the *Athenians* having named on their ſide *Callias* the ſon of *Hipponicus* their plenipotentary, the treaty was quickly finiſhed; the principal articles of which were, firſt, that all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould be free and governed by their own laws; ſecondly, that the *Perſians* ſhould ſend no army within three days journey of the ſea; thirdly, that no *Perſian* ſhip of war ſhould ſail between *Phaſelis* and *Cyene*, the former a city of *Pamphylia* the latter of *Lycia*. Articles moſt glorious for the *Greeks*, and not a little acceptable to the *Perſians*, ſince the *Athenians* on their ſide undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, whether of ſickneſs, or of a wound he received at the ſiege, authors were not agreed in the time of *Plutarch*. His death was as honourable as his life, and his laſt act the moſt glorious of it all; for when he found himſelf about to expire, he ſent for the principal commanders, adviſed them to embarque the men, to conceal his deceaſe, and to ſail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the laſt great captain of *Athens*, the reſt were ſoldiers and heroes too, but not patriots like *Cimon*; for they, flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight againſt their brethren, and moſt cruelly employed the wiſdom, power, and wealth of *Greece* againſt herſelf. Whereas *Cimon* curbed the vanity of his countrymen, he told them it was lawful to make war and to ſpoil the *Perſians*, who had deſtroyed their city and carried away all they had: but he diſſuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the *Greeks*, and vehemently inveighed againſt that propenſity they had to ſacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On ſuch occaſions he was wont to ſay, *The* Lacedæmonians *would not do this*; which at laſt provoked his countrymen to baniſh him, to his immortal glory and their ſhame. We could not avoid this eulogium, becauſe we knew that we ſhould nowhere elſe have occaſion to ſpeak of a man equally admirable for his Abilities and his virtues, and for applying them conſtantly to the ſervice of the public, and not to the aggrandizing of himſelf or his family [z] (D).

The

[z] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cimon.

(D) The moſt memorable occurences in the life of *Cimon*, regarding to the *Athenian* ſtate, have been already taken notice of in our text; and as to his character, his diſpoſition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them alſo more than once; this note therefore will contain only ſuch paſſages in relation to the life of *Cimon* as did not fall properly within our notice, either in ſpeaking of the public or of him. Firſt then, *Plutarch* and *Valerius Maximus* from him, report *Cimon* in his nonage to have been ſuſpected of folly, and to have been nicknamed from thence *Coalemos*, as his grandfather had been before him; but *Valerius Maximus* ſays rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefited the *Athenian* ſtate, and that his ſubſequent behaviour conſtrained thoſe who thought him a fool to condemn themſelves of folly. The truth ſeems to be, that he did not affect learning, which ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the *Athenians*, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; *Cornelius Nepos*, however, commends him for his eloquence, which ſome have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which perhaps they are miſtaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence, ſo there is alſo a natural ability of ſpeaking, which cuſtom improves into an eaſy perſuaſive oratory, more pleaſing to a mixed audience than the moſt artful and regular ſpeeches; and this we may ſuppoſe was that kind of eloquence in which *Cimon* excelled. He went while a very youth into the army, and learned under the moſt experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a great commander. His perſon was handſome, his ſtature juſt, his aſpect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper ſweet, and his mind honeſt. But as all men have their faults, ſo this great *Athenian* wanted not his, which were a ſtrong paſſion for women and an inclination to feaſting and good company; beſides his ſiſter *Elpinice*, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had ſeveral other miſtreſſes, yet he was paſſionately fond of his wife, whoſe name was *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euriptolemus* the ſon of *Megacles*; when the *Athenians* were in humour with him they overlook'd theſe faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they ſuffered their poets to treat him with great rudeneſs: As for example, *Eupolis*, about the time of his baniſhment, wrote a piece in which were the following verſes relating to *Cimon*:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;
He's gone to *Sparta*, and was ſo unkind,
To leave his poor *Elpinice* behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to obſerve, that *Plutarch* treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that *Cimon* never ſuffered his pleaſures to interfere with the buſineſs of the ſtate, of which it ſeems his victories ſhould be an inconteſtable proof. His attachment to the *Lacedæmonians* was the ſole cauſe of his baniſhment; for, as we obſerved in giving our readers his character, he was never ſuſpected by the people of having any deſign to aggrandize himſelf at their expence; true it is, that he

THE affairs of *Athens* began to be ſuddenly and ſorely diſturbed after the death
a of *Cimon*, for, being alike hated by their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a handle for new revolts or invaſions. The *Megarians* were the firſt in this buſineſs, their little ſtate, which lay in an angle of *Attica*, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion, of *Athens*, and had brought them into ſeveral quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it ſeems, thoſe of *Megara*, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the *Athenians*, or elſe conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, diſclaimed all dependence on *Athens*, and entered into a ſtrict league with her conſtant and avowed enemy *Lacedæmon*. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they
b were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the *Megarians* in their city. The *Lacedæmonians* quickly reſented this proceeding, and hearing that *Pericles* the *Athenian* general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into *Attica* and did abundance of miſchief; upon which *Pericles*, who was marched againſt *Eubœa*, was recalled in haſte to aſſiſt his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the *Lacedæmonian* army; but conſidering that it was led by a very young man, *Pliſtoanax* then king of *Sparta*, who had with him one *Cleondrides* for a tutor, he ſent the latter a conſiderable ſum of money, and thereby procured the return of the *Lacedæmonian* army without blows. When *Pericles* came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents, laid
c out in a fit manner on a proper occaſion; at another time the *Athenians* would not have bore with ſuch an article on a public account, but *Pericles* had ſuch an aſcendency over them, and they were ſo thoroughly ſenſible how this money had been applied, that they paſſed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to proſecute the expedition againſt *Eubœa*, in which he had been before employed [a].

WHILE *Pericles* was at home in the winter, *Tolmides*, who had done ſuch great things for the *Athenians*, reſolved to make an expedition into *Bœotia*, with a ſmall body of troops and in a very advanced ſeaſon of the year; a great number of the braveſt *Athenians* readily engaged to ſerve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet *Pericles* was conſtantly againſt it, preſſing *Tolmides* to wait a little, and to join in his
c conduct prudence with valour. But he ſeeming to take this amiſs, and not greatly to reliſh another's meddling in his affairs, *Pericles* told him calmly, *If you will not liſten to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiſs if you wait time's leiſure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wiſeſt of all counſellors.* This ſaying being preſently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to *Pericles*; for *Tolmides*, after doing great things in *Bœotia*, was attacked by the confederate army, compoſed of the quotas ſent from all the little ſtates of that country, killed, and his army routed at *Chæronea*. This defeat

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. p. 293. PLUT. in vit. Periclis.

he had a moſt extraordinary affection for that nation, ariſing not only from the kindneſs that they had ſhewn him, but from the honeſty of his temper, which ſuited better with the ſevere virtue of *Sparta*, than with the ſprightly levity of the *Athenians*. One thing is exceeding odd in *Cimon*'s conduct, that he gave his children ſuch names as did not ſeem to ſpeak them *Athenians*; for he named his three ſons, *Lacedæmonius*, *Eleus*, and *Theſſalus*; moſt authors are of opinion, that he had theſe by a woman of *Clitorium*, though *Diodorus* the geographer aſſerts, that they were the children of his wife *Iſodice*. It is clear from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his baniſhment neither altered his conduct towards the *Lacedæmonians* or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter againſt the former at the battle of *Tanagra*; he had intereſt enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which ſhews how ſteady he was in his conduct, and what a high opinion all his cotemporaries conceived of his virtue at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his laſt expedition are preſerved in hiſtory; the firſt, that when he was about to embark for *Cyprus* he dreamed, that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midſt of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet ſhortly ſhalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Aſtyphylus of *Poſidonium* interpreted this dream thus; A dog, ſaid he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be ſtiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking, which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed ſignified the *Medes*, whoſe armies were conſtantly made up of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, yet in ſpite of this he ſet ſail and proceeded in his expedition. The ſecond circumſtance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at *Cyprus*, having formed ſome great project in his head, he ſent perſons in whom he could confide to conſult the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* as to his ſucceſs; the oracle readily gave them this anſwer; *You may return, for* Cimon *is already with me.* The meſſengers on their return found that *Cimon* was at that time dead; he was ſomewhat younger than *Themiſtocles*, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) *Thucyd. lib.* i. *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib.* xi. xii. *Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cicer. de Offic. lib.* ii.

defeat terribly humbled the *Athenians*, for, in order to redeem their prisoners, they were constrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of *Bœotia*; and while this was doing, many other little states declared against the *Athenians* [b].

Truce between Athens *and* Sparta. *Year after the flood*, 2553. *Before Christ*, 446.

Pericles, notwithstanding all these checks, marched with an army into *Eubœa*, from whence a new revolt of the *Megarians* caused him to be recalled, but within a short time he re-entered that island, and made himself master of the city of *Hestiæa*; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the rest of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of *Athenians* in their stead. A short time after the rest of *Eubœa* submitted, and, the *Lacedæmonians* finding it no longer for their interest to carry on the war, a negociation was set on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, *Callias* and *Chares* being plenipotentiaries for the *Athenians* [c].

About this time *Psammeticus* king of *Lybia*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, of *Egypt*, sent by way of present to the *Athenian* people forty thousand bushels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for *Pericles*, out of spite to *Cimon*'s family who had children by an *Arcadian* woman, had preferred a law, whereby *Athenians* of the half blood were disfranchised; this law, on account of the division of the corn before-mentioned, was prosecuted with such severity and effect, that no less than five thousand persons, who till then had been considered as freemen, were sold as slaves; a most exorbitant stroke of arbitrary power, punished afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all *Pericles*'s children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the *Athenians* to cancel this law out of pity to him its author, who, without the least compassion, had suffered five thousand men to be made slaves at once under colour thereof. One thing this severity of his produced, which has been extremely useful to the critics, *viz.* the settling exactly the number of the *Athenian* citizens at this time, when, in the midst of so many enemies, *Athens* durst think of sending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy. This number, as it is set down by *Plutarch*, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thousand and forty persons [d].

The year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth olympiad, the *Sybarites*, a people of *Italy*, being a second time driven from their city by the *Crotonians*, sent embassadors into *Greece*, and humbly besought the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to restore them, and to send a colony to share with them the new city they resolved to build. The *Lacedæmonians* rejected their request, but the *Athenians*, who delighted much in such applications, readily yielded to it; and not only dispatched ten ships, with a considerable body of men on board, under the command of *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*; but also caused a proclamation to be made throughout all *Peloponnesus*, that such as were willing to go and settle in *Italy*, might do so under the protection of their fleet, and abundance of people accepting the proposition, the *Sybarites*, by the assistance of these new comers, re-established themselves in their country, and built a new city which they called *Thurium*, from whence themselves were afterwards stiled *Thurians* [e]. (E.)

[b] Thucydid. lib. i. Plut. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth lib. xii. p. 293. [c] Thucydid. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra. [d] Plut. in vit. Periclis. [e] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 295.

(E) In order to conceive rightly of this business, the reader must ascend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cause of the erection of *Thurium* back to the foundation of *Sybaris*; he will then see how the *Greeks* settled colonies, maintained, and restored them. *Sybaris* was a colony of the *Achæans* and *Trœzenians*, it stood on the gulph of *Tarentum*, between the rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, from which last it took its name (S3). The felicity of its situation was such, that in a very short space of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power, and people. By degrees it spread its dominion over four small nations inhabiting this part of *Italy*, and reckoned no less than twenty-five smaller cities than itself within its territory, so thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three hundred thousand men into the field. In consequence of its prosperity *Sybaris* became formidable, and even hateful, to its neighbours. Their immense wealth making its inhabitants at once luxuriant and insolent, so that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themselves (S4). *Telys* being king of *Sybaris*, as *Herodotus* says (S5), or, as *Diodorus* with greater probability affirms, *Demagogue*, i. e. a *ruler* in right of his *eloquence*, persuaded the people upon various accusations to banish five hundred of their most considerable citizens, and to confiscate their estates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to *Crotona*, and as suppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very short space *Telys* engaged the *Sybarites* to send deputies to *Crotona*, to demand that those they had banished should be delivered up, threatening war in case of refusal. The *Crotoniats* upon this were much at a loss what to do, at last they determined to protect at all events those who had fled to them, and to oppose force by force. The *Sybarites* took the field with 300,000 men, the *Cro-*

(S3) *Steph. de Urb.* (S4) *Aristot. de Rep. lib.* v. *sect.* 3. *Strab. lib.* vi. *p.* 263. *Marcian. p.* 14. *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xii. (S5) *lib.* v. *p.* 346.

a At the close of the eighty-fourth olympiad, according to the computation of *Diodorus Siculus*, and six years after the conclusion of the peace between *Athens* and *Sparta*, as *Thucydides* relates, a war broke out between the *Samians* and *Milesians* about the city of *Priene*, seated under mount *Mycale* in *Ionia*; how this war came to affect the *Athenians* is not very clear; *Diodorus* says, that the *Samians*, who were victors, conceiving that the *Athenians* favoured their enemies, revolted from them; *Thucydides* says, that the vanquished complained to the people of *Athens*, who were likewise desired by some *Samian* malecontents to send a sufficient force thither, in order to change the government and settle a democracy. *Plutarch* intimates, that the *Athenians* having directed both parties to lay down their arms and submit to their b decision, the *Samnians* refused so to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reason assigned, which seems at least as well founded as any of the rest; and it is this, that *Pericles* engaged the *Athenians* in this war to gratify his mistress *Aspasia* a *Milesian*, one of the handsomest women in her time, and who had such an ascendency over *Pericles*, that for her sake he sacrificed his family and his peace (F). However it was, war was decreed against the *Samians*, and *Pericles* was sent

Ionians were able to raise no more than 100000; however, valour prevailed over numbers, and the *Crotonians*, having beaten the *Sybarites*, killed all without quarter, and in the end sacked and destroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the lxviith olympiad. In the fourth year of the lxxxist olympiad the city of *Sybaris* was resettled by the *Thessalians*, but in the first year of the lxxxiiid olympiad the *Crotonians* overthrew it again. After this last misfortune, the *Sybarites* made the application mentioned in the text to the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. *Lampo* and *Xenocrates*, who commanded the *Athenian* squadron, found it no difficult task to collect volunteers in *Peloponnesus*, when the *Pythian* oracle had declared, that *the city should be exceedingly prospered if they founded it, where the water was scarce and bread without measure*. When they arrived therefore in *Italy*, and began to search through the territory of *Sybaris* for such a place as suited the oracle, they found at last a small spring which was called *Thuria*, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called *Madimnum*. Concluding instantly, that this was the situation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the spring beforementioned called it *Thurium*. They who had the direction of the buildings contrived to have four streets in length, called, *Heraclea*, *Aphrodisiade*, *Olympiad*, and *Dionysiad*, and three in breadth, viz. *Herse*, *Thuric*, and *Thurina*. When the business was executed according to this scheme, and the city compleated, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being so disposed as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit their new-raised dwellings, the *Sybarites*, conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, shut out the new comers from all employments and honours, which so disgusted them, who were by far the majority, that they suddenly took up arms, fell on the *Sybarites*, extirpated them, and sending for new supplies from *Greece*, formed themselves into a commonwealth, making *Charondas*, one of their fellow-citizens, their legislator. The subsequent history of *Thurium* will be found in its proper place. It may not be said here, the circumstances attending its building colonies will be sufficiently understood also the conveniences flowing to their inhabitants from this kind of settlement, which was the principal intent of this long note (N).

Aspasia, who is to be the subject of this note, was one of the most famous women in all antiquity, upon account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her person, admired for her personal endowments, and no less distinguished by the accomplishments she had acquired. Her birthplace was *Miletum* a city in *Ionia*, famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities. She was the mistress, mistress, and at last wife, to *Pericles* who by his eloquence ruled *Athens*, and as such claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be guessed at, she was in all probability about fifteen years younger than *Pericles*, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's name was *Axiochus*, but of his quality we are ignorant. How she came to *Athens* is also a point unsettled; but as to the remaining part of her history we are not so much in the dark. She rendered herself conspicuous by her perfection in the art of speaking, which she possessed in a superlative degree, being also admirably versed in all the branches of useful literature, particularly natural philosophy and politicks. One *Thragelia* an *Ionian* was her model, she had made herself conspicuous in *Greece* by her charms, addicted herself chiefly to the grandees, many of whom she brought over to the interest of the great king, and, as *Plutarch* says, sowed the first seeds of the *Median* faction in most of the cities of *Greece*. *Aspasia* resembled, and even surpassed, her. It is not to be imagined, that this fair one excelled (like some of our age) in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses were on the contrary not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent *Athenians*, and amongst them by *Socrates* himself, that *Aspasia* composed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which *Pericles* pronounced with so much applause. What then must we conceive of her qualities, who had *Pericles* for a lover, and *Socrates* for a disciple? Whose fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the most considerable persons in *Athens*, not only to visit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they detested her conduct? As eloquence was of all other the most necessary talent to an *Athenian* statesman, so *Pericles* on hearing *Aspasia*, determined to become her scholar, observing that with an exact method she mingled the most warm and pathetic strokes of persuasive oratory, uniting the symmetry arising from art with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wisdom, this great *Athenian* fell soon into a deep affection for her person, a thing not wonderful in itself, and less so, if what most writers report of *Pericles* be true, that he was of a very amorous disposition. Certain it is, that *Aspasia* gained an absolute ascendency over him, and held as great an ascendency over the *Athenians*. *Plutarch* reports, that as often as *Pericles* went to, or returned from, the *forum*, he went

(N) *Vid. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

sent against them with a fleet of forty sail; he presently brought them into subjec- a
tion, and began to change all things according to his will, directing first, that the
government should be democratical for the future, and that fifty hostages of prin-
cipal persons should be delivered to him with as many children. *Plutarch* says,
that all imaginable methods were tried to soften *Pericles* upon this occasion; the
hostages offered him a talent a-head by way of ransom; those who disliked the
democracy proffered him a large sum if he would leave the government as he found
it, and *Pissuthnes*, the governor of *Sardis* for the *Persian* king, thinking an aristo-
cratic government in *Samos* more advantagious to his master, would have given ten
thousand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the *Athenians*; but *Pericles*, b
having no respect to money, carried away the hostages to *Lemnos*, and established
the democracy in *Samos* as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded
in force seldom last long, the *Samnians* fell into mighty dissentions as soon as *Pericles*
was gone home. Some of them who had retired to *Pissuthnes*, having procured from
him an aid of seven-hundred men, returned into their own country, and their
faction opening the gates to them, those of the opposite party were ejected and
the *Athenian* garison expelled; they procured also their hostages to be privately
sent away from *Lemnos*, and having drawn the *Byzantines* to their party, they de-
clared themselves open enemies to *Athens*. That city, unused to bear insults, im-
mediately equipped sixty gallies, and sent them under *Pericles* to subdue the *Samians*
a second time.

WHEN *Pericles* was at sea with this fleet, he found it necessary to detach sixteen c
ships, as well to gain intelligence of the *Phanician* fleet, as to hasten the auxiliary
squadrons he expected from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; with the forty-four remaining vessels
he engaged the *Samians* and their allies, though their fleet consisted of seventy
sail, and beat them. Being afterwards strengthened by a reinforcement of forty
ships from *Athens* and twenty-five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he besieged *Samos* by land
and sea. Receiving intelligence that the *Phanician* fleet was coming to its relief, he
sailed with sixty ships to meet it. During his absence the besieged fell upon the
remainder

went to the apartment of *Aspasia* and saluted her. The tenderness this nobleman expressed for *Aspasia* made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneasy, which *Pericles* perceiving, readily consented that she should betake herself to a husband more agreeable to her (though she had borne him two sons, *Xanthippus* and *Paralus*) and then took *Aspasia* to wife, whom he had so long and ardently loved before. *Heraclides* of *Pontus* says, that *Pericles*, *having divorced his wife, abandoned himself to his pleasures, and living with* Aspasia, *spent on her the greatest part of his fortune*; but this ought to be regarded as meer calumny, it being morally certain, that *Pericles* in the first place was never profuse, and in the second that *Aspasia* piqued herself exceedingly on her skill in œconomy. As to the affair spoken of in the text, viz. the *Samian* war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of *Plutarch* in what we have advanced. For though it be true, that *Thucydides* makes no mention of *Aspasia* in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous disdain of blackening *Pericles*, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumstances tending to support this suggestion, there are many. *Aspasia* was a *Milesian* by birth; *Pericles* was wont to consult her; she is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory; and lastly, she composed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by *Pericles* in honour of those who were slain in this war. The comic poets, as they lashed *Pericles* for affecting sovereignty, so they failed not treating *Aspasia* with the same severity, and as they called him *Jupiter*, they stiled her *Juno*; they likewise characterised her under the names of *Omphale* and *Deianira*, the one the wife, and the other the mistress, of *Hercules*, and many other ways. *Cratinus* used her the worst; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned strumpet. It is evident enough, that the spleen of *Pericles*'s enemies prompted them to say any thingof him, or of those in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new *Pisistratus*, the latter not only his whores, but his bawds. Besides various remarkable events relating to *Aspasia*, which we shall be constrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiss to observe here, that it is generally conceived the son, to whom *Pericles* bequeathed his name and his estate, was by her; certain it is, that son was but of the half blood, as any son of *Aspasia*'s must have been, and that his father, to secure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law which himself had procured to exclude such from successions. Besides these circumstances there is another favouring this opinion, *viz.* that *Eupolis* the comic poet, introducing *Pericles* asking news of this bastard son, makes the person he speaks, to answer, *He is alive and well, and had been married long ago, if the fear of meeting with a wife as dishoneſt as his mother did not deter him.* Which is so correspondent with what *Eupolis* elsewhere says of *Aspasia*, that one can hardly conceive this son to have sprung from any but her. That she survived *Pericles* is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. *Plutarch* indeed informs us, that she attached herself to one *Lysicles*, a man of mean birth and as mean parts, whom by her interest, however, she raised to great employments in the state. What those employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of *Aspasia* which deserves notice (87).

(87) *Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athen. lib.* xiii. *p.* 560. *Cicero in Bruto. Menoxen. Platonis. in tom.* ii. *A. D.* 1578. *p.* 235, 249.

a remainder of the *Athenian* ships under the command of *Tisagoras*, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained masters of the sea, during which space of time they furnished themselves with whatever they wanted. *Plutarch* censures *Pericles*'s conduct on this occasion, and attributes the loss which the *Athenians* sustained to his leaving the siege; but there seems to be no foundation for this, because fighting the *Phœnician* fleet at sea, rather than in the neighbourhood of *Samos*, was certainly his interest. On his return to the siege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourscore ships, according to *Thucydides*, of ninety, as *Diodorus* tells us, he straitened the *Samians* more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept seven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refresh them-
b selves. At length after nine months siege the *Samians* surrendered, upon which *Pericles* demolished their walls, seized their ships, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hostages for the remainder[f].

When *Pericles* returned from this war, he procured himself to be appointed to pronounce the publick oration in commemoration of such as fell in this war, which he did with such eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where such public declamations were delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongst the rest *Elpinice* drew near him, but not with the same intention with the rest, for she addressed him in these words:
c "These are brave things, *Pericles*, that you have done, and such certainly as deserve "these wreaths of glory, who have deprived us of so many worthy citizens, not "in a war against *Phœnicians* or *Medes*, the natural enemies of our country, for "such my brother *Cimon* waged; but in the overthrow of a city that was in alli-"ance with us, whose people spoke the same language and were of our kindred" *Pericles* gave a strong instance of his great composure and readiness of mind on this occasion, for he repeated carelessly the following verses from the poet *Archilocus:*

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to shine;
d You should not powder thus your hair,
Nor should your unguents taint the air;
Follies which suit the young and fair.

In recording these passages we had the reader's profit as well as pleasure in view, for they shew, that as absolute as *Pericles* was become in *Athens*, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could, and durst, distinguish between the services done the state by a patriot general, one who sought nothing but to exalt the interest and glory of his country, and him who had the preservation of his own power chiefly in view. They shew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in *Pericles*, who was not to be ruffled even by the shrewdest speeches, but maintained al-
e ways such an equality of temper as enabled him to make such an answer as was most proper on every occasion[g]. It is on all hands confessed, that *Pericles* valued himself very much on the reduction of *Samos*, and *Thucydides* gives us a great reason to believe, that the *Athenians* conceived highly of him for that exploit; the *Samians* at the time he destroyed them being one of the most flourishing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wresting from the *Athenians* the dominion of the sea[h].

The war between the *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the *Athenians* into those engagaments, which at last proved the ruin of their state. There is a necessity therefore that we should give here a succinct
f account of the causes of this war, and of the methods by which the *Athenians* were drawn to take part in it. An intestine war breaking out in the little territory of *Epidamnum*, a city in *Macedonia* founded by the *Corcyrians*, one party called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, and the other, finding themselves straitened, applied themselves for aid to the people of *Corcyra*. They neglecting the business, the people of *Epidamnum* sent to *Corinth* for succours, owning her for their foundress, because the *Corcyrians* were a colony from *Corinth*. The *Corinthians*, partly out of pity to the *Epidamnians*, and partly out of spleen to the *Corcyrians*, sent a very great fleet to the assistance of the former, which thoroughly established that party which had applied

[f] Thucydid. lib. i. de Bello Peloponn. Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 302.
[g] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. [h] de Bello Pelop. lib. i.

applied to *Corinth*; this being resented by the *Corcyrians*, they sent a fleet to a *Epidamnum* to support the exiles, who on its arrival at that port did not act offensively, the chief commanders having instructions to propose an amicable composure of all differences, into which the *Corinthians* would by no means come. The next year the *Corcyrians* beat the *Corinthians* and their allies at sea, and took *Epidamnum* by storm, after which they wasted the dominion of the confederates of the *Corinthians*, which greatly exasperated the latter. At *Corinth* therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and pressed their confederates to do the same, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had lost, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to insult her mother city. When the *Corcyrians* received advice of these proceedings, b they instantly dispatched embassadors to carry their complaints to *Athens*, and the *Corinthians*, on the receipt of this news, dispatched theirs likewise; both on the same errand and with equal hopes[i].

THERE could be nothing more glorious for the *Athenians* than such an application as this, which seemed to ackowledge the legality of that dominion which this state had always affected. *Thucydides* therefore, who begins his history with the story of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the *Corinthian* as of the *Corcyrian* embassadors, to which we must refer our readers. At first the *Athenian* people approved the cause of the *Corinthians*, but they soon changed their minds, and took part with the *Corcyrians*, yet they did not make a league offen- c sive and defensive with that state, because by such a step *Athens* would immediately have broken with *Corinth* and all her allies; they contented themselves with making a defensive alliance only with the *Corcyrians*, whereby both parties reciprocally promised to assist each other in case either should be attacked. It does not appear, that the *Athenians* entered much into the merits of this cause; they were become too great politicians for that; the reasons assigned by *Thucydides*, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are these; first, *Corcyra* was a very great maritime power; secondly, this island lay very convenient for assisting *Athens* in her designs on *Italy* and *Sicily*. When the *Corinthian* fleet therefore was ready to sail, the *Athenians*, according to their treaty, sent ten gallies to *Corcyra* under the command of *La-* d *cedæmonius* the son of *Cimon*, with whom were joined *Diotenes* and *Proteus* as colleagues. *Plutarch* says, that *Pericles*, by sending this small squadron under *Lacedæmonius*, intended to affront him, or at least to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the ancient splendor of his family, against which that great politician had always a pique. But there seems to be very little colour for this. *Thucydides* says, that the *Athenians*, who were indeed under the direction of *Pericles*'s counsels, did not intend the *Corcyrians* any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on, while the *Corinthians* and *Corcyrians* weakened and wasted each other. The *Corinthians*, as soon as the season of the year permitted, made for the coast of *Corcyra*, with a fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty sail under the e command of *Xenoclides*, assisted by four other *Corinthian* admirals, each squadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The *Corcyrians* prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to sea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which by the *Athenian* ships was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as soon as the navies were in sight, they prepared for an engagement. The *Corcyrians* gave the right wing to their allies, the *Athenians* ranging their own fleet in three squadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The *Corinthians* gave their right wing to the *Megarians* and other of their allies, disposed the rest of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that f they might engage the *Athenians*. The action was very brisk for a time, the *Corcyrian* right wing broke the left of the *Corinthian* fleet, and forcing some of the ships on shore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of prisoners; on the other hand, the *Corinthian* ships in their left wing beat the right wing of the *Corcyrians*, whom the *Athenians*, according to their instructions, aided but faintly; at last the *Corinthians* charging them briskly, the *Athenians* were obliged to defend themselves, which they did so well, that the *Corinthians* were glad to retire, which accordingly they did, after taking up part of the broken ships and most of their own dead. The next day the *Corinthians* resolved to attack the *Corcyrians* again, who prepared

i THUCYD. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. Biblioth. lib. xii.

a prepared on their ſide to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the *Corinthians* of a ſudden retired, which the *Corcyrians* knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty ſail from *Athens* put it out of doubt, that the *Corinthians*, ſeeing them, and fearing there might be more behind them, had wiſely choſen to withdraw. The next day the *Athenian* and *Corcyrian* fleets went and braved the *Corinthians* in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, becauſe all the ſhips from *Athens* were clean, and the *Athenians*, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to *Peloponneſus*. Both ſides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at *Sybotis*. The *Corinthians*, becauſe they remained maſters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the b broken veſſels, made a thouſand priſoners, and ſunk ſeventy of the *Corcyrian* ſhips; the *Corcyrians*, becauſe by the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* they had ſunk thirty of the *Corinthian* veſſels, taken ſome ſpoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greateſt ſea-fight, which to this time had happened among the *Greeks*, there being no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy veſſels engaged. The *Corinthians* complained loudly againſt the *Athenians*, as if they had broken the peace; the *Athenians* on the other hand alledged, they had only aſſiſted their allies; and thus theſe ſtates began to hate each other. As for the priſoners made by the *Corinthians*, they ſold eight hundred of them for ſlaves, the reſt they treated kindly in hopes of making uſe of them for facilitating a peace [k].

c THE *Corcyrian* war was followed by the revolt of *Potidea*, a town in *Macedonia*, founded by the *Corinthians*, but joined in alliance to *Athenians*. As ſoon as the *Corcyrian* war broke out, the *Athenians* ſent orders to the citizens of *Potidea* immediately to demoliſh a part of the walls of the city, to ſend back the magiſtrates whom they had received from *Corinth*, and to give hoſtages for their own behaviour. *Perdiccas* king of *Macedon*, hating the *Athenians*, took this opportunity to perſuade the *Potideans* to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they ſent ambaſſadors to *Athens* to entreat the revocation of the orders ſent them; but in the mean time they ſent deputies to *Sparta*, to join with the *Corinthians* and *Megarians* in their complaints of the *Athenians*. The *Athenians* in the mean time ſent a conſiderable d fleet againſt *Macedonia*, and ſome time after another, with a conſiderabe body of land troops on board, under the command of *Callias*, a man of great quality and courage. The *Corinthians* on their ſide diſpatched *Ariſteus* with a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of the *Potideans*. Not to detain the reader too long with a detail of all the little circumſtances of this war, which may be found in the accurate hiſtory of *Thucydides*, we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that an engagement happened before *Potidea*, in which the *Athenians* were victors, but with the loſs of their general *Callias*. *Phormio*, who ſucceeded him in his command, inveſted the city in form, and ſhut up its port with his fleet; but the *Potideans*, dreading to fall into the hands of the *Athenians*, made a moſt obſtinate defence, while in the mean time they e warmly ſolicited the *Corinthians* to perform their promiſes, and to engage the reſt of the ſtates of *Peloponneſus* in their quarrel [l].

The revolt of Potidea.

WHILE affairs abroad were in this condition, the *Athenians* were very far from being quiet at home. *Pericles* had attained ſuch a ſuperiority as had never been ſeen in *Athens* ſince the days of *Piſiſtratus*; the laſt competitor with him for the favour of the people was *Thucydides*, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications ſuiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmoſt to hinder thoſe alterations in government which the popular party ſought to bring about, and more eſpecially oppoſed *Pericles*, who, perceiving that one of them muſt give way, put the matter to the teſt by procuring an oſtraciſm, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that *Thu-* f *cydides* was exiled by the people. From this time forward *Pericles* altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his diſpoſal, and took the whole management of the *Athenian* affairs at home and abroad upon himſelf. When the ſtate of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the *Athenians* apprehended a war, in which they ſhould be obliged to contend, not for ſpoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands, and houſes, and whatſoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with *Pericles*, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them

Diſſenſions at Athens.

[k] THUCYDID. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis. [l] THUCYDID. lib. i. DIODOR. lib. xii.

them to say of him. For example, when *Menon*, one of *Phidias*'s workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent statuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the statue of *Minerva*; many reasons induced such as disliked *Pericles* to abet this prosecution, among the rest these two; *first*, they conceived that they should try the minds of the people by this step, and discover whether they were at present disposed to bear with the prosecution of *Pericles* or not; *secondly*, they thought to revenge themselves on the statuary, for having inserted a picture of *Pericles* fighting with an *Amazon* in the shield of the goddess. But in the end this business had an issue little expected, for *Phidias* having declared that by *Pericles*'s direction the gold was so laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be just. However, *Phidias* either died in prison, or was banished; *Plutarch* says, that he was poisoned by the procurement of *Pericles*'s enemies, who afterwards sought to charge it upon him [m]. *Hermippus* next accused *Aspasia* of impiety or irreligion, as also for being a bawd to *Pericles*, and, as such, seducing the wives and daughters of *Athenian* citizens; *Diopithes* preferred a *psephism* or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, *i. e.* the *Areopagus*, against such persons as disputed the religion of their country, or taught such things, under colour of natural philosophy, in relation to celestial bodies, as were inconsistent therewith. This was known to strike at *Anaxagoras* the preceptor of *Pericles*, and even at *Pericles* himself. The people assented thereto, and, in consequence thereof, *Anaxagoras* was judicially accused (G). To wind up *Pericles*'s troubles, *Dracontides* moved, that *Pericles* might bring in his accounts, and that the final decision of his cause should be committed to judges, who should write their suffrages upon billets taken from the altars [n]. Our great orator found means to disengage himself from all these snares, he appeared in person for *Aspasia*, pleaded her cause as an advocate; but in the midst of his pleadings let fall a shower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, because he

[m] DIODOR. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUTARCH. in vit. Periclis. [n] DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. DIOGEN. LAERT. in vit. Anax.

(G) It is not clearly expressed by *Plutarch*, on what account either *Aspasia* or *Anaxagoras* was accused of impiety; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that persons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and their great knowledge in natural philosophy, should be suspected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in *Hesiod*'s time they had no less than thirty thousand gods, for whose honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to *Anaxagoras*, we shall have elsewhere occasion to mention him and his opinions; at present we will stick to the point before us, and say nothing but what relates to this prosecution, its causes, and consequences. *Laertius* reports from one *Sotion*, who wrote a book of the succession of philosophy, that *Anaxagoras* was accused by *Cleon* of impiety, for asserting the sun to be a burning plate; but that, being defended by *Pericles* his scholar, he was fined five talents, and banished, whereas *Satyrus* reported, that he was accused by *Thucydides*, not only of propagating impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the *Persians*, and in his absence sentenced to die. *Hieronymus* wrote, that *Pericles* brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with sickness, which moved his judges to compassion. *Suidas* is positive, that he was cast into prison for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature, and banished, notwithstanding *Pericles* undertook to plead his cause. *Josephus* tells us, that the *Athenians* believing the sun to be a god, and he affirming it to be without sense and knowledge, they adjudged him to suffer death as a blasphemer. None of these opinions quadrate with *Plutarch*'s account, and, which is still worse, *Plutarch* does not agree with himself; for though speaking of his retirement from *Athens*, he ascribes it to *Pericles*'s precaution, yet he elsewhere admits, that *Anaxagoras* was accused. The truth seems to be, that the whole tenor of *Anaxagoras*'s philosophy was, according to the religious notions of the *Athenians*, impious. For he taught, that matter was composed of infinite similar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were disposed in the frame we see them, by an infinite self-moving mind; whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the surname of *Nous*, i. e. *the mind*. He lived after his banishment at *Lampsacus*, and was so little affected therewith, that when a person told him one day, *You are deprived of the* Athenians: he answered, *You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me*. As to his notion of the sun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning mass, many times bigger than *Peloponnesus*, and that its revolution was occasioned by the repulse of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her surface. He asserted likewise, that the stars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, because they were all contrary to the *Athenian* religion. His scholars were the greatest men of *Greece*, but all suspected of irreligion. To mention only a few, *Archelaus* the philosopher, *Euripides* the tragic poet, *Socrates* the famous moralist, who heard both him and *Aspasia*; some say, that *Democritus* was also his hearer; but *Laertius* affirms, that *Anaxagoras* could not endure him, which *Favorinus* likewise asserts (88).

(88) *Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id. de Superstit.*

a he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the ſight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for *Anaxagoras*, he was afraid to truſt his eloquence with the defence of him whoſe wiſdom was his only crime, and therefore he wiſely ſent him out of *Attica*, with this mark of reſpect, however, that he attended him in perſon. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the leaſt pain about it; for being a very exact œconomiſt, he was able to ſhew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and ſecondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as *Thucydides* obſerves, was the very baſis of his greatneſs, that he was univerſally known to be ſtrictly juſt to the public, above corruption, and, thro' b the innocence of his actions in reſpect to pecuniary affairs, ſuperior to all the calumnies that could be raiſed againſt him °.

The Spartans prepare for war.

THE *Spartans* having heard all that the little ſtates of *Greece* had to ſay againſt the *Athenians*, and laſt of all the *Corinthians*; embaſſadors were ſent to *Athens*, to demand reparation for theſe injuries, or to denounce war in caſe of refuſal. *Thucydides*, of all ancient authors the moſt to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the firſt place the expulſion of thoſe *Athenians* who were ſtiled execrable on account of the old buſineſs of *Cylon* and his aſſociates, becauſe by his mother's ſide *Pericles* was allied to the family of *Megacles*; they next inſiſted, that the ſiege of *Potidea* ſhould be raiſed; thirdly, that the inhabitants of *Ægina* ſhould be left free; and laſtly, that the decree c made againſt the *Megarians*, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of *Athens* on pain of death, ſhould be reſcinded, and the *Grecian* ſtates ſet at liberty, who were under the dominion of *Athens*. It is certain, that *Pericles* perſuaded the *Athenians* to reject theſe terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted; ſome ſay, that he thought the din of war would diſſipate that cloud of Impeachments which his enemies were framing againſt him: others, that perſonal injuries done to him and to *Aſpaſia* provoked him to fall into theſe meaſures; the moſt probable ſeems to be, that he adviſed the *Athenians* according to his apprehenſion of the affair, and directed ſuch meaſures as he thought ſuited beſt with the dignity of the *Athenian* ſtate. The harangue attributed to him by *Thucydides*, and which we d have no reaſon to doubt is to the ſame effect with that which he delivered, offers the following arguments to the conſideration of the *Athenians*. That whatever the *Lacedæmonians* might pretend, as to the complaints of allies and injuſtice of them, the true ground of this reſentment was the proſperity of the *Athenian* republic, which they always hated, and now ſought an opportunity of humbling. That it muſt be the fault of the *Athenians* themſelves, if they ſucceeded in this ſcheme, becauſe, for many reaſons accurately and judiciouſly ſtated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expenſive war, than the *Peloponneſians*; that therefore it ſhould be pro- e poſed as the moſt feaſible, and at the ſame time the moſt equitable ſatisfaction that could be given, that they would reverſe their decreee againſt *Megara*, if the *Lacedæmonians* would allow free egreſs and regreſs in their city to the *Athenians* and their allies; that they would leave all thoſe ſtates free, who were free at the making of the laſt peace with *Sparta*, provided, the *Spartans* would alſo leave all ſtates free who were under their dominion; and that future diſputes ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration. In caſe theſe offers ſhould not prevail, he adviſed them to hazard a war, telling them, that they ought not to think they ran ſuch a hazard for a trifle, or to retain a ſcruple in their minds, as if a ſmall matter moved them to it, becauſe on this ſmall matter depended their ſafety and the reputation of their conſtancy and reſolution; whereas, if they yielded in this, the next demand of the *Lacedæmonians* would be of a higher nature; for having once diſcovered, that the *Athenians* might be taught to fear, they f would thence conclude, that they durſt deny them nothing, whereas a ſtiff denial in this inſtance would teach them to treat *Athens* for the future on terms of equality. He enforced theſe reaſons, by ſhewing, that their anceſtors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all caſes preferred their glory to their eaſe, and their liberty to their poſſeſſions. *Diodorus* informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumſtances, putting them in mind, that the treaſure brought from *Delos* amounted to ten thouſand talents, and that though four thouſand had been expended on the ſtately gate to their citadel, yet that ſix thouſand were ſtill in hand, that they were alſo entitled to the ſubſidies paid by the confederate ſtates, that

° THUCYD. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra.

that the ſtatues of the gods, the *Perſian* ſpoils, and other marks of their magnifi- a
cence were worth immenſe ſums, that private men were arrived at vaſt fortunes, and
that, conſidering their trade by ſea, they had a certain annual increaſe of wealth;
that they had an army on foot of twelve thouſand men, and in their colonies and
garriſons ſeventeen thouſand; that their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, which
might eaſily be increaſed, whereas the *Peloponneſians* had none of theſe advantages;
which alſo *Thucydides* mentions, but places this oration lower. Theſe were the cauſes,
and this the beginning, of the famous *Peloponneſian* war, which though, while it laſted,
brought innumerable evils upon *Greece*, yet there reſults from it this circumſtance of
glory, that perhaps of all the wars which ever happened, the events of this are beſt
recorded, ſo that the minuteſt circumſtances thereof are known even in theſe far b
diſtant times; which ſhews how far learning is preferable to power, ſince now that
all the ſtates of *Greece* have been for many ages ſubverted and deſtroyed, the reſpect
due to the writings of *Thucydides* hath preſerved them, as the merit of *Xenophon*'s hath
alſo done his continuation of *Thucydides*'s ſtory, and thereby kept alive the remem-
brance of actions, which, however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe
been buried in oblivion (H).

Platæa *ſurpriſed by the* Thebans.

THINGS being in this ſituation, the *Thebans* conceiving with themſelves, that
Platæa, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the *Athenians*, would
be a perpetual thorn in their ſides, reſolved to ſurprize it; with this view they
ſent *Eurymachus* at the head of three hundred men, to aſſiſt ſuch of the *Platæans* c
as they had drawn over to their party, in making themſelves maſters of the place.
In this deſign they ſucceeded very happily, the *Platæans*, who had promiſed to open
the gates, kept their words exactly, and the *Thebans* in an inſtant took poſſeſſion of
the place. The *Platæans*, that is, the townſmen in general, perceiving at laſt how
ſmall a number the *Thebans* were, unanimouſly roſe and fell upon them, killing great
numbers, and in the end forcing the reſt, with *Eurymachus* their chief, to render them-
ſelves priſoners of war. It happened, that another party from *Thebes* came to aſſiſt
their companions, but came too late; the *Platæans*, foreſeeing that they would waſte
their country, offered to releaſe their priſoners, if they would forbear to ſpoil
their lands; but threatened at the ſame time, that, if they committed any waſte, d
they would put their friends to death. The *Thebans* upon this withdrew, but the
Platæans, however, put their priſoners to death, alledging, that they never promiſed to
releaſe them but in caſe of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and
Eurymachus, as he led them, died with them. The *Athenians*, as ſoon as they had
notice of this attempt of the *Thebans*, cauſed all the *Bœotians* in their territory to be
arreſted, and when they underſtood how the *Platæans* had delivered themſelves,
they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, and a numerous body of troops
to eſcort their wives and children to *Athens*. The league being now broken on both
ſides, each party prepared for the war, both ſent ambaſſadors to the *Perſian*, both e
ſought to rouſe their allies. Moſt of the ſtates of *Greece* were inclined to the
Lacedæmonians, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves on this occaſion the deliverers of
Greece; they likewiſe hated the *Athenians*, either becauſe they already oppreſſed
them,

f THUCYD. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN, lib. iii. c. 7. DEMOST. adv. Neær.

(H) Beſides what is mentioned in the text of *Pericles* adviſing the *Peloponneſian* war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous ſtory related both by *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos*, that he was induced thereto by a ſprightly ſaying of the young *Alcibiades*; who ſeeing him melancholy one day, aſked him what was the matter, and upon his anſwering, that he knew not how to account for the public money which had gone through his hands, *Alcibiades* ſharply replied, *Then ſtudy to give no account at all*. Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree againſt *Megara* to revenge *Aſpaſia*, two of whoſe harlots ſome young men of that city had ſtolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but *Pericles* does not ſeem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being diſpatched to *Megara* to complain of the injury, he was ſlain upon the road; and this violation of a ſacred character gave birth to the war. The enemies of *Pericles* indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the *Megarians*; but that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor *Adrian* granted many privileges and favours to the citizens of *Greece*, he expreſsly excepted the *Megarians* on account of this very murder. If *Thucydides* had conceived, that any of theſe charges on *Pericles* had been juſtly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneers of *Ariſtophanes* and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence, ſince they were enemies indeed to all who were eminent (89).

(89) *Plut. in vit. Periclis.*

a them, or becauſe they apprehended that in time they would. With the *Spartans* joined all the *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives* and part of the *Achæans*; without *Peloponneſus* the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*, declared themſelves on their ſide. On the other hand, the *Chians*, *Leſbians*, *Platæans*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyrians*, *Zacynthians*, *Carians*, *Dorians*, *Thracians*, the iſlands for the moſt part, and all the *Cyclades*, excepting *Melus* and *Thera*, with *Eubœa* and *Samos*. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſembled their army at the *Iſthmus*, but *Archidamus*, the *Spartan* king and commander in chief, diſpatched a herald to *Athens* before he would enter *Attica*; his herald was ſent back without an anſwer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the *Lacedæmonians* reſolving to
b act immediately offenſively, and the *Athenians* preparing to defend themſelves as well as they could [q].

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, ſo his wiſdom ſeems to have been the only reſource they had in it. He was aware, that *Archidamus*, being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his eſtates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and, to cut of all grounds of ſuſpicion, declared, that in ſuch a caſe he made a preſent of his lands to the public. He then adviſed, that, without thinking how to defend their country-ſeats, they ſhould turn all their care to the city, buſy themſelves eſpecially in equipping their ſhips, and ſettle a thorough reſolu-
c tion, not to be intimidated with the firſt evils of war. The *Athenians* came readily into all that he propoſed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To ſay the truth, the *Lacedemonians* themſelves aſſiſted his riſe, for their ambaſſadors continually attacking him, the *Athenians* apprehended from thence that he of all others muſt have the greateſt regard for their intereſt. When, however, the *Peloponneſian* army advanced as far as *Acharne*, one of the largeſt boroughs in *Attica*, and at a very ſmall diſtance from *Athens*, the *Athenians* began to grow very diſcontented, and to clamour exceedingly againſt *Pericles*, for not ſo much as attempting to drive them away. In which, however, he ſhewed his judgment, for that army conſiſting of no leſs than ſixty-thouſand men, the *Athenians* were unable to ſet on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore, when ſome hot men
d preſſed for an engagement, *Pericles* very prudently ſaid, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a ſhort time; but men, once loſt, cannot eaſily be recovered. By degrees the madneſs of the people grew ſtill more violent, ſo that he was perſecuted with libels of all ſorts, and even his own friends preſſed him earneſtly to alter his conduct, and to attempt ſomething for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midſt of this ſtorm, purſued the plan which he had laid down in ſpight of the clamour raiſed againſt him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity [r].

The Peloponneſian *war.* *Year after the flood*, 2567. *Before Chriſt*, 432.

He ſent, however, a fleet of a hundred gallies with fourteen hundred land-forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty veſſels from *Corcyra*, coaſting the *Peloponneſi-*
e *an* ſhore, did infinite miſchief, ſo that its inhabitants had no reaſon to boaſt of their expedition into *Attica*, ſince they left their own country to feel thoſe miſeries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another *Athenian* fleet infeſted the *Locrians*, and becauſe *Ægina* had been a principal occaſion of the preſent war, when the fleet returned from *Peloponneſus* it ejected all the inhabitants of that iſland, which was repeopled from *Athens*. They likewiſe reduced *Cephalenia*, and ſeveral towns in *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, while in the mean time *Pericles* refreſhed thoſe who were ſhut up in the city with diſtributions of public money, a law for the diviſion of lands, and whatever elſe he could think of to amuſe and divert them. In the autumn, when the *Peloponneſians* were retired, *Pericles*, at the head of a great army,
f entered the *Megarean* territory, and did all the miſchief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reaſon of this was, becauſe on their account the *Lacedemonians* pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this firſt year the *Athenians* made up accounts as it were with the *Peloponneſians*, and repaid them thoſe miſchiefs, inſults, and ravages, which they had committed in *Attica* at the beginning of it [s].

In the winter of this year the *Athenians* ſolemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of ſuch as firſt died in the war after this manner; firſt, their bones were laid

[q] Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. Init. Diodor. lib. xii.
[r] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.
[s] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

laid in a tent to be ſeen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their laſt offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypreſs coffin or coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for ſuch whoſe bodies had not been recovered, and conſequently could not have thoſe honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentation for them. They were then interred in a public ſepulchre in the *Ceramicus*, and after burial, a perſon, appointed by the ſenate of *Areopagus*, made a funeral oration to their honour; the perſon appointed on this occaſion was *Pericles*. How he diſcharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from *Thucydides*, who, if he has not preſerved the words of *Pericles*, has undoubtedly kept ſtrictly to his ſenſe, ſince he wrote and publiſhed his hiſtory within ſo ſhort a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumſtances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the firſt year of the *Peloponneſian* war [t].

The ſpring of the next year was doubly fatal to *Athens*; nature afflicted her at home, and the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, waſted all things abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will eaſily pereeive from the deſcription of *Thucydides*, who was ſick thereof (I). *Pericles* in

[t] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi. ſupra.

(I) This plague in *Athens* makes ſo remarkable a figure in hiſtory, and the deſcription of it by *Thucydides* has been ſo much commended, that we ſhould deal unjuſtly with our readers, if we either omitted the deſcription of this plague, or gave it in other words than thoſe of that accurate hiſtorian. When the plague firſt began among the *Athenians*, the *Peloponneſians* had not been long in *Attica*; but ſo great a plague, and ſo fatal as this was, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. For at firſt neither were the phyſicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died faſteſt themſelves, as being the men that moſt approached the ſick, nor any other art of man availed whatſoever. All ſupplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatſoever means they uſed of that kind, proved all unprofitable; inſomuch as, ſubdued with the greatneſs of the evil, they gave them all over. It began, by report, firſt in that part of *Ethiopia* that lieth upon *Egypt*, and thence fell down into *Egypt* and *Africk*, and into the greateſt part of the territories of the king. It invaded *Athens* on a ſudden, and touched firſt upon thoſe that dwelt in *Pyræus*, inſomuch as they reported, that the *Peloponneſians* had caſt poiſon into their wells; for ſprings there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faſter. Now let every, man phyſician or other, ſpeak concerning the ground of this ſickneſs, whence it ſprung, and what cauſes he thinks able to produce ſo great an alteration, ſpeak according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only ſuch things as one may take his mark by to diſcover the ſame, if it come again, having been both ſick of it myſelf, and ſeen others ſick of the ſame. This year, by confeſſion of all men, was of all other for other diſeaſes moſt free and healthful. If any man was ſick before, his diſeaſe turned to this; if not, yet ſuddenly without any apparent cauſe preceding, and being in perfect health they were taken firſt with an extreme ach in their heads, redneſs and inflamation in the eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew preſently bloody, and their breath noiſom and unſavory. Upon this followed a ſneezing and hoarſeneſs, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breaſt; and when once it was ſettled in the ſtomach, it cauſed vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that phyſicians ever named. Moſt of them had alſo the hiccoughs, which brought with it a ſtrong convulſion, and in ſome ceaſed quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch were neither very hot nor pale, but reddiſh, livid, and beflowered with little pimples and wheals; but ſo burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lighteſt cloaths or linen garments to be upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedneſs, but rather moſt willingly to have caſt themſelves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being ſtill from eaſe and power to ſleep as far as ever. As long as the diſeaſe was at the height, their bodies waſted not, but reſiſted the torment beyond all expectation, inſomuch, as the moſt of them either died of their inward burning in nine or ſeven days, whilſt they had yet ſtrength; or if they eſcaped that, then the diſeaſe falling down into their bellies, and cauſing there great exulcerations and immoderate looſneſs, they died many of them afterwards through weakneſs. For the diſeaſe which took firſt the head, began above, and ran down, and paſſed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worſt of it, was yet marked with the loſs of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loſs of theſe eſcaped. There were alſo ſome that loſt their eyes, and many that preſently upon their recovery were taken with ſuch an oblivion of all things whatſoever, as they neither knew themſelves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of ſickneſs which far ſurmounted all expreſſion of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwiſe to be none of thoſe diſeaſes that are bred amongſt us, and that eſpecially by this: For all, both birds and beaſts, that uſe to feed on human fleſh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or taſting periſhed. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifeſt defect of ſuch fowl, which were not then ſeen, neither about the carcaſſes, or any where elſe; but by the dogs, becauſe they are familiar with men, this effect was ſeen much clearer. So that this diſeaſe, to paſs over many ſtrange particulars of the accidents that ſome had differently from others, was in general ſuch as I have ſhewn; and for other uſual ſickneſſes at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, ſome for want of attendance, and ſome again with all the care

a in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuſe it into his countrymen, though he held them to the obſervance of the ſame rule which he had preſcribed before, and would not ſuffer them to ſtir without the city, either to eſcape the plague or infeſt the enemy. He cauſed, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty veſſels of the allies of *Athens*, on board of which, and of a hundred *Athenian* gallies, he embarked three hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, with which he ſailed to *Epidaurus*. The *Peloponneſians*, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is withdrew their troops out of *Attica*, after they had waſted it for forty days. *Pericles*, however, did
b no great matter, the plague raging amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus* was ſent againſt *Chalcis* and *Potidea*, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, ſo that after a ſhort ſtay they returned from thence, alſo bringing back to *Athens* about fifteen hundred men out of four thouſand, the reſt being loſt through peſtilence and war. Theſe evils drove the *Athenians* to madneſs and deſpair. In vain *Pericles* made uſe of all his eloquence to appeaſe them; they ſent embaſſadors to *Lacedæmon* to deſire a peace, which the *Spartans* were much too proud to beſtow; after this fruitleſs negociation, *Pericles* harangued the aſſembly afreſh, and with the utmoſt force of reaſon ſought to combat their apprehenſions and fears;
c when he had done ſpeaking, they confeſſed he was in the right in adviſing them to begin the war; yet, diſtracted with the evils it had brought, they diſmiſſed and fined him; yet, with an inconſtancy natural to a people, they in a ſhort time recalled him, and veſted him with almoſt abſolute authority. But the ſtorms in his family did not blow over ſo eaſily; his ſon *Xanthippus* quitted his houſe, becauſe his father would not allow him more money than his eſtate would bear; but to conceal the true cauſe, the profligate youth gave out his father converſed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, *Xanthippus* died of the plague; ſhortly after him *Pericles*'s

care and phyſic that could be uſed. Nor was there any, to ſay certain, medicine, that applied muſt have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for ſtrength or weakneſs, that was able to reſiſt it; but it carried all away what phyſic ſoever was adminiſtered. But the greateſt miſery of all was the dejection of mind in ſuch as found themſelves beginning to be ſick, for they grew preſently deſperate, and gave themſelves over without making any reſiſtance; as alſo their dying thus like ſheep, infected by mutual viſitation. For if men forbore to viſit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of ſuch as ſhould take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themſelves, and principally the honeſteſt men: For out of ſhame they would not ſpare themſelves, but went in unto their friends, eſpecially after it was come to paſs, that even their domeſtics, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatneſs of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But thoſe that were recovered, had much compaſſion both on them that died, and on them that lay ſick, as having both known the miſery themſeves, and now no more ſubject to the like danger: For this diſeaſe never took a man the ſecond time, ſo as to be mortal. And thoſe men were both by others counted happy, and they alſo themſelves through exceſs of preſent joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any ſickneſs hereafter. Beſides the preſent affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their ſubſtance into the city, oppreſſed both them, and much more the people themſelves that ſo came in. For having no houſes, but dwelling at that time of the year in ſtifling booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the ſtreets, and men half dead about every conduit through deſire of water. The temples alſo where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppreſſed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careleſs both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws, which they formerly uſed touching funerals, were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things neceſſary, after ſo many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having caſt thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiouſneſs, which alſo in other kinds was uſed in the city, began at firſt from this diſeaſe. For that which a man before would diſſemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuouſneſs, he durſt now do freely, ſeeing before his eyes ſuch quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their eſtates: inſomuch, as they juſtified a ſpeedy fruition of their goods even for their pleaſure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, becauſe they thought it uncertain whether they ſhould die or not before they atchieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleaſure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, becauſe they concluded it was alike, to worſhip or not worſhip; from ſeeing that alike they all periſhed: Nor the later, becauſe no man expected that his life would laſt till he received puniſhment of his crimes by judgment. But they thought there was now over their heads ſome far greater judgment decreed againſt them; before which fell they thought to enjoy ſome little part of their lives (90).

(90) *Thucyd. lib.* ii. *prop. init.*

ricles's ſiſter died, after her almoſt all his relations and friends, laſt of all his ſecond ſon *Paralus*. At his funeral, *Pericles* loſt his heroiſm quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burſt out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his houſe cloſely, and abandoned himſelf to melancholy. It was then, that the *Athenians* invited him to accept of thoſe honours of which they had ſtripped him. At the perſuaſion of *Alcibiades* and others of his friends he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelf to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his requeſt cancelled that very unjuſt law, which they had made at his motion, for baſtardizing all children of the half blood; and hereupon he enrolled a ſon of his by *Aſpaſia* a freeman of *Athens*, by the name of *Pericles*. In the ſummer of this year, a *Peloponneſian* navy of a hundred gallies waſted the iſland of *Zacynthus*, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themſelves. Towards the end of the ſummer they ſent embaſſadors to the king of *Perſia*, to intreat his aſſiſtance againſt his ancient enemies the *Athenians*; theſe embaſſadors had it alſo in commiſſion to make application to *Sitacles* king of *Thrace*; but his ſon *Sadocus*, being a citizen of *Athens*, ſeized them and delivered them to the *Athenians*, who put them to death, to teach the *Lacedemonians* more mercy than they had ſhewn of late in killing ſuch as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to *Athens*. In the winter the *Athenians* ſent *Meleſander*, with a fleet of twenty ſhips, to *Caria* and *Lycia*, where he was ſlain. About this time *Potidæa*, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human fleſh, yielded to the *Athenians*, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from *Athens*. Such were the events which fell out in the ſecond year of the war [u].

In the ſpring of the third year, *Archidamus* king of *Sparta* came with a great army and beſieged *Platæa*. The *Platæans* inſiſted, that *Pauſanias*, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predeceſſors had ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but *Archidamus* inſiſted, that they ſhould forſake the ſide of the *Athenians*, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promiſe of having all things reſtored to them when it ſhould be over. The *Platæans* were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they reſolved to abide all things rather than deſert *Athens*. *Archidamus* then waſted their country, but not with impunity; for thoſe of *Platæa* made continual ſallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then cauſed the city to be ſet on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to aſhes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore he was conſtrained to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and having thrown up a retrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a ſufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to *Peloponneſus*. In *Thrace* and *Acarnania* the *Athenians* fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of *Phormio* gained two ſmall victories at ſea. But the great event of this year was the death of *Pericles*, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body elſe; for whereas it hurried off others ſuddenly, it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an inſtance of this laſt obſervation, *Plutarch* ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he muſt be very ſick indeed when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his very laſt moments, ſome of his friends, ſitting by his bed-ſide and conceiving him to have quite loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a ſudden he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, *I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing elſe, and which have happened to others alſo, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the reſt; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account.* Thus *Pericles* died as he lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of *Athens* as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that the ſame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation; only it muſt be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and that while he exalted

[u] Thucyd. Diodor. &c.

exalted the *Athenian* ſtate and adorned its capital, he deſpoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by *Ariſtides* and *Cimon* [y] (K).

In the ſummer following, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Archidamus*, invaded *Attica* the third time, deſtroying the ripe corn, and waſting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the *Athenians*, though without profit to themſelves. In the mean time, the whole iſle of *Lesbos*, the city and diſtrict of *Methymna* only excepted, revolted from the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of *Clippides* and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of *Mitylene*, to demand that the citizens ſhould pull down their
b walls and deliver up their ſhips, which if they did not do, they were then to act offenſively. The *Mitylenians* endeavoured to amuſe the *Athenians*, and to that end procured a truce till they ſent embaſſadors to *Athens*; but in the mean time they diſpatched other embaſſadors to intreat aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, who directed them to make their ſolemn application at the *olympic* games to the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed againſt *Athens*. The *Spartans* meditated another inroad into *Attica*, and actually advanced as far as the *Iſthmus*; but their allies not ſending their quotas as they had promiſed, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an *Athenian* fleet had appeared on the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*. Yet the *Peloponneſians*, in purſuance
c of their promiſe to the *Mitylenians*, ſent a fleet of forty gallies to their aſſiſtance; but they were able to effect little, becauſe the *Athenians* had ſent a hundred gallies on that coaſt. Hitherto they purſued the maxims of *Pericles*, and cultivated a naval force; but as this coſt immenſe ſums of money, they were conſtrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raiſe that tax which *Ariſtides* had impoſed with the conſent of the *Greeks*, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies. The *Mitylenians* and the reſt of the *Lesbians*, greatly incenſed at thoſe of *Methymna*

[y] Thucyd. lib. i, ii. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greateſt men of *Greece*, will not be very long, becauſe we have had occaſion to ſay ſo much of him in his hiſtory, that very little remains unſaid. He was very learned, eſpecially in uſeful ſcience; and there is a ſtory related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it muſt have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from moſt of his countrymen: juſt as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much that he knew not what to do. *Pericles* perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, aſked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it. He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid *Pericles*, what difference can you make between one darkneſs and the other, except that what ſhades the ſun is bigger than my cloak: Which brought the pilot and his crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to *Anaxagoras* appears from this, and indeed from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he ſuffered that wiſe man to be in ſuch diſtreſs, that throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving to death. When *Pericles* was told of this he ran to him in all haſte; yet inſtead of lamenting his diſtreſs, he fell to bewailing his own loſs, in caſe he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a counſellor; to which *Anaxagoras*, opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: *Thoſe*, Pericles, *who have need of a lamp, ſupply it with oil.* Whereupon the ſtateſman took him home, and uſed him better for the future. It was at his motion that the *Athenians* ſeized the treaſure of all *Greece* at *Delos*, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of truſt, *Pericles* thus defended it: It was given, ſaid he, to defend *Greece* from the *Barbarians*, which the *Athenians* having done have a juſt title to the money; for money, ſaid he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions; and as the *Athenians* were always ready to carry on war, it was but juſt that ſomething ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by theſe public buildings. This reaſoning of his drew over to his party merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds; as for ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them and penſions from the publick ſtock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other *Athenians* had made themſelves eminent, *Pericles* had made himſelf a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: In a word, he made *Athens* the richeſt and moſt powerful of the *Greek* ſtates; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had ſought to depreſs; and in the midſt of all the *Athenian* greatneſs, when her commons were moſt vain and moſt unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a ſmall time, in diſgrace, recalled afterwards with honour by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his authority to his death. But in the midſt of this great fortune his hands were clean, he did all things for *Athens*, and nothing for himſelf, leaving his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved, an example admirable rather than imitable (91).

(91) *Plut. in vit. Periclis. Thucyd. lib.* i, & ii, *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. xii. *Juſtin.* iii. *c.* 7. & *mult. al.*

Methymna for remaining ſtedfaſt in their duty to the *Athenians*, made excurſions a into their country, whereupon the *Athenians* inveſted the city of *Mitylene*, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themſelves, inſtead of offending their neighbours. *Platæa* was all this time blocked up, its little gariſon, conſiſting of four hundred natives, and fourſcore *Athenians*, having thus long withſtood the whole power of *Peloponneſus*; but finding it a vain thing to hope aſſiſtance from *Athens*, and being very much ſtreightened for proviſions, they took a deſperate way of forcing a paſſage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred, however, perſiſted in their intention, and fell with ſuch fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a paſſage and marched to *Athens*, the reſt were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth year of the b *Peloponneſian* war [z].

In the very beginning of the next year the *Peloponneſians* ſent forty ſhips to the relief of *Mitylene*, and at the ſame time entered with a great army into *Attica* for the fifth time, under the command of *Cleomenes*. The *Athenians* were exceedingly diſtreſſed by theſe cruel ravages; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in *Lesbos*. *Paches*, who commanded before *Mitylene*, obliged it to ſurrender before the *Peloponneſian* fleet, ſent to ſuccour it, could arrive; he likewiſe chaſed that fleet, and returning to *Lesbos* ſent the *Lacedæmonian* miniſter, whom he found in *Mitylene*, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to *Athens*, where the *Lacedæmonian* was immediately put to death; and in a general aſſembly c of the people it was reſolved, at the motion of *Cleon*, that orders ſhould be ſent to *Paches* to put all the *Mitylenians*, who were at man's eſtate, to death; and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves. The next day, however, they reconſidered this decree, which *Cleon* ſtill ſupported with all his eloquence; but *Diodotus*, an orator of a milder diſpoſition, having ſhewn how injurious it would be to the *Athenian* glory to deal ſo ſeverely with perſons who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, it was carried by a very ſmall majority to reverſe the decree. A clean ſhip was immediately diſpatched to *Lesbos* to countermand the orders that had been ſent to *Paches* the day before, and inſtructions were given to the commander to make all the ſail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ſhip, which, though he ſtrongly endeavoured, he could d not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to ſave the *Mitylenians* from utter deſtruction, for *Paches*, being a man of great humanity, took a day to conſider the orders he had received, and in that ſpace the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The *Athenians*, however, did not wholly pardon the *Mitylenians*; on the contrary, they put a thouſand of the briſkeſt of the rebels to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls of the city, took away all their ſhips, divided their lands among themſelves, and let them again to the *Mitylenians* at very high rents. The ſame ſummer they made themſelves maſters of the Iſland of *Minoas*, lying over-againſt the territory of *Megara*; they ſeized likewiſe the port of *Niſæa*, and for- e tified it, which acquiſitions were of mighty importance to them. The *Plataans*, driven to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered, and by the judgment of the *Lacedæmonians* were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five *Athenians*, put to death, and their women ſold for ſlaves. Such was the end of one of the braveſt and moſt generous people of *Greece*. Their city was ſome time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the *Thebans*, who left only an inn to ſhew where it ſtood. The fame, however, of its ancient inhabitants moved *Alexander the great* to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous ſedition in *Corcyra*, from whence future ſeditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were ſtiled *Corcyrian*. *Thucydides* hath inſerted a very copious deſcription thereof, its cauſes, and conſequences, in his admi- f rable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the *Athenians*, we are bound to inſert a ſuccinct relation of it here. We have already obſerved, that the war waged by this ſtate againſt the *Corinthians* induced the *Peloponneſian* war; and in ſpeaking thereof we have ſhewn, that a great number of *Corcyrians* were carried away priſoners into *Peloponneſus*, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the reſt were ſold for ſlaves; the reaſon of this conduct of the *Corinthians* was a deſign they had formed of engaging theſe *Corcyrians* to influence their countrymen to ſide with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderneſs imaginable, inſtilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic government,

[z] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

a vernment, and a deſire of veſting the rule of their iſland in their own hands. When it was found that the *Corcyrian* priſoners had thoroughly imbibed theſe principles, they were told, that, on condition they would uſe their intereſt at home in favour of the allies and to the prejudice of *Athens*, they might obtain their freedom. The *Corcyrians* promiſed largely, returned home, and, which may ſeem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promiſed. From theſe endeavours ſprung the ſedition before-mentioned; at firſt ſuch as were for an ariſtocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of ſuch as inclined to a democratic government; they were aſſiſted by the *Peloponneſians*, but the *Athenians* ſending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed party, the *Peloponneſians* b were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party, taking heart again in *Corcyra*, revenged themſelves for the injuries they had received from the now depreſſed faction; nor would they ſuffer any notions of religion to reſtrain their hands, but dragged away ſuppliants from the altars to execution, on the ſtanding maxim of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worſt of all was, that this example once ſet, almoſt all the ſtates in *Greece* felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always incited and blown up by agents from *Sparta* and *Athens*, the former pretending to ſettle ariſtocracies every-where, and the latter exerting her utmoſt power to prevent their remaining any-where. In the midſt of theſe momentous affairs, and while they had ſo many important buſineſſes on the carpet, the c *Athenians* were engaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than all the reſt. It happened thus; the inhabitants of *Sicily* were ſplit into two factions, the one ſtiled the *Doric* which had the ſtate of *Syracuſe* at its head, the other the *Ionic* which owned the *Leontines* for their chiefs; the latter, conceiving themſelves too weak without foreign aid, applied themſelves to *Athens*, and ſent a citizen of theirs, one *Gorgias*, and a great orator, to intreat it; never was any miniſter ſuited better to his negotiation than this man to treat with the *Athenians*; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and ſo tickled the ears of the people by his fine ſpeeches, that they ran head long into a war with which they had no buſineſs, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the *Peloponneſians*. *Pericles* d had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war, he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they medled with nothing elſe, and that their ſucceeding therein would fix their empire over *Greece*, and ſecure *Athens* in as high a ſtate as ſhe could expect, or ought to deſire. But the people giddy with ſucceſs, and hoping at once to graſp the empire of *Greece* and the dominion of *Sicily*, reſolved to aſſiſt the *Leontines*, and to that end diſpatched a fleet under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*; and, as if this new buſineſs had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly ſailed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midſt of all theſe great deſigns, cutting off this year four thouſand citizens, three hundred knights, and e an infinite number of meaner people, *Diodorus* ſays, ten thouſand; he likewiſe acquaints us with what he ſuppoſes to have been the cauſe of this diſtemper, he aſcribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter and a very hot ſummer following thereupon, during which the *Eteſian* gales or evening breezes were wanting. The *Athenians*, however, aſcribed it to the pollution of the iſle of *Delos*, by burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore cauſed to be removed, and ſought to appeaſe *Apollo* by various ſacrifices; ſuch were the events in the fifth year of the *Peloponneſian* war [a].

At the opening of the next ſummer, the *Peloponneſians*, under the command of *Agis* the ſon of *Archidamus* king of *Sparta*, invaded *Attica*, or rather aſſembled in f order to invade it; for the many earthquakes, which happened at this time throughout *Greece*, alarmed them ſo much, that they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in *Sicily* with various ſucceſs; *Carcades*, one of their generals, being ſlain, the ſole command devolved upon *Paches*, who diſcharged his truſt with great reputation. At *Athens* the people ordered new ſhips to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among theſe *Demoſthenes* gained great reputation, and made himſelf very agreeable to their allies. The *Athenians*, however, received ſome check from the *Ætolians*, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the *Ambraciots*, and conſtrained them to conclude a peace with

[a] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

with the *Acarnanians* the allies of *Athens*; *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, who com- a
manded in *Sicily*, gained, as the winter drew on, ſome advantages over the *Syracuſi-*
ans, and in this year it is remarked that mount *Ætna* made a greater erruption than it
had done for fifty years; this was the ſixth year [b].

In the ſucceeding ſpring, *Agis* the ſon of *Archidamus* invaded *Attica* with a
great army; the *Athenians*, however, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to
Sicily, and to their commanders gave inſtructions to keep a ſtrict eye on *Corcyra*,
the inhabitants of which were under great apprehenſions leſt their exiles ſhould
make any attempt, or the *Peloponneſians* make a deſcent with their fleet of ſixty
gallies which was in their neighbourhood. *Demoſthenes* was ſent with another fleet
to infeſt the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*, he was one of the greateſt generals of his time, b
of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet ſailed by *La-*
conia, he took notice of the promontory of *Pylus*, which was united to the land by
a narrow iſthmus, having before it a barren iſland about two miles in circumference,
in which, however, there was a very good ſafe port, all winds being kept off, either
by the head-land or by the iſle; theſe advantages gave him to apprehend, that a
gariſon left here would give ſo much trouble to the *Peloponneſians*, that they would
find it more adviſable to protect their own country than to invade their neighbours.
He propoſed therefore to his collegues, that they ſhould immediately ſeize it, and
fortify it with the utmoſt expedition; but they, deſiring rather to fulfil their inſtru- c
ctions than to do extraordinary ſervice, for which perhaps they might not be thanked,
refuſed to follow his advice, and inſiſted upon ſailing to *Corcyra*, according as their
orders bore. A ſtorm ariſing obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the iſland,
where *Demoſthenes* revived his perſuaſions to ſeize and fortify ſo convenient a poſt,
but in vain; his collegues were all of another opinion, ſo that he was forced to give
way; but the matter taking air, the ſoldiers declared unanimouſly that they would
not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in ſix days
finiſhed a ſtrong wall; and then the reſt of the admirals ſailing for *Corcyra*, *De-*
moſthenes was left with five ſhips to guard his new-raiſed fortification. As ſoon as
the news of this event was carried to the *Peloponneſian* army, it was immediately re- d
ſolved to return back and beſiege *Pylus*. When they arrived before the place, they
took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and cauſed a choſen body of *Spartans* to take poſſeſſion
at the ſame time of the iſland *Sphacteria*, and theſe precautions taken they attacked
the *Athenian* retrenchments with great vigour; *Demoſthenes* and his gariſon made a
prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty *Athenian* ſhips arriving in the nick of time,
offered battle to the *Peloponneſian* fleet; but this being refuſed, becauſe the *Lace-*
demonians were at preſent ſet on taking *Pylus*, the *Athenians* boldly ſailed into the
harbour, broke and ſunk moſt of the veſſels therein, and took the reſt, after
which they beſieged the *Spartans* in the iſle, which threw the affairs of the *Pelopon-*
neſians into the greateſt diſorder. The *Lacedemonians* ſent for their magiſtrates into
the camp, which was their cuſtom in all great dangers, and they, perceiving that e
no ſafety could be wrought for the *Spartans* in *Sphacteria*, but by a treaty with the
enemy, concluded a truce with the *Athenian* army, while a negociation was carried
on at *Athens*; the articles of this truce were, that the *Peloponneſians* ſhould deliver
up all their ſhips, on condition to have them punctually reſtored to them in caſe
the treaty did not take effect; that neither the *Athenians* nor they ſhould under-
take any thing till this negociation ended ſome way or other; that a certain quan-
tity of victuals ſhould be carried daily to the iſland, but that no ſhip ſhould at-
tempt to paſs thither by ſtealth; that the truce ſhould end at the return of the em-
baſſadors, and that, if in the mean time it were broke in any of its articles, it ſhould
be held utterly void in all. The *Lacedemonian* embaſſadors ſpoke to the *Athenians* f
with great gravity and wiſdom, they ſhewed them how much for their honour it would
be to make a peace at their requeſt; and in proof of this they urged an argument
worthy of the *Spartans*. You have now, ſaid they, an advantage, which whether it
be owing to your wiſdom, or fortune, may be diſputed hereafter; but if you lay
hold of this occaſion to make a juſt and honourable peace, you will ſhew, that your
nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do
not make peace, you will riſque that reputation, and even thoſe advantages, from
the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The *Athenians* in ge-
neral

[b] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

a neral were inclined to put an end to this troublesome war, but *Cleon*, one of their demagogues, a warm and obstinate man, so wrought upon them, that they insisted on very unreasonable conditions, and treated the embassadors in such a manner, that, finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The *Peloponnesians* then demanded their ships, but the *Athenians*, pretending that the truce had been infringed, refused to deliver them, and thereby kept the possession of sixty good vessels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hostilities being recommenced on both sides, the *Lacedæmonians* attacked the *Athenian* retrenchments at *Pylus*, while the *Athenians* renewed their assaults on the *Lacedæmonians* at *Sphacteria*; the latter, though under all the discou-
b ragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, insomuch, that the business went on very slowly, which gave the people of *Athens* much uneasiness. They began then to wish they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at *Cleon*, who to excuse himself said, that it would be easy for the general of the forces they were now sending to attack the *Spartans* in the isle, and put an end to this dispute at once. *Nicias*, who had been appointed to this command, said immediately, that if *Cleon* believed he could do such great things, he would do well to go thither in person; the latter, conceiving this to mean only to try him, said, he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby *Nicias* catched him, and declared that he had relinquished his charge. *Cleon* thereupon said, modestly enough, that he was no general;
c but *Nicias* answered, he might then become one; and the people, pleased with this controversy, held the orator to his word; *Cleon* then advancing, said, I am so little afraid of the enemy, that I will desire but a very small body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with those at *Pylus*, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the *Spartans* you are in such pain about, or perish in the attempt; at which the people, little expecting such things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him, however, the troops he desired, and he set sail on this expedition, in which he conducted himself with great prudence and fortitude; for he first sent a herald to the enemies camp, signifying, that if the *Lacedæmonians* in the isle surrendered at discretion, a new negociation might be commenced; but this demand,
d being looked upon as dishonourable to the *Lacedæmonian* state, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with *Demosthenes* made a descent upon the island, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the *Spartans* to the last extremity. *Cleon* perceiving it to be in their power to cut these brave men to pieces, restrained his *Athenians*, and sent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at discretion; whereupon the *Lacedæmonian* commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the *Athenian* generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the *Peloponnesian* camp, but that was refused; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships in order to be conveyed to *Athens*. They had sustained a
e siege of seventy-two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they lost one hundred and twenty-eight persons out of four hundred and twenty, so that two hundred and ninety-two yielded. *Cleon*, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the *Peloponnesians* should in the mean time invade *Attica*, in which case they resolved that they should be put to death. They sent a colony of *Messenians*, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the *Spartans*, to repossess *Pylus*, and their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they quickly resolved to send embas-
f sadors afresh to *Athens*, in order if it was possible to put an end to the war. The people of *Athens* were too much exalted with their success, to treat the *Lacedæmonians* either with justice or candour, and the embassadors of that steady nation, disdaining to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing. This summer the *Athenians* fought the *Corinthians* near the isthmus; they sent likewise a fleet to *Sicily*, which fleet had instructions to put in at *Corcyra*, and to assist the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the *Lacedæmonians*; this they effectually performed, for they gave the *Corcyrians* such assistance, that the exiles fell into their power; they imprisoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death, with all the circumstances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent; when there were only sixty re-

maining, they beſought the *Athenians* to put them to death, and not deliver them a
up to their countrymen. The *Corcyrians*, thereupon ſurrounding the place where
they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing theſe
unhappy men into deſpair, they ſtrangled and otherwiſe deſtroyed themſelves with
their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miſerable ſedition, which for ſo
many years rent this little iſland, and made the *Corcyrians* endure greater evils from
themſelves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The *Athenians* were this year
ſucceſsful in ſome other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall omit, and
refer our readers to the account of them in *Thucydides*. In the winter, a *Perſian* em-
baſſador whoſe name was *Artaphernes*, being ſent to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in
Thrace and brought priſoner to *Athens*. His letters and inſtructions were read, b
but when it was diſcovered, that they no way concerned the *Athenians*, he was diſ-
miſſed, and other embaſſadors from *Athens* were ſent with him to *Epheſus*, where,
when they came, they were informed, that *Artaxerxes* the *Perſian* monarch was dead,
by which their commiſſion being determined, they returned home. Towards the end
of the year the *Athenians* apprehended, that the inhabitants of *Chios* had an intention
to deſert them, they therefore ſent a fleet thither, with orders that they ſhould demoliſh
their new walls, a method they commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. Theſe were
the principal events of the ſeventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the war there happened an eclipſe of the
ſun, as *Thucydides* tells us, which was followed by an earthquake. The firſt matter c
of conſequence the *Athenians* reſolved on was, the taking of the iſle of *Cythera*,
ſeated on the coaſt of *Laconia*, which lay extremely convenient for them. *Nicias*
was choſen to command this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of
Pericles, had been eminent in the ſtate, and enjoyed a great meaſure of favour
with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary, for though he had
much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his
duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of treſpaſſing in the leaſt
on his inſtructions, and timorous to the laſt degree of offending the people. *Pericles*,
eſpecially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he ſo much
exeeded all others in eloquence, that to ſpeak and to perſuade were the ſame things d
with him, and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and
authority, came readily into whatever he deſired. *Nicias* was of another diſpoſition,
and therefore he ſought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchaſe it, another
way; he had an immenſe eſtate, and he laid out a great part of it in beſtowing
largeſſes, exhibiting plays, ſhews, and whatever elſe might pleaſe the people, who
likewiſe pitied the timidneſs of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had
any thing to offer or to propoſe to them. We have already mentioned his diſpute
with *Cleon* as to the buſineſs of *Pylus*; the ſame man was his conſtant opponent in
every thing, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince it is evident there was a direct contra-
riety both in their tempers and intereſts. *Cleon* was continually the author of warm e
and violent counſels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the *Lacedæmo-
nians*; whereas *Nicias* was gentle in his manners, adviſed moderate meaſures, was
for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other reſpects he was fearful,
yet he never diſſembled that he wiſhed well to the *Lacedemonians*, that is, wiſhed his
countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that
ſtate and their own by obſtinately continuing the war. The people, having a great
opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into
Cythera, and furniſhed him with a ſtrong fleet and a good army. *Nicias* executed
his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully, whereby he gained them a very com-
modious poſt, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* very ill neighbours; afterwards the f
Athenians took *Thyrea* on the confines of *Laconia*, this place the *Lacedæmonians* had
given to the inhabitants of the iſle of *Ægina* when they were expelled by the *Athe-
nians*, theſe with the *Cythereans* were ſent to *Athens* to abide the judgment of the
people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate
enemies of their ſtate and nation, the latter they diſperſed for the moſt part through
the iſlands under their obedience, and on ſuch as they left in their own country
they impoſed a very heavy tribute. In *Sicily*, one *Hermocrates* of *Syracuſe* per-
ſuaded all the inhabitants of that iſland to adjuſt their differences among themſelves,
whereby the *Athenian* generals were conſtrained to re-embark their forces and
return home. There were three of them, *Pythodemus*, *Sophocles*, and *Eurymedon*,
they

a they gave the people a distinct account of the reasons which induced them to quit the island, and insisted particularly on this, that the *Sicilians* being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other measures; but the *Athenians*, who seldom considered any thing where success was wanting, banished two of their generals, and subjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of *Megara*, finding themselves exceedingly distressed from the continual incursions of the *Athenians* and the mischief done by their own exiles, began to have some thoughts of recalling those they had banished, of which when the *Athenians* had notice, they found means to engage the magistrates to assist them in quelling the townsmen. *Hippocratus* and *Demosthenes*, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition,
b wherein the *Megarians* concerned exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had taken possession of the town, if on a sudden some of the conspirators had not altered their minds and gone over to those who sought to defend it, whereupon the *Athenians* and their friends seized the long walls, and threw up a cross work against the city, bending all their force to make themselves masters of *Nisæa*, or the port, doubting not, that, if they had this, *Megara* would soon fall. The garison, having no magazines of provision, were constrained to surrender at discretion, after which the *Athenians* invested the city and closely besieged it. *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* came quickly from *Corinth* to relieve the *Megarians*, but the citizens being still divided in their opinions, some siding with the *Athenians*,
c some with the *Lacedæmonians*, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time the *Bœotians* came with a considerable army and joined *Brasidas*, who thereupon engaged the *Athenians*; but it ended in a drawn battle; at last, however, the *Lacedæmonian* party prevailing in *Megara*, those who sided with the *Athenians* were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was past, and not to attempt any thing which might disturb their country. But as soon as they were settled, they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderness for their country, caused a hundred of those whom they most suspected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in consequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They
d then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and possessed themselves of the supreme power. The exiles of *Mitylene*, some other *Lesbians*, and a crew of mercenary troops, seized *Rhetium* in *Asia*, and possessed themselves afterwards of *Antandrus*; that they might not incumber themselves with too many things, they sold the former city to its ancient inhabitants, and were quickly after dispossessed of the latter by the *Athenian* generals, *Demodorus* and *Aristides*; their collegue, whose name was *Lamachus*, sailed to *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, where he pretended to levy tribute; but the *Heraclians* insisted, that, as they were subjects to the *Persian* king, the *Athenians* had no right to any subsidies from them. While these points were litigating, a land-flood drove most of the *Athe-*
e *nian* ships on shore, and broke them in pieces, so that *Lamachus* found himself unable to act either by land or sea. The *Heracleans*, instead of taking any advantage of this accident, assisted the *Athenians* to the utmost of their power, so that with much ado *Lamachus* put his army into a condition to march through *Thracia* to *Chalcedon*. The *Bœotians* growing weary of that form of government, which since their league with the *Lacedæmonians* had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the *Athenians*, and to invite them to assist in settling democracies throughout *Bœotia*; but this business was not very prosperous, for the *Thebans* and other *Bœotians* of their party drew together a great army under the command of *Pantoedas*. The *Athenians* were commanded by *Demosthenes* and *Hippocrates*; at *Delium* the armies met
f and a very bloody engagement ensued, wherein the *Athenians* were at last beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in *Bœotia* taken away, most of the *Bœotians*, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forsake their country and to take shelter in the *Athenian* territories. *Thucydides* the historian commanded at this time the *Athenian* forces on the coast of *Macedonia*, whither the *Lacedæmonians* had sent *Brasidas* one of their best generals with a considerable army. He, partly by force, partly by persuasion, reduced *Amphipolis* and several other places; but *Thucydides*, by a quick march, saved *Ione*; and the *Athenians*, being extremely alarmed at the news of *Brasidas*'s conquests, sent new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the *Macedonian* coast; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their

their intereſt in thoſe parts, where the valour and conduct of the *Lacedæmonian* chief carried all before him. Theſe were the events of the eighth year of the war [c]. a

In the beginning of the ſpring the *Spartans* made new propoſitions of peace at *Athens*, ſuppoſing that the misfortunes, which their enemies had met with in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much miſtaken; for the *Athenians*, finding that fortune was no more conſtant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unſettled by the loſs of *Amphipolis*, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to re-eſtabliſh them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of what they held at preſent, that embaſſadors, heralds, and all other perſons with public characters, ſhould have free leave to enter any of the ſtates in order to the negotiation of a general peace, that neither party ſhould receive or protect deſerters, that all controverſies ſhould be decided amicably, and not by force; proceedings at ſea were likewiſe ſettled, and confederates on both ſides were compriſed in this truce. Immediately on the concluſion thereof, negotiations were ſet on foot for a general peace; but theſe were interrupted, and the *Athenians* thrown into new diſorders by an accident in *Thrace*, where the city of *Scione*, and the city of *Menda* revolted to *Braſidas*, who, knowing nothing of the truce, ſought to draw over *Potidæa* alſo; the *Athenians* pretending that *Scione* revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, aſſerting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and *Menda* ſhould be reſtored them, which negotiations not having the power to effect, an army was ſent to reduce them; by this army *Menda* was recovered, but *Scione* made an obſtinate reſiſtance, whereupon the *Athenians* encompaſſed it with a wall and turned their ſiege into a blockade. The ſpring drawing on, the *Lacedæmonian* army, under the command of *Braſidas*, made an attempt upon *Potidæa*; but it miſcarried, and the *Athenians* began to recover ſome courage in this part of the world. b c

The truce expiring on the day of the *Pythian* games, *Cleon* perſuaded the *Athenians* to ſend a great army into *Thrace* under his own command; it conſiſted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, all *Athenian* citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. *Cleon* ſoon after his arrival took the city of *Torone*; but he miſcarried in his attempt on *Stagyrus*, which, however, did not diſcourage him from falling upon *Galopſus*, a colony of the *Thaſians*, which he took; after which he retired to *Ione*, waiting there for ſuccours. *Braſidas*, who had an army much inferior to his, obſerving that *Cleon* was become careleſs, and that his troops did not obſerve diſcipline, attacked the *Athenians* by ſurprize, and routed them with very great ſlaughter; *Cleon* himſelf flying at laſt, but not far, a *Lacedæmonian* ſoldier overtaking and killing him on the ſpot; *Braſidas* was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the *Athenians* loſt ſix hundred men, and the *Lacedæmonians* no more than ſeven. This deciſive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the *Athenians* were greatly humbled by the loſs of their army, and the *Spartans* little leſs concerned at the loſs of their general; beſides, the *Athenians*, in loſing *Cleon*, loſt the moſt popular ſpeaker amongſt them and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wiſe and prudent ſtateſmen amongſt them thought fit to offer in their public aſſemblies. Amongſt the *Lacedæmonians* there was likewiſe a conſiderable party, at the head of whom was *Pliſtonax* their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as *Nicias* and his party did at *Athens*. Theſe proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, on the following conditions: That a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, excepting that *Niſæa* ſhould remain to the *Athenians* who had taken it from the *Megarians*, and that *Platæa* ſhould remain in the hands of the *Thebans*, becauſe they abſolutely would not give it up. The *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, refuſed to be included in this peace, but the reſt of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly ſworn to at *Athens* in the archonſhip of *Alcæus* ten years after the commencement of the war; and as *Nicias* of all the *Athenians* moſt vigorouſly promoted it, ſo from him it was called the *Nician* peace [d]. d e f

The

[c] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Niciæ. [d] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Niciæ.

THE quiet of *Greece* was far from being reſtored on the ceſſation of the war, ſuch
a of the ſtates in *Peloponneſus* as were not ſatisfied with the terms of peace began to intrigue and negotiate amongſt themſelves, and to endeavour to ſet on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the ſtate of *Argos*. The pretence was, that the liberty of *Greece* was in danger from the alliance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual conſent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleaſure. In the mean time the *Spartans* found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with *Athens*; for whereas it was ſtipulated, that all places taken ſhould be reſtored, *Amphipolis* abſolutely refuſed
b to return under the *Athenian* government, ſo that all the *Lacedæmonians* could do was to withdraw their gariſon, and under the colour of this, the *Athenians* on their ſide refuſed to evacuate *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians* preſſing earneſtly to have this fortreſs put into their hands, or that at leaſt the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* might be removed from thence, the *Athenians* were at laſt prevailed on to grant the latter, and to ſend thoſe who were thus removed from *Pylus* to the iſland of *Cephalenia*. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all ſides, the *Lacedæmonians* ſought to induce the *Bœotians* to give up *Panactus* and the *Athenian* priſoners, in hopes thereby to recover *Pylus*; with much ado they brought the *Bœotians* into this, but not till they had thoroughly deſtroyed the fortifications of the city in queſtion; after which
c it was delivered up. The *Athenians* on their ſide had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of *Pylus*, which they kept as a pledge for the *Spartans* complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of *Panactus* therefore gave them very great uneaſineſs, and induced them to apprehend the *Lacedæmonians* had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themſelves to their old confederates at their expence. Theſe diſcontents were heightened by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who began now to rival *Nicias*, and who will make ſo conſiderable a figure in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, that there is a neceſſity of our informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the ſon of *Clinias*, the nephew of *Pericles*, and deſcended
d lineally from *Ajax*; in his perſon he was ſo beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comelineſs; his fortune was large and beyond moſt of the nobility in *Athens*; as to his parts, *Cornelius Nepos* ſeems to have drawn his juſt character in ſaying, that nature in him had exerted her utmoſt force, ſince, whether we conſider his virtues or his vices, he was diſtinguiſhed from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all theſe virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a looſe to his paſſions, he was indolent, luxurious, diſſolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneneſs. It was
e a great advantage to him, that *Socrates* had a great friendſhip for him, or, as the *Greeks* ſtiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners and brought him to the knowledge of many things, of which otherwiſe he would have been ignorant, but alſo gave the *Athenians* hopes of him, and kept them from reſenting thoſe wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilſt a lad; by his mother's ſide he was deſcended from the *Alcmeonidæ*, and his anceſtors by the father's ſide had been always upon good terms with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Clinias* had indeed diſclaimed his friendſhip with that people, but *Alcibiades* renewed his title to it, and affected to ſhew a mighty reſpect to *Lacedæmonian* ſtrangers. But when he obſerved the embaſſadors of that ſtate applied themſelves wholly to *Nicias* and
f his dependents; he reſented it ſo much, that he began inſtantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out, that the *Lacedæmonians* were not hearty in their laſt treaty, and that *Nicias* was more a friend to them than was conſiſtent with his duty to his country. In proof of the firſt, he alledged, that the *Spartans* were now taking meaſures for humbling *Argos* and her allies, that they might afterwards bring down *Athens*. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldneſs *Nicias* had ſhewn when they would have ſent him with a fleet to make a deſcent on *Sphacteria*; the iſſue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a diſtruſt both of their old general and of their new allies. Shortly after this came embaſſadors from *Lacedæmon* to court the *Athenians*, and to rectify their opinions as to the ſincerity of that ſtate; theſe miniſters at firſt applied themſelves to

Nicias, who introduced them to the ſenate, where they declared they were veſted a
with full power to adjuſt all differences, and to add ſuch new clauſes to the treaty already ſubſiſting as might give ample ſatisfaction to the *Athenians*. When they retired from thence, *Alcibiades*, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his houſe, where he expoſtulated with them on their attaching themſelves to *Nicias*, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and, as a proof thereof, adviſed them to deny in the general aſſembly of the people that they were veſted with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce the *Athenians* to extort unreaſonable compliances. When therefore the embaſſadors came into the forum, *Alcibiades* firſt ſtood up, and asked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they anſwered, No. *Alcibiades* turning to the people, ſaid, *You ſee, my countrymen,* b
what credit ought to be given to theſe Lacedæmonians, *who deny to you to day what they ſolemnly affirmed yeſterday to the ſenate!* The people upon this abſolutely refuſed to hear the *Lacedæmonians* ſpeak. *Alcibiades* immediately afterwards recommended the cauſe of the *Argives*, *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, who at that time ſought the friendſhip of *Athens*; but before they could come to a concluſion, an earthquake happened, which of courſe diſſolved the aſſembly. At the next meeting, *Nicias* propoſed, that he might be ſent embaſſador to *Sparta* before any harſh reſolutions were taken, which the aſſembly complied with; but when *Nicias* came to *Lacedæmon*, he found there a party as unreaſonable as that which he had left at *Athens*; for they would not give him any ſort c
of ſatisfaction with reſpect to his demands, and only ſwore anew to the old alliance, merely, that they might ſeem to do ſomething for the ſake of their old friend. Upon his return, the *Athenians* concluded a league with the *Argives* and the other ſtates before-mentioned for a hundred years, which *Alcibiades* who promoted it looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics, becauſe thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a diſtance, in caſe the feuds between *Sparta* and *Athens* were revived, a thing which was much eaſier foreſeen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this *Peloponneſian* war [e] (L).

The

[e] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(L) We thought it neceſſary to inſert here the league itſelf, as it ſtands in *Thucydides*, for many reaſons; firſt, becauſe it enlightens the hiſtory; ſecondly, for that it ſhews the policy of thoſe times, and that the treaties of the ancient *Greeks* were no leſs perfect and explicit than ours; thirdly, that it might ſerve as an authority to demonſtrate the truth and ſolidity of this hiſtory; thus it runs:

" The *Athenians*, and *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, " and *Eleans*, for themſelves and for the confede- " rates commanded by every of them, have made " an accord for a hundred years, without fraud or " damage, both by ſea and land. It ſhall not be " lawful for the *Argives*, nor *Eleans*, nor *Mantine-* " *ans*, nor their confederates, to bear arms againſt " the *Athenians*, or the confederates under the " command of the *Athenians* or their confederates, " by any fraud or machination whatſoever, and the " *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, have made " league with each other for a hundred years on " theſe terms. If any enemy ſhall invade the ter- " ritory of the *Athenians*, then the *Argives*, *Eleans*, " and *Mantineans* ſhall go unto *Athens* to aſſiſt them, " according as the *Athenians* ſhall ſend them word " to do, in the beſt manner they poſſibly can. But " if the enemy, after he have ſpoiled the territory " ſhall be gone back, then their city ſhall be held " as an enemy to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, " and *Athenians*, and war ſhall be made againſt it " by all thoſe cities, and it ſhall not be lawful for " any of thoſe cities to give over the war without " the conſent of all the reſt. And if any enemy " ſhall invade the territory either of the *Argives*, or " of the *Eleans*, or of the *Mantineans*, then the " *Athenians* ſhall come into *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Man-* " *tinea* to aſſiſt them, in ſuch ſort as thoſe cities " ſhall ſend them word to do, in the beſt manner " they poſſibly can. But if the enemy, after he " hath waſted their territory, ſhall be gone back, " then their city ſhall be held as an enemy both to " the *Athenians* and alſo to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, " and *Mantineans*, and war ſhall be made againſt it " by all thoſe cities, and it ſhall not be lawful for " any of them to give over the war againſt that " city without the conſent of all the reſt. There " ſhall no armed men be ſuffered to paſs through " the dominions either of themſelves, or of any " the confederates under their ſeveral commands, " to make war in any place whatſoever, unleſs by " the ſuffrage of all the cities, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Elis*, " and *Mantinea*, their paſſage be allowed. To " ſuch as come to aſſiſt any of the other cities, that " city which ſendeth them ſhall give maintenance " for thirty days after they ſhall arrive in the city " that ſent for them, and the like at their going " away. But if they will uſe the army for a " longer time, then the city that ſent for them " ſhall find them maintenance at the rate of three " oboles of *Ægina* a-day for a man-of-arms, and " of a drachmæ of *Ægina* for a horſeman. The " city which ſendeth for the aids ſhall have the " leading and command of them, whilſt the war " is in their own territory: But if it ſhall ſeem " good unto theſe cities to make a war in com- " mon, then all the cities ſhall equally participate " of the command. The *Athenians* ſhall ſwear " unto the articles both for themſelves and for their " confederates; and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantine-* " *ans*, and the confederates of theſe, ſhall every one " ſwear unto them, city by city, and their oath " ſhall be the greateſt that by cuſtom of the ſeveral " cities is uſed, and with moſt perfect hoſts, *i. e.* " beaſts offered in ſacrifice, and in theſe words:

" I will

a THE next ſummer *Alcibiades*, at the head of a conſiderable army, paſſed over into the territory of *Argos*, and from thence to *Patræ*; he laboured at both places to perſuade them to build walls to the ſea, that ſo they might the more eaſily receive aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*. The *Patræans*, thinking to ſhew their wiſdom and foreſight, expoſtulated with *Alcibiades*, telling him, that if they took his advice, the *Athenians* might in time ſwallow them up. I do not know, anſwered he, but they may, yet they muſt begin at the feet and eat you by degrees, whereas, if the *Lacedæmonians* are your enemies, they will begin at the head and devour you all at once. The *Argives* thought this year to have made themſelves maſters of *Epidaurus*, but were hindered by the *Lacedæmonians* putting a gariſon into it of three b hundred men, whereupon the *Athenians* brought back the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, and reſettled them in *Pylus*; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that ſtiled the *Peloponneſian*, yet no action was undertaken therein[f].

THE next ſummer the *Spartans* drew together a very great army, which, under the command of *Agis* their king, entered the territory of *Argos*, where the confederate army lay; but, as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was ſuddenly clapped up by two of the *Argive* generals and the king of *Lacedæmon*, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill treated by their reſpective citizens. Some ſhort time after, an *Athenian* army, conſiſting of a thouſand c foot and three hundred horſe, arrived at *Argos*, whereupon the *Argives* renounced the truce with *Lacedæmon* and began the war again. The *Athenian* troops were commanded by *Paches* and *Nicoſtratus*, but *Alcibiades* was in it as a volunteer without command; he it was who perſuaded the *Argives* to beſiege *Orchomenus*, and ſoon after *Tegea*; but the career of their victories was ſoon ſtopped, for *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a great army, came to give them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of *Mantinea*, and is very accurately deſcribed by *Thucydides*; in it the *Argives* and their confederates were at firſt victorious in one wing, but the *Lacedæmonians*, prevailing in the center and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the *Argives*, and defeated them alſo, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of d which they erected a trophy. The *Eleans* and *Athenians*, however, after this battle inveſted *Epidaurus*, and threw up intrenchments around it; in the winter a ſtrong party in *Argos* joinning with the *Lacedemonians*, that city broke off her league with *Athens*, and renewed it with *Sparta* for fifty years; in conſequence of which the *Argives* aboliſhed democracy, which hitherto had ſubſiſted in their city, and to compliment their new allies, not only ſet up an ariſtocracy among themſelves, but aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* with a conſiderable body of troops, to force the *Sicyonians* upon the ſame meaſure; thus ended the fourteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, which was now opened again with circumſtances more dangerous than before.

IN the very next ſummer, *Argos* changed her party again, for falling into an e early diſlike of ariſtocracy, which to thoſe who were free before ſeemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the *Lacedæmonians* in their city, and upon ſuch of their own

[f] THUCYD. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

"I will ſtand to this league according to the "articles thereof, juſtly, innocently, and ſincerely, "and not tranſgreſs the ſame by any art or machi- "nation whatſoever.

"This oath ſhall be taken at *Athens* by the ſenate "and the officers of the commons, and adminiſtred "by the *Prytanes*. At *Argos* it ſhall be taken by "the ſenate, and the council of eighty, and by the "*Artynæ*, and adminiſtred by the council of eighty. "At *Mantinea* it ſhall be taken by the procurators "of the people, and by the ſenate, and by the reſt "of the magiſtrates, and adminiſtred by the *theori* "and by the tribunes of the ſoldiers. At *Elis* it "it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, "and by the officers of the treaſury, and by the "council of ſix hundred, and adminiſtred by the "procurators of the people, and by the keepers of "the laws. This oath ſhall be renewed by the *Athe- "nians*, who ſhall go to *Elis*, and to *Mantinea*, and "to *Argos*, thirty days before the *olympian* games, "and by the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, who "ſhall come to *Athens* ten days before the *Pana- "thenæan* holy-days. The articles of this league "and peace, and the oath ſhall be inſcribed in a pil- "lar of ſtone by the *Athenians* in the citadel; by "the *Argives* in their market-place within the "precinct of the temple of *Apollo*; and by the "*Mantineans*, in their market-place within the "precinct of the temple of *Jupiter*; and at the *o- "lympian* games now at hand, there ſhall be erect- "ed jointly by them all a brazen pillar in *olympia* "(with the ſame inſcription). If it ſhall ſeem good "to theſe cities to add any thing to theſe articles, "whatſoever ſhall be determined by them all in "common council, the ſame ſhall ſtand good (92)

(92) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib.* v.

own citizens as they thought were of their party, and having killed ſome and baniſhed others, they renounced their new-made league with *Sparta*, and renewed their old one with *Athens*. They likewiſe began to follow the advice which *Alcibiades* had given them, and with indefatigable induſtry wrought on the long walls which were neceſſary to join their city with the ſea. The *Athenians*, in the mean time, being convinced that *Perdiccas* king of *Macedonia* had betrayed them, and been the chief occaſion that their expeditions againſt the *Chalcidians* and the city of *Amphipolis* had miſcarried, renounced their league with him, and declared war againſt him. Theſe were the events of the fifteenth year [g].

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ſhips into the territories of *Argos*, to aſſiſt his friends and to put an end to the diſputes which reigned in that city; in order thereto, he cauſed three hundred of the inhabitants, who were ſuſpected of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, to be ſeized and carried away; after which they ſailed to the iſland of *Melos*, which, though but ſmall and of inconſiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obſtinacy againſt the *Athenians*; the general contented himſelf with beſieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned his ſiege into a blockade, and, leaving a conſiderable body of forces in his lines here, returned to *Athens*. *Philocrates* the ſon of *Endemus*, being afterwards ſent with ſupplies to the camp before *Melos*, reduced the place to ſuch diſtreſs, that the inhabitants yielded at diſcretion; whereupon the *Athenians* put every man who was able to bear arms to the ſword, and carried the women and children captives to *Athens*. *Thucydides* and *Plutarch* both mention this extraordinary act of ſeverity, but they differ pretty much with reſpect to the circumſtances attending it; *Thucydides* ſpeaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obſtinate defence of the inhabitants of *Melos*; *Plutarch* ſays, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of *Athens*, which, if it was not propoſed, was at leaſt promoted, by *Alcibiades*; *Diodorus Siculus* relates this fact alſo, but generally, and without any circumſtances at all. The *Athenians* from *Pylus* made various incurſions into *Laconia*, which the *Lacedæmonians* did not reſent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their ſubjects to make repriſals on the *Athenians*. As to affairs in *Macedonia*, they received no very material alteration, except that the *Athenians* made ſome incurſions into the territories of king *Perdiccas*; theſe were the events of the ſixteenth year of the war [h].

The *Athenians* determined in the beginning of this year to ſend a fleet and a great army into *Sicily*, the occaſion this; the *Egeſtines*, conceiving themſelves exceedingly ill treated by their countrymen, ſent to deſire aid from the *Athenians*; their embaſſadors arrived the year before, but as no reſolution was taken, or at leaſt put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole ſtory at once. *Alcibiades* and his faction were of opinion, that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the *Athenians* ought readily to embrace an opportunity of conquering *Sicily*; for with them, to invade and to conquer were ſynonymous terms, that from thence they might paſs over to *Afric*, and reduce *Carthage* and *Lybia* under their dominion; after which they intended to conquer *Italy*. People of ſenſe ſaw the madneſs of theſe ſchemes, but durſt not oppoſe them; *Nicias* alone, though he was held the moſt timorous man in *Athens*, had the courage to oppoſe both the nobility and the people, and to ſet all things forth in their true light. He ſaid, that *Athens* had already as much work upon her hands as ſhe could do, that a breach with *Sparta* was inevitable, that the war muſt of conſequence be carried on in all parts of *Greece*, and that fleets and armies ſufficient for this purpoſe would try the utmoſt ſtrength of *Athens*. That *Sicily* was not ſo eaſy a conqueſt as many apprehended, ſince it was a very populous iſland, and its inhabitants remarkable both for prudence and valour. That the *Carthaginians*, who were by far more powerful than the *Athenians*, had in vain attempted to reduce this iſland, and that in caſe the *Athenians* could prevail, it would be found no eaſy taſk to preſerve their conqueſt againſt the united power of the *Sicilians* and all their other enemies in *Greece*. His diſcourſe, however, had no manner of weight, the *Athenians*, deluded by their own embaſſadors, who reported ſtrange things of the wealth of the *Egeſtines*, decreed, that a fleet ſhould be ſent to their aſſiſtance with a land-army on board, naming *Nicias* for the general, and giving him *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* for his colleagues. Nothing

[g] Thucyd. Diodor. & Plut. ubi. ſupra. [h] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

a Nothing could give greater uneaſineſs to any man, than this nomination did to *Nicias*; he repreſented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that ſort, by giving the generals abſolute authority to do whatever ſeemed to them moſt proper for the ſervice of the ſtate. While theſe preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city in confuſion; the *Hermæ*, i. e. *the ſtatues of Mercury*, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be diſcovered, notwithſtanding a Proclamation offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in conſequence of a clauſe therein, inviting any perſon, of what condition ſoever, to diſcover former
b ſacrileges, ſome ſervants and ſlaves depoſed, that a long time before, certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed ſome religious myſteries, and that *Alcibiades* was amongſt them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a proſecution againſt him, to which *Alcibiades* readily offered to anſwer, aſſerting his innocence, and proteſting againſt accuſations brought in his abſence; but his enemies, being determined to deſtroy him, procured others to move, that for the preſent he ſhould have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial ſhould be aſſigned him; to which propoſition he very unwillingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped on this occaſion conſiſted of a hundred gallies, but they were better provided than any the *Athenians* had ever ſent to ſea before, and
c when joined by their allies at *Corcyra*, made up a hundred and thirty-four gallies; of heavy-armed troops there were five thouſand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were *Athenian* volunteers. This great fleet ſtaid ſome time at *Corcyra* in order to ſend ſome light frigates to the coaſt of *Sicily*, and to take proper meaſures with their allies for the debarkment of the forces. At *Corcyra* the generals differed, *Nicias*, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far leſs powerful than they had been repreſented, inclined to ſend only a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips to their relief. *Alcibiades* alledged, that it would be highly diſhonourable for the *Athenians*, after fitting out a fleet at ſuch an immenſe expence, to content themſelves with ſending only a part of it to perform what the whole
d was deſigned for; *Lamachus* differed in opinion from them both, he ſaid, that, their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to conſider what could be done againſt their enemies; and as an army was always moſt terrible at firſt, before the minds of the ſoldiers were diſcouraged by hardſhips and fatigues, he gave his vote for ſailing directly for *Syracuſe*, landing their troops as near it as poſſible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at laſt, however, he came over to the opinion of *Alcibiades*, after which the fleet ſailed for *Sicily*, where the army was landed, and with much ado took poſſeſſion of *Catana*; from thence they made ſome excurſions, but with little ſucceſs. But long they had not been in this iſland before orders from *Athens* arrived, directing *Alcibiades* to return and abide his trial, the
e city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the *Mercuries*. It was a ſtate-trick plaid off by the enemies of *Alcibiades* to ruin the mighty intereſt he had in *Athens*; to the ſame end they gave out, that he had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that he had purſued the *Argives* to undertake ſomething to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended, that the cauſing him to be arreſted in ſight of his army might produce great commotions therein, thoſe who were ſent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to diſcover by any means the ſevere reſolution taken againſt him. They executed their commiſſion very exactly, ſo that *Alcibiades* and thoſe of his army, who were accuſed as
f well as he, had not any ſuſpicion; but in the courſe of their voyage, gathering from the ſeamen ſomewhat of what was intended, and being informed, that a perſon out of fear of death had acknowledged himſelf guilty and impeached them, they wiſely determined not to truſt an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, but to provide for their own ſafety, by withdrawing as ſoon as they had an opportunity; which offering itſelf quickly after, they gave their convoy the ſlip, and retired to ſuch parts of *Greece*, as, out of hatred to the *Athenians*, were moſt like to give them ſhelter; as for *Alcibiades*, he afterwards went to *Sparta*, and was well received there. The army in *Sicily* took this proceeding very heavily, however, the command devolving on *Nicias*, he managed it the beſt he could, as well for the ſake of his own honour, as from the apprehenſions he was under of being accuſed, in caſe any

accident happened; for, having a juſt idea of the temper of his countrymen, he a
dreaded above all things a proſecution before the people, who heard accuſations
willingly, and believed the moſt juſt defences but ſlowly. By a ſtratagem he and
his collegue *Lamachus* brought their army near *Syracuſe*, and afterwards engaged
the inhabitants of that city to make a ſally, wherein they ſuffered ſome loſs, and
grew in great fear of an enemy whom hitherto they had in a manner deſpiſed; the
Athenians, however, retired, and took their winter-quarters at *Catana*. In the interim
the *Syracuſians*, by the advice of *Hermocrates*, ſent deputations to *Sparta* and
Corinth to deſire aid againſt the *Athenians*, while themſelves wrought hard
in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waſte the country in
the neighbourhood of the *Athenian* camp. The moderation of *Nicias* and the b
complacency of *Lamachus*, a well-diſpoſed man and an excellent officer, but little
eſteemed by the *Athenian* people becauſe he was poor, drew many of the cities of
Sicily to ſide with them, ſo that at laſt the iſland was divided into two factions, the
one friends, the other enemies, to the ſtate of *Athens*; as for the *Syracuſians*, who
were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the ſuccours they had
demanded from *Greece*; the *Corinthians* readily promiſed and ſent them aſſiſtance, and
alſo ſent embaſſadors to *Sparta* to co-operate with thoſe whom the *Syracuſians* had ſent
thither; but the *Spartans*, not caring to offend the *Athenians* further, heſitated much
at their propoſitions, till *Alcibiades* informed them of the *Athenian* deſigns; then they
diſpatched *Gylippus* with a ſmall body of troops to aſſiſt the *Syracuſians*, and at the c
ſame time determined to renew the war with *Athens* and to invade *Attica* itſelf; this
was the firſt ſtep to the ruin of *Athens*, for by the perſuaſion of the ſame perſon they
determined to fortify *Decelea* a caſtle in *Attica*, which hindered the inhabitants of *Athens*
from returning from their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their ſupplies
from their ſilver mines at *Laurium*, and ſerved as a receptacle for all the malecontents,
and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is ſtrange, that this was ne-
ver thought of before, and that it ſhould be reſolved on now at the recommendation
of *Alcibiades*, who in a ſhort time had gained as great or greater credit at *Sparta* than
he had ever at *Athens*. He procured this confidence by addicting himſelf to their
cuſtoms, by conforming to them in his dreſs and manner of living, and in ſhort d
by throwing off every thing which ſeemed to ſpeak him an *Athenian*, and going
more heartily than any of the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves did into ſuch meaſures as had
a direct tendency to their deſtruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in
Sicily being much weakened, the generals ſent to demand a ſupply of money and
horſemen, which the *Athenians* readily decreed; this was the ſeventeenth year after
the commencement of the *Peloponneſian* war [i].

Nicias, having received the ſuccours he demanded, ſailed to *Syracuſe*, where he had
ſeveral rencounters with the townſmen, but had the better of them in all; the *Athe-*
nian fleet ſailing into the haven of *Syracuſe*, a very briſk action happened, in which
Lamachus was killed; after which *Nicias*, cauſing new works to be thrown up be- e
fore the place, ſtreightened the *Syracuſians* ſo much, that they thought of capitu-
lating, but in the interim *Gylippus* with his *Spartan* ſuccours arrived. In *Greece*, the
Athenians, in ſupport of their allies the *Argives*, invaded the territory of *Epidaurus*,
and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful man-
ner, ſubſiſted between them and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Gylippus*, by dint of conduct,
defeated the deſigns of *Nicias* againſt *Syracuſe*, who notwithſtanding began to form
new projects, and to exert his utmoſt ſkill, though in a very bad ſtate of health,
for furthering the *Athenian* affairs in that iſland. New ſupplies were in the mean time
decreed to him at *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon* being joined in commiſſion
with him, the latter ſailed in the midſt of winter with ten gallies and a great ſum f
of money into *Sicily*; *Demoſthenes* remained behind, being employed in providing
all things neceſſary for a great fleet, which was to be ſent thither in the ſpring.
A ſmall one in the mean time, conſiſting of twenty gallies, was ſent to cruize on the
coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and theſe were all the remarkable things which happened in the
eighteenth year of the war [k].

EARLY in the ſpring, *Agis* king of *Sparta*, at the head of a very numerous
army of *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and other nations of *Peloponneſus*, invaded
Attica, and, according to the advice which *Alcibiades* had given, ſeized and, fortified
Decelea.

[i] THUCYD. lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. xiii. PLUT. vit. Alcibiad. & Niciæ. [k] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

a *Decelea*, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from *Athens* and the frontiers of *Bœotia*. In the mean time, the *Athenians* ſeemed leſs concerned for their own ſafety than for their conqueſts in *Sicily*; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ſhips to be equipped for ſpoiling the coaſts of *Peloponneſus*, at the ſame time that they ſent *Demoſthenes* with ſixty of their own gallies and five belonging to the iſland of *Chios* to ſupport *Nicias*, and to carry on effectually the war againſt the *Syracuſians*, who about this time received a powerful ſuccour from the *Peloponneſians*. When *Demoſthenes* arrived, he found things in a very declining way, *Nicias* having ſometime before ſuſtained ſome loſs at ſea, wherewith himſelf and his army were much diſpirited, though it had been occaſioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little
b regard to the general's orders. *Demoſthenes*, who commanded the ſupply, affected to cenſure *Nicias*'s conduct, as if he had wanted activity, and was not at all deſirous of carrying on the war; to ſhew therefore of how different a diſpoſition himſelf was, he would cauſe *Epipolæ* to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad ſucceſs; for all ſpeaking the ſame language, they were unable to diſtinguiſh foe from friend, ſo that a mighty ſlaughter happened, which exceedingly weakened the *Athenian* fleet. *Demoſthenes* was then for ſailing away as faſt as poſſible, conceiving that, ſince himſelf could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in *Sicily*; *Nicias* on the contrary inſiſted poſitively on continuing the ſiege, *Eurymedon* joined with *Demoſthenes*, but *Nicias* could not be prevailed on to depart
c from his ſentiment; which was, that the *Athenians*, having once ſat down before a town, ought not to riſe without taking it. The true motive, however, to his obſtinate behaviour was his old apprehenſions of the people of *Athens*; he remembered how they baniſhed two generals for coming from *Sicily* before, though they had all the reaſon in the world for what they did; he choſe therefore to truſt fortune, ſickneſs, and the enemy, rather than the people of *Athens*. Yet when they received certain intelligence, that *Gylippus*, with a body of *Spartans* and other *Peloponneſian* troops, was arrived, *Nicias* agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were iſſued to the army; but juſt as they were ready to retire, an eclipſe
d of the moon happened, which terrified *Nicias*, who was a very ſuperſtitious man, ſo much, that he would needs keep the army there ſeven and twenty days longer. The *Syracuſians*, as ſoon as they were informed of this, attacked the *Athenian* camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and ſea. At laſt a naval engagement happened, in which *Eurymedon* was ſlain; and though *Gylippus* and his ſquadron were beaten, in conſequence of which the *Athenians* erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worſt of it, ſince the *Syracuſians* and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to ſhut them up in the port. *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes*, ſeeing the miſerable condition in which they were, concluded at laſt to draw their forces into a ſmaller camp nearer their ſhips, that they might be at hand to aſſiſt each other; and when this was done, they reſolved to venture another
e engagement at ſea, in hopes of breaking through; but in caſe they were ſo unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themſelves to burn their veſſels, and to march over land to *Catana*; according to this reſolution they attacked the *Syracuſians* in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and reſolution, the land armies being ſpectators on both ſides. This was the moſt bloody battle, and by far the moſt obſtinate which the *Athenians* had ever fought; in it they ſunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themſelves ſo much weakened, that tho' the generals reſolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men abſolutely refuſed to go on board, alledging, that it was impoſſible for them to undergo two ſervices at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which
f if they had done, it is very probable they might have eſcaped; but being deceived by the induſtry of *Hermocrates*, they put it off till the third day after. *Nicias* with his troops led the van, *Demoſthenes* brought up the rear, but the *Syracuſians* preſſed ſo hard upon them, that *Demoſthenes* was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but, the *Syracuſians* ſurrounding him, and many of his men beginning to deſert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having ſtipulated that none of his men ſhould be put to death on any pretence whatſoever, he and his troops to the number of ſix thouſand yielded up their arms and became priſoners. The next day the *Syracuſians* overtook *Nicias*, who thereupon encamped on an eminence, and diſpoſed all things for making the beſt defence he could; *Gylippus* immediately ſent to inform him that *Demoſthenes* had ſurrendered, and adviſed

him

him to do the like, which he refuſed ; but he offered to give hoſtages for the re- a
payment of the expence of the war to the *Syracuſians*, if they would ſuffer him and
his army to retire ; but this was refuſed him, whereupon he continued his march
fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river *Aſinarus*, where the ſoldiers, throw-
ing themſelves in without any order, miſerably deſtroyed each other, and were at
the ſame time killed without mercy by the enemy, ſo that they periſhed by hun-
dreds, without making any effort for their lives. *Nicias* himſelf ſurrendered to
Gylippus. When the *Syracuſians* returned to the city, the *Sicilians* preſſed violently
to have the generals put to death, which the *Lacedæmonians*, and eſpecially *Gylip-*
pus, oppoſed as much as they were able, out of generoſity with regard to *De-* b
moſthenes, who was the moſt bitter enemy of the *Spartans*, and who, as we have
before ſhewn, projected the ſeizing of *Pylus* ; out of gratitude with reſpect to
Nicias, who had ever been a friend to *Lacedæmon*, and who had been the chief
author of the peace. At laſt, if we may believe *Thucydides*, the *Syracuſians* prevailed,
and *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* were put to death. *Plutarch* ſays, they killed them-
ſelves in priſon (M). Of the ſoldiers, who were made priſoners, numbers were put
to death, many ſent to work in the quarries, and a very few returned by ſtealth to
the ſea-ports, and from thence made their eſcapes to *Athens*. This was the end of
the *Sicilian* war, wherein the *Athenians* loſt not the conqueſt they aimed at, or that
reputation which they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and
their generals. When advice of theſe loſſes came to *Athens*, they were for a long c
time not believed ; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew
very angry with thoſe who had adviſed the war, and with ſuch as had pretended
to publiſh prophecies and oracles in favour of it ; they reſolved, however, to take
all neceſſary meaſures for ſupporting the dignity of the ſtate, to leave the adminiſtra-
tion of affairs to grave and wiſe perſons, to live with greater frugality at home, and
to treat their confederates better abroad ; the expediency of theſe reſolutions appeared
ſuddenly, for as ſoon as the news of the defeat in *Sicily* was ſpread throughout *Greece*,
all ſuch as had been confederates with *Athens* began to ſhew their diſlike of her,
while

(M) The character and ſervices of *Nicias* are ſuf-
ficiently ſettled in the text ; here therefore we ſhall
ſpeak only of his misfortunes, which were derived
from the fear of the people and his ſuperſtition ;
he carried with him into *Sicily* one *Stilbides* a phi-
loſopher, who had weaned him from many of his
follies, and had poſſibly ſaved him at laſt, if he had
lived ; but happening to die ſometime before the
laſt defeat at *Syracuſe*, *Nicias* had no body about him
who could account for an eclipſe of the moon ;
for as to eclipſes of the ſun, *Pericles* had put their
being ominous out of every body's head by an action
mentioned in note K. In their laſt retreat, *Nicias*
in the midſt of his misfortunes behaved with the
greateſt dignity and compoſure ; after he was taken
priſoner, perceiving that the *Syracuſians* continued
ſtill to maſſacre his ſoldiers, though they were ab-
ſolutely in their power ; he threw himſelf at the
feet of *Gylippus*, whom he addreſſed in theſe words:
In the midſt of victory, O Gylippus, *ſuffer yourſelf to
be touched with pity, not of me, whom an exceſs of
miſery has made famous, but of thoſe unhappy* Athe-
nians. *Conſider, that fortune is never ſo changeable as
in war, and do not forget how the* Athenians, *whene-
ver they get the better of the* Lacedæmonians, *always
uſed their victories with moderation and generoſity.*
The *Lacedæmonian*, moved at this, raiſed up *Nicias*,
and gave orders that the ſlaughter ſhould ceaſe, but
thoſe orders were very indifferently obeyed, many
hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ
exceedingly about the melancholy cataſtrophe of this
great man. *Thucydides* ſays, that the *Syracuſians*,
againſt *Gylippus*'s will, put *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes*
to death, or, as the word literally ſignifies, cut their
throats. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Timæus* wrote,
that *Hermocrates* ſent the generals word that the
Syracuſians would put them to death, and that
thereupon they flew themſelves. *Diodorus Siculus*
is ſtill wider from *Thucydides* than any of the reſt,
for he makes *Gylippus* the author of their death,
againſt the will of the wiſeſt of the *Syracuſians*, and
has inſerted an oration of his to that purpoſe. *Juſtin*
from *Trogus Pompeius* ſays, that *Demoſthenes* flew
himſelf, but that *Nicias* ſubmitted, and was made
priſoner ; undoubtedly *Thucydides* deſerves moſt
credit ; with his account of the matter therefore
we will cloſe this note : " *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes*
" they killed againſt *Gylippus*'s will. For *Gylippus*
" thought the victory would be very honourable,
" if, over and above all his other ſucceſs, he could
" carry home both the generals of the enemy to
" *Lacedæmon*. And it fell out, that one of them,
" *Demoſthenes*, was their greateſt enemy, for the
" things he had done in the iſland and at *Pylus* ;
" and the other upon the ſame occaſion their great-
" eſt friend. For *Nicias* had greatly laboured to have
" thoſe priſoners which were taken in the iſland to
" be ſet at liberty, by perſuading the *Athenians*
" to peace : For which cauſe the *Lacedæmonians*
" were inclined to love him. And it was princi-
" pally in confidence of that, that he rendered
" himſelf to *Gylippus*. But certain *Syracuſians* (as
" it is reported ; ſome of them for fear (becauſe
" they had been tampering with him) leſt being
" put to the torture he might bring them into
" trouble, whereas they were now well enough ;
" and others (eſpecially the *Corinthians*) fearing he
" might get away, by corruption of one or other
" (being wealthy), and work them ſome miſchief
" afreſh, having perſuaded their confederates to the
" ſame, killed him. For theſe, or for cauſes near
" unto theſe, was he put to death, being the man,
" that of all the *Grecians* of my time had leaſt de-
" ſerved to be brought to ſo great a degree of
" miſery (93)".

(93) *Thucyd. lib.* vii. *prop. fin.* *Diodor. lib.* xiii. *Plut. in vit. Nic. Juſtin, lib.* iv. c. 5

a while the *Lacedæmonians* were preparing by all means whatsoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The *Athenians* caused the promontory of *Sunium* to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vast quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war. In the beginning of the next year, the *Chians* sought to revolt from *Athens*, and to put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a view to which they sent privately embassadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promised to send such a fleet as might protect them; but this promise was easier made than kept, and besides, the *Athenians* got notice of it in the mean-time, and sent a fleet to *Chios*. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that island
b with their perfidy, which they stifly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of *Chios* knew nothing of what had been transacted with the *Lacedæmonians*. But the *Athenian* general, to put the business out of dispute, insisted, that they should send their quota to join the fleet of *Athens*, whereupon they were constrained to fit out immediately seven gallies, and to send them as he directed. After this the *Athenians* had several small successes at sea, which not a little discouraged the *Peloponnesians*, who would shortly have lost all their resolution, if *Alcibiades* had not exerted his eloquence to persuade them to carry on the war. He advised them to send him with a small fleet to *Ionia*, where he promised to engage the cities to revolt from the *Athenians*, and to negotiate a league between *Sparta* and the great king, from
c whence he assured them, that such advantages would be derived as must effectually sink their rival. The *Lacedæmonians* coming at last into his measures, he passed over, as he had proposed, into *Ionia*, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promised, which struck the *Athenians* with such a panic, that they instantly ordered a thousand talents, which had hitherto been reserved untouched, to be laid out in the service of the war, for which also they made other great preparations. As soon as they were able they sent several squadrons of ships to sea, with directions to reduce, first of all, such places as had revolted, and then to act generally against the *Peloponnesians*; most of these squadrons were successful, so that *Lesbos*, *Clazomene*, and other places, which, upon the prospect of the downfal of *Athens*, had revolted from
d her, were constrained to fall under her dominion again. *Alcibiades* in the mean-time acquitted himself well to the *Lacedæmonians*, by drawing *Tissaphernes* the king of *Persia*'s lieutenant into a league with them. The *Spartans*, however, were displeased with the terms thereof, and sought to have them altered, which gave the *Persians* much distaste. The hatred which *Agis* had conceived against *Alcibiades*, for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he persuaded the *Lacedæmonians* to send orders to their general in *Ionia* to put the *Athenian* to death, notwithstanding all the service he had done their state. *Alcibiades*, gaining some intelligence of this, retired to *Tissaphernes*, and laying aside the *Lacedæmonian*, as he had formerly done the *Athenian*, he became now a perfect *Persian*; and, by the
e politeness of his address, gained so much on *Tissaphernes*, who was a professed enemy to the *Greeks*, that he stiled his gardens of pleasure, after he had been at vast expence in adorning them, *Alcibiades*, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the *Athenian* perceived, that *Tissaphernes* placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a just light into the affairs of *Greece*; he told him, it was not for the interest of the *Persian* king that *Athens* should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, that she and *Sparta* might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the *Greeks* might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his master; but if it should at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he advised him to trust *Athens*, because she would be content with the dominion of the sea; whereas the pride of
f the *Spartans* would always instigate them to new conquests, and especially excite a desire of setting all the *Greek* cities at liberty. For the present he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promised to the *Peloponnesian* seamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as also to countermand the order given to the *Phœnician* fleet to join that of *Peloponnesus*. When *Tissaphernes* had given into these councils, *Alcibiades* privately wrote to some of the officers of the *Athenian* army which lay at *Samos*, intimating, that he was now treating with the *Persian* on their behalf, adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was abolished. The reason offered by him to engage the *Athenians* to this proceeding, was, that the *Persian* king liked not a democracy, but would immediately trust and assist *Athens*, if the government was put into the hands of a

few. *Phrynicus* the *Athenian* general, having a great antipathy to *Alcibiades*, a and dreading his return, reſolved to let nothing ſlip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion againſt the propoſition which *Alcibiades* had made, but alſo diſcovered it to *Aſtyochus* who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* troops; this man, being brought over to the intereſt of *Tiſſapernes*, revealed *Phrynicus*'s treachery; *Alcibiades* upon this wrote again to his correſpondents at *Samos*, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. *Phrynicus*, when he had information of this, wrote a ſecond time to *Aſtyochus*, reproaching him with betraying him and diſcovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithſtanding to betray the army he commanded at *Samos*, which lay in an open town, to the *Lacedæmonians*; which piece of intelligence *Aſtyochus* b inſtantly revealed to *Alcibiades*. *Phrynicus* being aware of this, told his ſoldiers, that the *Lacedæmonians* were about to attack them by land and ſea, and that therefore they ſhould throw up with all diligence a ſtrong intrenchment round the town to defend themſelves, which immediately they did, ſo that, when *Alcibiades* wrote again concerning *Phrynicus*'s ſecond treachery, his letters were diſbelieved, becauſe the general had taken ſuch care for their ſafety. Such were the chieftains of *Greece* in theſe times, how unlike thoſe who broke the power of *Perſia*, and abandoned their country rather than live in it in a ſtate of dependence? the *Athenians*, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of *Piſander* and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propoſitions of *Alcibiades*, diſſolved the democracy, in de- c fence of which they had ſo often and bravely fought, or rather reſolved to diſſolve it, for it ſtood yet a ſmall time. The iſſue of their preſent debates was, that *Piſander* with ten deputies ſhould return and treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tiſſaphernes*, that it might be known on what terms the king of *Perſia*'s friendſhip might be depended on; and in caſe they were reaſonable to declare, that the *Athenians* would veſt the ſovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival *Alcibiades* diſcovered, that *Tiſſa-phernes* did not incline to help the *Athenians* at preſent on any terms, becauſe they had been lately ſucceſsful, and *Alcibiades*, himſelf had taught him to help always the weaker party; when *Alcibiades* perceived this, he ſet up ſuch high demands in the name of the *Perſian*, that the *Athenians* themſelves broke off the treaty, where- d by he preſerved both their friendſhip and that of *Tiſſaphernes*. When *Piſander* and his collegues came to the army at *Samos*, they engaged them to favour the ſcheme for the alteration of government, and procured a commiſſion to themſelves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of *Athens*. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almoſt done their work without them, partly by cajoling the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms aſſaſſinating, ſuch as were ſtanch friends to the people. It was at firſt propoſed, that only the dregs of the people ſhould loſe their authority, which was to be veſted in five thouſand of the moſt wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when *Piſander* and his aſſociates found the ſtrength e of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time *Oropus*, a ſtrong city on the borders of *Bœotia*, revolted from the *Athenians*, whereby all *Eubœa* was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being deſirous to revolt, and the diſturbances at *Athens* giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time the twentieth year ended of the *Peloponneſian* war [k].

When *Piſander* and his aſſociates firſt came from the army, they accuſed *Phryni-cus* to the *Athenians*, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of conſummate parts and prudence, and, according to *Thucydides*, as honeſt as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in ſettling an oligarchy, *Alcibiades* would be afraid to truſt it; there was likewiſe at *Athens* one *Antiphon*, a man of ſuch mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to ſuch a degree, that he was conſtrained to avoid ſpeaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man deviſed a new frame of government, and having communicated it to *Piſander*, they contrived together a method whereby to eſtabliſh it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, propoſed, that ten men ſhould be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, theſe ten appointed an aſſembly of the people at *Colonus*, a place without

[k] Thucyd. lib vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, vit. Alcibiad.

a without the city. When they came together there, inſtead of propoſing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, *That every* Athenian *might ſpeak his mind freely*, i. e. *without danger from any of the laws*; which being aſſented to, *Piſander* produced his ſcheme, which was, that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five *Prytanes* might be elected; that theſe five ſhould chuſe a hundred; that each of the hundred ſhould chuſe three; that the four hundred thus elected ſhould become a ſenate with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only, when and on ſuch matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of *Athens*, which was grown into diſlike with the people, who were notwithſtanding not over-fond of the new; but thoſe who were for it, being b ſuch as were men of great parts, found means to eſtabliſh it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his veſt, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered ſuddenly into the ſenate-houſe, diſſolved the old ſenate, paid them their ſalary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were conſtrained to ſubmit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new ſenate choſe *Prytanes*, or preſidents, out of their own body, and began to eſtabliſh themſelves after the mode of moſt new governments, by blood, bonds, and baniſhment; yet theſe ſeverities, though they were illegal, were not exceſſive, and, as ſoon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They c ſent embaſſadors to *Agis*, who lay with the *Lacedæmonian* army at *Decelea*, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the *Spartans* might better rely on them than on the democracy; but *Agis* was of another opinion, he could not imagine, that the *Athenians*, who had ſtickled ſo much for democracy, would ſubmit patiently to an oligarchy, eſtabliſhed rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no anſwer to the embaſſadors ſent by the four hundred, but having ſignified his thoughts of the matter to the *Lacedæmonians*, procured a great recruit to be ſent him into *Attica*. On the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he marched boldly to *Athens*, not at all queſtioning, but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raiſe a ſedition on his approach, and d either ſubvert the government, or ſo weaken and diſtract the city, that the *Lacedæmonians* might eaſily take it; but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, for the people of *Athens*, when he approached their walls, and ſent ſome advance-parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with ſuch order and intrepidity, that *Agis*, after receiving ſome loſs, was conſtrained to retire again to his old poſt, from whence he ſent back the laſt forces he received to *Lacedæmon*. After this the four hundred ſent embaſſadors to him again, concerning whoſe negotiations we can ſay nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the army at *Samos* were generally inclined to democracy, ſent ten deputies thither e to appeaſe them, by perſuading them, that the government, now ſubſiſting at *Athens*, was only the beſt ſort of democracy, the dernier reſort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thouſand, a larger number than had ever aſſembled while the power was in the people; but theſe deputies were hardly gone from *Athens* before deputies of the army arrived there, ſignifying, that they had reſtored the democracy at *Samos*, and that they were reſolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred ſent ſome of theſe deputies to priſon; but one *Carias* who came from the army made his eſcape and got thither again, making a frightful report of the ſtate of things at *Athens*; upon which a ſedition enſued, that might have been very fatal to the ſtate; but moderate men interpoſing, the generals f *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus* contented themſelves with taking an oath of all the ſoldiers to do their utmoſt to reſtore the power to the people, to fight againſt the *Peloponneſians* and other enemies of *Athens*, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correſpondence with, the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be ſteady in the meaſures they had taken, by repreſenting to them, that they had not deſerted their city, but their city them; that their ſtrength was ſuperior to any that could be ſent againſt them by the four hundred, and that queſtionleſs on the public faith *Alcibiades* would come to them, and procure them aid from *Tiſſaphernes* and the king. Theſe diſcourſes had their effect, the ſoldiers came unanimouſly into all that was required of them, choſe new officers that might be depended on, and when g their generals required it, went and offered battle to the *Peloponneſians*. At the requeſt

of

of *Thraſybulus* they recalled *Alcibiades*, who, on his arrival, made a moſt eloquent
ſpeech to the army, ſhewing them the true ſource of his misfortunes, the injuſtice of
their countrymen, and the great danger of the ſtate. Above all things he magnified
the power and good will of *Tiſſaphernes*, though he knew he had little authority for
it, yet he could not be ſaid to deceive his countrymen, becauſe by this very method
he compelled *Tiſſaphernes* to become their friend, inſtilling ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy into
the *Peloponneſians*, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with con-
fidence or civility. The ſoldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general
with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them,
talked of nothing but ſailing directly to *Athens*, and reſtoring the ancient form of go-
vernment there. *Alcibiades* oppoſed this extravagant meaſure, he told the ſoldiers,
that, ſince they had choſen him their general, he muſt return to *Tiſſaphernes* in order to
diſpoſe things for the making a ſpeedy end of the war. The army came readily
into this, as they did into every thing he deſired of them, and he departed accord-
ingly; when he came to *Tiſſaphernes*, he gave him to underſtand, that matters were
now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the *Athenians* to be either great
friends, or very troubleſome enemies, to the ſubjects of the king, and that, whether
they ſhould be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus
he made himſelf formidable to the *Perſians* by boaſting of the *Athenian* power, and
neceſſary to the *Athenians* by the diſplay of his intereſt with the *Perſians*. As to
the *Peloponneſians*, their affairs went wrong every-where, and all through the pro-
curement of *Alcibiades*; their army mutinied and forced their general to fly to a
ſanctuary; *Tiſſaphernes* with-held their pay and deluded them with promiſes of a
fleet; they on the other hand diſtruſted *Tiſſaphernes*, and neither knew what mea-
ſures to take, nor whom to truſt. When *Alcibiades* came back to the *Athenian* army,
he diſpoſed them to hear reaſon, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it.
The deputies from *Athens* had ſtayed all this while at *Delos*, being afraid of going to
the army, as indeed they well might, the ſoldiers having paſſed a vote to put them
to death. On the motion of *Alcibiades*, however, they were allowed to come and
deliver their meſſage; but no ſooner had they done this, than the army cried out as
vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourſe with the tyrants, but ſail to
Athens and reſtore the government; but *Alcibiades* ſtill interpoſed, he ſhewed, that, if
ſuch a courſe was taken, all *Ionia* and the *Helleſpont* would be immediately loſt, ſo
that if they pretended to be true patriots, they muſt remain where they were and
defend the dominions of the ſtate. To the deputies he gave this anſwer, that
they ſhould immediately return to *Athens*, and acquaint the four hundred, that they
were commanded to reſign their power and to reſtore the ſenate they had ejected;
that as to the five thouſand, they might retain their authority, provided they uſed
it with moderation, and that they ſhould remember to look well to the concerns of
their country at home, ſince, if they betrayed *Attica*, or the army deſerted *Athens*,
a reconciliation would not reſtore the miſchiefs ſuch wrong ſteps might create. On
the return of theſe deputies to *Athens*, all things were in confuſion, few regarding the
public, almoſt all anxious for their particular intereſt. *Phrynicus*, knowing upon what
terms he ſtood with *Alcibiades*, laboured to maintain the government in being; while
others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the ſtronger
party, and that they might make a proper uſe of their ſtrength, they diſpatched
away embaſſadors to *Sparta*, deſiring peace upon any terms; they likewiſe ordered
the *Pyræum* to be fortified towards the ſea, upon which *Theramenes*, who was at
the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to
the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty
Peloponneſian ſhips upon the coaſt; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hun-
dred ſought firſt to maintain themſelves in the ſovereignty they had acquired; but if
that could not be done, to preſerve at leaſt the city under their dominion; and in
caſe that likewiſe failed, to make a compoſition for themſelves by giving it up to
the *Peloponneſians*; for at all events they were reſolved to prevent a popular govern-
ment from being reſtored, not doubting, that, if once that was done, they ſhould
fall victims. *Phrynicus*, who was ſent at the head of the embaſſy to *Sparta*, being
able to affect nothing, returned, and on his return was ſtabbed in the forum; after
which *Theramenes* and his party, growing bolder, ſeized the chiefs of the four hun-
dred, upon which a tumult enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the
city, had not *Thucydides* the *Pharſalian* interpoſed, and engaged the people to be
quiet.

a quiet. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted on demoliſhing the new works in the port, which for the ſake of ſafety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, tho' in great fear, aſſembled in the ſenate-houſe, and ſent ſome of the members to appeaſe the people, promiſing to ſet all things right and to make every thing eaſy; in order to which, they propoſed that they ſhould be allowed to chuſe five thouſand men, who ſhould elect four hundred by turns to govern the ſtate, beſeeching their country-men not to deſtroy themſelves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that, at a day certain, a general aſſembly ſhould be convoked for ſettling the ſtate, but when that day came and the aſſemby was convened, news was brought, that the *Lacedæmonian* fleet ſteered directly for *Salamis*,
b which put all things in confuſion again; for inſtead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crouds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for *Eubœa*, whither immediately a fleet from *Athens* was ſent under the command of *Thymochares*; but this fleet had little ſucceſs, for being attacked by the *Peloponneſians* without, and betrayed by the *Eretrians* on ſhore, they were miſerably defeated, twenty-two ſhips out of thirty-ſix being taken, moſt of the others deſtroyed and all *Eubœa*, except *Orcus*, revolting. When this news came to *Athens*, the wiſe and the unwiſe gave up all things for loſt, the defeat at *Sicily* ſeeming a ſmall thing to this, becauſe they had now neither fleet nor army, and
c had loſt *Eubœa*, from whence the city received greater ſupplies than from *Attica* itſelf; certain it is, that if the *Spartans* had known their own ſtrength, they would have ſailed directly to *Athens* and put an end to the war; but being always ſlow, and eſpecially ſo in naval affairs, they gave the *Athenians* time, which of all things they wanted moſt: when they had gained this, they wrought ſo hard at their gallies, that in a ſhort ſpace they equipped a fleet of twenty ſail; the power of the four hundred they aboliſhed by law, conferred the ſovereignty on the five thouſand, and acted in all other reſpects, eſpecially in recalling *Alcibiades*, with ſuch prudence, moderation, and firmneſs, that *Thucydices* thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed ſo happy a temperature as at this time. *Piſander* and the reſt
d of the vehement ſticklers for *Oligarchy* withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at *Samos*, and to the view of thoſe things which were performed in *Ionia*. *Tiſſaphernes* going to *Aſpendus*, where the *Phœnician* fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promiſes he had made to the *Peloponneſians*. *Alcibiades*, however, perſuaded the *Athenians* that he meant nothing leſs, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to paſs, ſailed with thirteen gallies to *Aſpendus*, where he held frequent conferences with the *Perſian* Lieutenant, embroiling him thereby ſo effectually with the *Peloponneſians*, and they with him, that he deſtroyed all their affairs. In his abſence an engagement happened between the *Peloponneſian* fleet under the command of *Mindarus*, which conſiſted of ſeventy-three ſail, and
e that of *Athens* under the command of *Thraſybulus*, conſiſting only of fifty-five; at firſt the *Peloponneſians* had the advantage, ſinking ſome of the *Athenian* ſhips, and running others on ſhoar; but purſuing the advantage too eagerly and breaking their line, the *Athenians* ſupplied by their great ſkill in maritime affairs their defect in force, and entirely defeated the *Peloponneſians*, taking twenty-one of their ſhips; it is true, they loſt fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, tho' dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raiſed the hopes of the *Athenians*, gave new life to their affairs, and ſaved all *Ionia* and the *Helleſpont*: A few days afterwards the *Athenians* took eight gallies coming from *Byzantium* which had revolted, pre-
f ſently after they reduced that city, and grievouſly fined its inhabitants for their diſobedience. *Alcibiades*, returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which ſquadron he conſtrained the *Halicarnaſſeans* to pay a large ſum of money, and fortified *Cos*. The news of theſe advantages coming to *Athens* mightily enlivened the people, and inſpired them with hopes of recovering *Eubœa* and putting an honourable end to the war. Theſe events fell out in in the ſummer of the twenty-firſt year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and ſure guide *Thucydides*, who concludes his hiſtory at this point of time. The hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war was continued by *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next ſeventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty-eight. *Theopompus*'s writings are ſwallowed by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preſerved by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Grecian*

history of *Xenophon* remains ſtill in our hands; from theſe materials therefore, with the aſſiſtance of *Plutarch*'s writings, we ſhall continue our memoirs of the *Athenian* affairs [1].

After the flood 2588. *Before Chriſt*, 411.

Doricus, admiral of the *Italian* gallies, paſſing to the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Helleſpont*, found the *Athenians* in his way at *Seſtos*, whereupon he fled to *Dardanum*, and landing his men endeavoured from the ſhoar to defend his ſhips, which he cauſed to be hal'd on the beach. The *Athenian* fleet, however, attack'd him, and were upon the very point of making themſelves maſters of all his gallies, when *Mindarus* the *Peloponneſian* admiral came to his aſſiſtance with a navy of eighty-four ſail. The *Athenians* thereupon relinquiſhed their firſt enterpriſe, and prepared for a general engagement, *Thraſybulus* commanding the right wing, and *Thraſyllus* the left. *Mindarus* with his *Lacedæmonian* ſhips had the right in the *Peloponneſian* fleet, and *Doneus* with the *Syracuſian* gallies were in the left, *Pharnabazus* with a *Perſian* army lay hard-by on the ſhore, on whoſe aſſiſtance the *Peloponneſians* knew they might depend. The *Athenians*, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, fought with great reſolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty ſail appeared in view, neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickned their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's gally hoiſted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to *Alcibiades*. The *Peloponneſian* fleet immediately broke and fled, the *Athenians* took ten ſhips, and, if a mighty tempeſt had not ariſen, would have taken many more. *Mindarus* was conſtrained to run his ſhips into any port, and marched with his men to join *Pharabazus*, who effectually protected them from the *Athenians*. The *Eubœans* having almoſt generally deſerted the *Athenians*, the *Bœotians* propoſed to them the joining of their country by an artificial iſthmus to the continent, to which they aſſented, and herein they ſucceeded in ſpight of the oppoſition given them by the *Athenians*, and the rapidity of the *Euripus*, *i. e.* the arm of the ſea they were to fill up. *Theramenes* the *Athenian* admiral, finding it impoſſible to hinder this deſign from taking effect, ſailed away to other places, particularly to *Paros*, reduced them again under the *Athenian* government, and levied exorbitant fines upon ſuch as, he conceived, had willingly deſerted him; after which he ſailed to join the grand fleet under the command of *Thraſybulus*. Some ſhort time after this conjunction, advice came, that *Mindarus* by the aſſiſtance of *Pharnabazus* had taken *Cyzicum* by ſtorm, upon which it was reſolved to ſail directly thither and fight them. When therefore the *Athenian* fleet had coaſted to *Cherſoneſus*, and were arrived at *Preconneſus*, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of *Chares*, directed him to march ſtrait to *Cyzicum*; as to the fleet they divided it into three ſquadrons, the firſt led by *Alcibiades*, the ſecond by *Theramenes*, and the third by *Thraſybulus*; *Alcibiades* with his ſquadron ſailed in ſight of the *Peloponneſian* fleet, upon which *Mindarus*, having with him eighty ſail, put to ſea to give him battle. *Alcibiades*, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the *Peloponneſians* purſued him with great joy, when on a ſudden *Alcibiades* made a ſignal for a new line. The *Peloponneſians*, looking about them, ſaw the ſquadrons of *Theramenes* and *Thraſybulus*, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the ſhoar; upon this, altering their courſe, they endeavoured to get into *Cleros*, a port near *Pharnabazus*'s camp; *Alcibiades* purſued them thither, ſinking and taking their ſhips all the way; when they came to the ſhoar, however, *Pharnabazus* ſent them ſuch aid, that the *Athenians* ſuffered in their turns. *Thraſybulus* then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, giving *Theramenes* orders to land alſo to join *Chares*, and to come with all ſpeed to their aid. *Alcibiades* dealt with *Mindarus* and his *Lacedæmonians*, *Thraſybulus* fought bravely againſt the reſt of the *Peloponneſians* and their *Perſian* ſuccours, notwithſtanding they were much out-numbered and were at laſt ſurrounded. In that inſtant *Theramenes* and *Chares* came in with their foot; the battle was long and obſtinately ſought, till *Mindarus* being killed, the *Perſians*, *Peloponneſians*, and *Lacedæmonians* all fled; and thus to his immortal glory *Alcibiades* gained a victory at ſea and another at land on the ſame day; and took the enemy's whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his and the remains of it could carry away. When the news of this ſucceſs reached *Athens*, the people were ready to run diſtracted; they

[1] Thucyd. lib. viii. prop. fin. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Justin. lib. 5

a they immediately levied an army of a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and ſent thirty gallies to join *Alcibiades*, from whom, as he was now maſter of the ſea, they expected all things. The *Lacedæmonians* conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the deſtruction either of the one ſtate or other, ſent *Endius* their embaſſador to *Athens* to propoſe a peace. This miniſter delivered himſelf to the aſſembly of the people, after the *Laconic* manner, in a ſhort, plain, and excellent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, that *Athens* had ſuffered, and was like to ſuffer, more than *Sparta* from this war, but inaſmuch as the evils occaſioned by war were hateful to all good men, he ſaid the *Spartans* deſired to free both themſelves and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account
b only they had ſent him to treat of peace. The people at firſt were inclined to reliſh what he ſaid, but one *Cleophon*, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a ſlave, but who had ſurreptitiouſly got his name inſerted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to ſend back *Endius* without an anſwer. This was the laſt ſtep they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuſe peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that *Alcibiades* would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had hitherto been ſo unſteady, fix herſelf now to their ſide [m].

In the beginning of the next year, *Thraſybulus*, having repulſed *Agis* king of
c *Sparta* who led an army to the gates of *Athens*, ſailed, with a great fleet, and a ſtrong body of land forces on board, to *Epheſus*, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to *Lesbos* and other places, where he had better ſucceſs. The *Spartans*, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from *Greece*, attacked *Pylus* by ſea and land, whereupon the *Athenians* ſent a ſquadron under the command of *Anytus*, but he finding the wind directly againſt him, after he had been ſome days at ſea, returned directly to *Athens*; upon which the people, according to their uſual cuſtom, condemned him to die, which ſentence, however, he commuted by paying a vaſt ſum of money, being the firſt who reverſed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time the gariſon of *Pylus*,
d after having made an obſtinate defence, rendered upon terms; and thus the *Lacedæmonians* pulled this thorn out of their ſide, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the *Megareans* ſurpriſed *Niſæa*, which ſo enraged the *Athenians*, that they immediately ſent an army into that country, though it could be of no uſe; the *Megareans*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* and ſome troops from *Sicily*, ventured a battle, wherein they were moſt ſhamefully beaten, the *Athenians* killing great numbers of them and committing horrid devaſtations in their country. In the mean time *Alcibiades*, *Thraſybulus*, and *Theramenes*, did great things in the *Helleſpont* and *Thrace*; at laſt they beſieged *Byzantium*, then well fortified, and having in it a *Lacedæmonian* garriſon under the
e command of *Clearchus*; ſome of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and let in *Alcibiades* and his army; the gariſon, however, and ſuch of the *Byzantines* as adhered to them, made ſo gallant a reſiſtance, that the *Athenians* were on the point of being driven out; which when *Alcibiades* ſaw, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that the *Byzantines* ſhould be ſafe in their perſons and effects, where-upon they turned out the garriſon, which were all put to the ſword, except five hunderd who were ſent priſoners to *Athens*. This done, *Alcibiades* received *Byzantium* into favour [n].

In the beginning of the next year, *Alcibiades* and *Theramenes* returned in triumph to *Athens*, they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ſhips, and ſuch a load of
f ſpoils as had never been ſeen in *Athens* ſince the *Perſian* war. The people left their city deſtitute, that they might croud to the port to behold *Alcibiades* as he landed; old and young bleſſed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the aſſembly, they directed the record of his baniſhment to be thrown into the ſea, ordered the *Eumolpides* to abſolve him from the curſes he lay under, created him general with abſolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The ſweetneſs of his temper, his complacence towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immenſe riches he brought to the diſcharge of taxes, made the beſt of

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. 1. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Justin. lib. v. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Alcibiad. [n] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi ſupra.

of the *Athenians* ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid to him; a neither did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed when *Agis* king of *Sparta* made a bold attempt upon *Athens*; he came with an army of twenty-eight thousand men in the night to the very walls, slew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The *Athenians*, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning sent out a body of horse, equal to the cavalry of the *Peloponnesian* army; they fought under the walls and in the sight both of the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*; at last the *Athenians* prevailed, and drove the *Peloponnesian* cavalry back on their Foot, where-upon *Agis* retired, finding it impossible to prevail against the city. *Alcibiades* in the b mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of *Antiochus* his pilot, with strict orders to do nothing till his return, sailed into the *Hellespont*, to assist some of the cities which yet stood firm to the *Athenians*. When he was gone, *Antiochus*, little regarding his orders, went and provoked *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* admiral to fight, which he, finding *Alcibiades* was absent, very readily did. In this engagement the *Athenians* were beat, losing fifteen ships with *Antiochus* their commander. On the news of this defeat *Alcibiades* returned, and would have provoked *Lysander* to a second battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the *Athenians*, being persuaded that this disgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of *Alcibiades*, and listening also to certain sto- c ries they were told, that he corresponded with *Pharnabazus* and the *Lacedæmonians*, instantly stripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were *Conon*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Pericles*, the son of the famous *Pericles*. *Conon* having demanded the fleet from *Alcibiades*, he readily yielded up his command, but refused to return to *Athens*. He then with his own ship passed over into *Thrace*, built a castle for his own security, and erected a little principality in the sight of his many and potent enemies [a].

THE next year *Conon* the *Athenian* general engaged *Callacratidas* the successor of *Lysander* in a sea-fight, wherein he is said to have shewn greater conduct, than any admiral before him had done, in the disposition of his fleet; however, he was d worsted, lost thirty of his ships, and was closely besieged in *Mitylene*. News of this coming to *Athens*, the people were in great confusion; they admitted all sorts of persons to the freedom of their city, who would assist them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ships, which were sent away to *Samos*, where their fleet rendezvoused, with strict orders to relieve *Conon* at any rate. In obedience to these commands, the whole fleet, consisting of a hundred and fifty sail, bore away from *Samos*: *Callacratidas*, receiving advice thereof and leaving a force sufficient to block up the city, sailed with a hundred and fifty ships to *Malea*, a promontory of *Lesbos*. The same night that he arrived there, the *Athenian* fleet e came to *Aginusæ*, a place over against *Lesbos*. In the morning a general engagement ensued, which was fought with great obstinacy, till at last, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral being sunk, the *Athenians* gained a great victory, with the loss, however, of nineteen of their own ships with most of the men in them; but the *Peloponnesians* lost seventy-nine. It might have been expected, that the people of *Athens* would have been extremely grateful to those generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for *Theramenes* having accused his collegues of having taken no care to save the dying, or to pay the last rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them, not caring to trust the people, fled, but six of them returned home and stood their tryal, alledging, that they were hindered by a tempest from doing what they were now accused of neglecting; but *Theramenes* making a f most laboured and pathetic oration against them, in which he now and then stopped, that the cries of those who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have escaped in a meal-tub, and who deposed that the people when drowning desired, that the *Athenians* would revenge them on their generals, the people against law and reason condemned them all to death. *Socrates* the philosopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. *Dicmedon*, one of those who were condemned, rising up, desired to be heard, whereupon silence being made, he spoke thus, *We all of us wish, ye men of*

[a] THUCYD. DIODOR. ubi supar. PLUT. in vit. Alcibiad. CORN. NEP. in vit. Ejusd. JUSTIN. lib. 5.

a *of* Athens, *and wiſh it from our hearts, that the ſentence pronounced againſt us, may iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this city; but ſince we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but juſt and fit that you return thanks to* providence *for it.* They were then all haled to execution, and ſuffered like brave men, with great reſolution, calmneſs, and fortitude; their names are, *Dicmedon*, *Thraſyllus*, *Calliades*, *Lyſias*, *Ariſtocrates*, and *Pericles*, the only ſon of the famous *Pericles*. A little while after, the madneſs of the people turned the other way, *Cleophon* the demagogue, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition, upon which the reſt who had ſtirred in that affair fled, but *Calixenus*, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men was famiſhed to death [p].

b THE next year, the *Athenian* fleet aſſembled at *Samos* under the command of *Conon*, while *Lyſander* took the command of what fleet the *Peloponneſians* had left; he being unable to fight with ſo ſmall a force, and having too great a one to lye idle, ſailed firſt to *Thaſus* which he took, afterwards he ſailed to the coaſt of *Attica*, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he rturned to his old ſtation, and ſome time afterwards beſieged and took *Lampſacus*. The *Athenians* hearing of this ſailed, under the command of *Conon* and *Philocles*, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ſhips; firſt to *Seſtos*, and then to the river *Ægos* where *Lyſander* lay, daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in ſtrength, refuſed. While they remained here, the *Athenians* grew idle and careleſs, and having a
c camp near ſpent their time in revelling and drunkenneſs. *Alcibiades*, reſiding in this neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earneſtly beſought them to be more vigilant. He told them, that *Lyſander* was both a wiſe and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They anſwered, that they wondered at his aſſurance, who was an exile and vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatning, if he came any more, to ſeize him and ſend him to *Athens*; they afterwards concluded among themſelves what they ſhould do with the *Peloponneſians*, when they were take priſoners, and reſolved, at the motion of *Philocles* their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as *Plutarch* ſays, their right thumbs, that they might never
d be able to hold a ſpear, but tug at an oar. *Adiamantus*, one of their officers, could not help ſaying, that ſuch idle diſcourſe was unworthy of *Athenians*; for which they hated him. Some days after, *Lyſander*, taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in diſorder, both by ſea and land, and gained one of the moſt compleat victories recorded in hiſtory; *Conon* with eight gallies only eſcaping to *Cyprus*. Afterwards returning to *Lampſacus*, *Lyſander* put *Philocles* and three thouſand captives, with all their officers except *Adiamantus*, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced all the cities which had been under the *Athenian* power, diſmiſſing all their gariſons with great civility; that going home to *Athens*, the city might be full of
e people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to beſiege it, which ſoon after he did by Sea; while *Agis* king of *Sparta* came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the *Athenians* defended themſelves, without ſo much as demanding peace. At laſt, being ſore preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with *Agis*, but he referred them to *Sparta*; thither then they ſent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, would liſten to nothing, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. On the return of the Ambaſſadors, *Archiſtratus* propoſed complying with thoſe terms to the aſſembly, for which he was impriſoned, many preferring death to ſlavery: at length *Theramenes* undertook to treat with *Lyſander*, who after a long attendance referred him to *Sparta*, whither with ſome other deputies he was preſently ſent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates aſſembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter deſtruction of *Athens*, excepting only the *Spartans*, who declared, they would not conſent to the ruin of that city, which had ſo well deſerved of *Greece*. On the return of *Theramenes* peace was concluded upon theſe terms, that the long walls and the fortifications of the port ſhould be demoliſhed. That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips except twelve, receive all they had baniſhed, and follow the fortune of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Lyſander* cauſed the walls to be pulled down, all the muſic in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the *Per-*

[p] XENOPHON. DIODR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

ſians at *Salamis*. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed an oligarchy, expreſly againſt the will of a
the people; and thus the ruin of *Athens* ended in the twenty-ſeventh year of the *Pelo-*
ponneſian war.

As ſoon as *Lyſander* had demoliſhed the long walls and the fortifications of the *Piræum*, he conſtituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are the perſons ſo famous in hiſtory under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of *Lyſander*, mere implements of power, who, as they derived their riſe from conqueſt and the law of the ſwords, exerciſed their offices in a ſuitable manner; that is with the higheſt teſtimonies of pride, inſolence, and cruelty. Inſtead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a ſenate and magiſtrates at their will, and, that they b
might do all things without danger of controul, they ſent for a gariſon from *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of *Callidius*, upon their promiſe to pay the ſoldiers regularly. One of the firſt ſteps they took was to puniſh all informers, who by falſe accuſations had taken off honeſt men and diſturbed the ſtate; this, though ſevere, was popular, but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over *Callidius* to their party, they ſuffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage againſt the good. *Critias* and *Theramenes* were at the head of the thirty, men of the greateſt power and abilities in *Athens*; the former was ambitious and cruel without meaſure, the latter retained ſome bowels for his country; the former puſhed on all the bloody ſchemes framed c
by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always oppoſed them, at firſt with moderation, at laſt with vehemence. He ſaid, that power was given them to rule, and not to ſpoil, the common-wealth, and that it became them to act like ſhepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themſelves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being ſuch a handful of men as they were. The reſt, diſliking much the former part of his diſcourſe, catched hold of the latter, and immediately choſe out three thouſand whom they made the Repreſentatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them ſhould be put to death, but by judgment of the ſenate, thereby openly aſſuming a power d
of putting any other *Athenian* citizen to death by their own authority. A glorious uſe they made of this new-aſſumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themſelves in particular, they put to death, without cauſe, and without mercy. *Theramenes* openly oppoſing this, and abſolutely refuſing to concur in ſuch meaſures, *Critias* accuſed him to the ſenate, as a man of unſteady principles, ſometimes for the people, ſometimes againſt them, always for new things and ſtate revolutions. *Theramenes* owned, that he had ſometimes changed his meaſures, but alledged, that he had always done it to ſerve the people; he ſaid, that it was ſolely with this view that he made the peace with *Sparta* and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he e
had never oppoſed their meaſures while they cut off the wicked, but when they began to deſtroy Men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime againſt the ſtate. While *Theramenes* was ſpeaking, *Critias* withdrew, perceiving that the ſenate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what *Theramenes* had ſaid; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out that he had ſtruck *Theramenes*'s name out of the liſt of the three thouſand, that the ſenate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cauſe, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. *Theramenes*, perceiving that they intended to ſeize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midſt of the ſenate-houſe, and laying his hands thereon ſaid; *I do not ſeek refuge here, becauſe I expect* f
to eſcape death, or deſire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may intereſt the gods in bringing them to ſpeedy judgment, and thereby reſtore freedom to my country: the guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poiſon with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his laſt breath, that as they ſtruck his name out of the three thouſand they might ſtrike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, ſo that in a ſhort time ſixty of the worthieſt and moſt eminent citizens of *Athens* fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongſt theſe the moſt pitied was *Niceratus*,

Xenophon Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lysander. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ejuſd. Justin, lib. xv.

a *Niceratus* the ſon of *Nicias*, a man univerſally beloved for his goodneſs, and univerſally admired for his virtues. As for the *Spartans*, they, loſing their former generoſity, were extremely pleaſed with theſe things, and by a public decree commanded, that ſuch as fled from the thirty tyrants ſhould be carried back bound to *Athens*; which extraordinary proceeding frightned all *Greece*; but the *Argives* and *Thebans* only had the courage to oppoſe it; the former received the *Athenian* exiles with humanity and kindneſs, the latter puniſhed with a mulct ſuch of their citizens as did not riſe and reſcue the *Athenian* priſoners, who, in purſuance of the *Lacedæmonian* decree, were carried bound through their territories [r].

Thraſybulus and ſuch as with him had taken ſhelter in the *Theban* territory reſol-
b ved to hazard ſomething, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet conſidering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cauſe of his country, he made an irruption into *Attica*, where he ſeized *Phyla*, a caſtle at a very ſmall diſtance from *Athens*, where in a very ſhort ſpace his forces were augmented to ſeven hundred men; and though the tyrants made uſe of the *Spartan* gariſon, in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet *Thraſybulus* prevailed in various ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt conſtrained them to break up the blockade of *Phyla*, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantagious for them to have the poſſeſſion of *Eleuſina*, marched thither, and having perſuaded the people to go
c unarmed out of their city that they might number them, took this opportunity moſt inhumanly to murder them. The forces of *Thraſybulus* encreaſing daily, he at length poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Piræum*, which he fortified in the beſt manner he could, but the tyrants, being determined to drive him from thence, came down againſt him with the utmoſt force they could raiſe. *Thraſybulus* defended himſelf with great obſtinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having loſt before the place not only a great number of their men, but *Critias* the preſident of the thirty, another of the ſame body, and one who had been captain of the *Piræum*; when they came to demand the dead from *Thraſybulus* in order for their interment, he cauſed a cryer he had with him to make a ſhort ſpeech in a very loud voice to
d the people, intreating them to conſider, that as they were citizens of *Athens* without, ſo thoſe againſt whom they fought, and who fought to preſerve themſelves within, the fort, were *Athenian* citizens alſo, wherefore, inſtead of thinking how to ruin and deſtroy their brethren, they ought rather to conſult how all differences ought to be compoſed, and eſpecially ought to rid themſelves of thoſe bloody tyrants, who, in the ſhort time they had had the adminiſtration in their hands, had deſtroyed more than had fallen in the *Peloponneſian* war. The people, tho' moved by theſe diſcourſes, differed among themſelves, the conſequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and choſe ten men out of each tribe to govern in their ſtead, whereupon
e the tyrants retired to *Eleuſina*. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with thoſe in the *Piræum*, but ſent away deputies to *Sparta*, as did alſo the tyrants from *Eleuſina*, complaining, that the *Athenians* had revolted, and deſiring their aſſiſtance to reduce them. The *Spartans* ſent thereupon a large ſum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed *Lyſander* commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, reſolving to ſend ſea and land-forces to reduce *Athens*, a ſecond time, intending, as moſt of the *Greek* ſtates ſuſpected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable, that this deſign of theirs would have taken effect, if *Pauſanias* king of *Sparta*, envying *Lyſander*, had not reſolved to obſtruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raiſed againſt
f the *Athenians*, of which himſelf had the command, and with which he marched immediately to beſiege the *Piræum*. While he lay before the place and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correſpondence with *Thraſybulus*, informing him what propoſitions he ſhould make in order to force the *Lacedæmonians*, who were ſuſpected by all their allies, to grant them peace [s].

The intrigues of *Pauſanias* had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh; the *Ephori*, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his meaſures, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of *Athens* ſhould be reſtored to their houſes and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had

ſucceeded

[r] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Lyſand. Justin. lib. v. [s] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi ſupr.

ſucceeded them, and who had acted no leſs tyrannically than they, and the eleven, a who during the time of the oligarchy had been conſtituted governors or keepers of the *Piræum*; that all ſhould remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to truſt to this agreement, they ſhould have free leave to retire to *Eleuſina*. *Pauſanias* then marched away with the *Spartan* army, and *Thraſybulus* at the head of his forces marched into *Athens*, where, having laid down their arms, they ſacrificed with the reſt of the citizens in the temple of *Minerva*, after which the popular government was reſtored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed, the exiles at *Eleuſina* having endeavoured by the help of money to raiſe an army of foreigners, by whoſe aid they might recover the authority they had loſt; but firſt depending on their friends in the city, they ſent ſome of the principal perſons b amongſt them, as deputies to treat with the citizens, but ſtrictly inſtructed them to ſow jealouſies and excite diſcords among them. Which the latter quickly perceiving, put theſe perſons to death, and then remonſtrating to thoſe at *Eleuſina*, that theſe contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the deſtruction of their country, they offered immediately to paſs an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, thoſe who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjuſted, and both parties moſt religiouſly obſerved the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly reſettled the ſtate. In this whole tranſaction, the virtue of *Thraſybulus* deſerves chiefly to be admired. When he firſt ſeized the caſtle of *Phyla*, the tyrants privately offered c to receive him into their number inſtead of *Theramenes*, and to pardon at his requeſt any twelve perſons he ſhould name; but he generouſly anſwered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchaſed on ſuch terms; and, by perſiſting in his deſign, he accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, ſince, as *Iſocrates* informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of, law, and drove five thouſand more into baniſhment, procuring alſo the death of *Alcibiades*, as many think, though at a great diſtance from them (N). Much about

(N) We are here to ſpeak of the misfortunes of *Alcibiades*; a man who deſerved much of his country, and would have deſerved more, if her impatience had not prevented his ſervices, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of ſerving her. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not becauſe he had done any fault, but becauſe he had not performed all which the *Athenians* hoped from him; his ſucceſs in his firſt expedition had ſo elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of atchieving any thing, which he deſired to atchieve, tho' his ſhips were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his ſoldiers; when therefore he was ſent to *Chios* and *Ionia*, they concluded the firſt news they heard would be, that he had reduced both; being diſappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and perſecuted him a-new for not doing what in the nature of things it was not poſſible he ſhould have done. With the public madneſs of the people conſpired the private envy of the chief men amongſt them. *Thraſybulus* began to diſlike him, and moſt of the ten commanders, who afterwards periſhed by popular rage, now buſied themſelves in turning it on him, of which when *Alcibiades* had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was fooliſh to ſtudy a defence againſt an accuſation when it was poſſible to fly from it. In his expedition into *Thrace* he made uſe of ſuch as offered their ſervice, and he did it with honourable intent; firſt, to ſettle a ſecure retreat for himſelf, and ſecondly, to preſerve the *Greek* cities in his neighbourhood from the inſults of theſe *Thracians*, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, ſo they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, preying, as occaſion ſerved, on any who were leaſt able to reſiſt. After the entire deſtruction of the *Athenian* fleet, and the flight of *Conon* to *Cyprus*, *Alcibiades* thought himſelf no longer ſafe in his caſtle; for the *Lacedæmonians*, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid they ſhould take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired firſt into *Bythinia*, but finding himſelf not ſafe there, he went to *Pharnabazus*, who received him with great civility, and, as he believed, with great friendſhip. In *Athens* the people, ſighing under the thirty tyrants, placed all their hopes in *Alcibiades*; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make ſome effort to relieve her. The tyrants themſelves expected the ſame thing, and eſpecially *Critias* their chief, who had been his moſt intimate friend, and at whoſe motion the decree had been made for recalling *Alcibiades* from baniſhment; but the luſt of power deſtroys all ties, whether of blood or affection. He, who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and ſending to *Lyſander* aſſured him, that *Athens* would never be quiet, or *Sparta* ſafe, till *Alcibiades* was deſtroyed. The *Lacedæmonian* general, ſcorning to defile himſelf with an aſſaſſination, treated theſe notices with the contempt they deſerved; but *Critias*, applying to the magiſtracy of *Sparta* procured an order to be ſent from thence to *Lyſander*, which he durſt not diſobey. Upon receipt of this order, *Lyſander* ſent away a meſſenger to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to put it in execution. *Pharnabazus* committed the affair to *Magæas* his brother and to his uncle *Sumithres*. *Alcibiades* reſided at that time in a ſmall village in *Phrygia*, together with *Timandra* a miſtreſs of his. As he ſlept he had this dream: he thought himſelf attired in his miſtreſs's habit, and that ſhe, holding him in her arms, dreſſed his head and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others ſay, he dreamed, that *Magæas* cut off his head.

a about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was ſettled again in *Athens*, *Socrates* was condemned and put to death. He was not only a philoſopher, or one who in words profeſſed the love of wiſdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent ſayings, demonſtrated that he was truly wiſe. As a ſoldier, he had been preſent in ſeveral engagements; in one he preſerved the life of *Alcibiades*, in another he carried off a friend of his who was wounded, upon his back, in a third ſhewed as much courage and conduct as the moſt experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he ſerved, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by enduring hardſhips with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was deſired of him; for tho' he was exceedingly temperate and ſtrictly ſober, yet if his company was deſired he refuſed not to go to enter-
b tainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refuſed to meddle at all with matters of ſtate, till he grew far in years, and was then elected into the ſenate by his tribe. He oppoſed, as we have already related, the judgment given againſt the generals for not burying the dead, though *Theramenes* his friend had promoted it; and when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office required, he ſaid he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed it. Afterwards he ſought to reſcue *Theramenes*, when he was accuſed by his collegues; after his death, he continued to ſpeak his mind freely, which gave ſome umbrage to the thirty, who notwithſtanding ſuffered him to live, becauſe *Critias*
c was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindred him not from diſcloſing his mind to his aſſociates, particularly he ſaid one day to *Antiſthenes* on account of the eminent men who were daily taken up: "Doth it repent thee, that we have "done nothing memorable, or at all comparable to what thoſe monarchs have per-"formed, who are celebrated in tragedies, ſuch as *Atreus*, *Thyeſtes*, *Agamemnon*, "and *Egiſthus?* They are in thoſe plays beheaded, feaſted with their childrens "fleſh, and ſome way or other deſtroyed at laſt; but no poet had ever the hardineſs "to introduce the death of a hog upon the ſtage." One of his friends complaining, that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no poſt or office, *Socrates* demanded tartly, Are you ſorry for it? At another time he delivered himſelf in a publick converſation thus: "A herdſman would be very diſingenuous, who, in
d "caſe the cattle grew worſe and the herd thinner by his management, would not "confeſs himſelf an ill herdſman; but the governor of a city would be yet more diſ-"ingenuous, if, ſeeing his citizens grew worſe and thinner, he ſhould not own him-"ſelf an ill governor." Which being reported to the tyrants, *Critias* and *Charicles* ſent for him, and forbad him to converſe with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed ſomewhere elſe than upon his ſhoulders; but not being yet ſatisfied of his fidelity to their government, they ſummoned him to the ſenate-houſe, and ordered him to go with ſome other perſons, whom they named, to ſeize one *Leon*, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his eſtate; this commiſſion *Socrates* flatly refuſed, and, not
e ſatisfied therewith, added alſo his reaſon for ſuch refuſal. *I will never willingly,*

head and burnt his body; and it is ſaid, that it was but a little while before his death that he had theſe viſions. They who were ſent to aſſaſſinate him had not courage enough to enter the houſe; but ſurrounding it firſt they ſet it on fire. *Alcibiades*, as ſoon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire, with a deſign to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked ſword in his right, he caſt himſelf into the middle of the fire, and eſcaped ſecurely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The *Barbarians*, as ſoon as they ſaw him, retreated, and none of them durſt ſtay to expect him, or to engage with him; but ſtanding at a diſtance they ſlew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the *Barbarians* departed, and *Timandra* took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very beſt ſhe had, ſhe buried it as decently and as honourably as her preſent circumſtances would allow. She buried him in a town called *Melliſſa*; and we learn from *Athenæus*, that the monument remained to his time, for he himſelf ſaw it. The emperor *Adrian*, in memory of ſo great a man, cauſed his ſtatue of *Parian* marble to be ſet up thereon, and ordered a bull ſhould be ſacrificed to him annually. *Ephorus* the hiſtorian, as he is cited by *Diodorus Siculus*, gives quite another account of his death, than that before recited from *Plutarch*. He ſays, that *Alcibiades*, having diſcovered the deſign of *Cyrus* the younger to take up arms, informed *Pharnabazus* thereof, and deſired that he might carry this news to the king; but *Pharnabazus*, envying him that honour, ſent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himſelf, which *Alcibiades* ſuſpecting, went to *Paphlagonia* and ſought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which *Pharnabazus* underſtanding, hired people to murder him. He was deſtroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) *Plutarch in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nep. in vit. Alcib. Athen. in Deipnoſ.*

ſaid he, aſſiſt an unjuſt act. Charicles replied ſharply, *doſt thou think*, Socrates, *to talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer? Far from it*, added he, *I expect to ſuffer a thouſand ills, but none ſo great as to do unjuſtly.* Upon which he went directly home, where he would not have been long ſafe, if the tyrants had not ſhortly after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving of means for their own ſafety, rather than to project how to injure and deſtroy others. The cauſe of this great man's death was the pique one *Anytus* had taken againſt him, who drew in *Melitus*, a bold young man, and *Ariſtophanes* the comic poet. The laſt of theſe broke the ice firſt, brought *Socrates* upon the ſtage in a comedy of his called the clouds, wherein he repreſents him as a man given to a ſubtle fallacious manner of arguing, whereby he could make a bad cauſe ſeem good, an introducer of new gods, whilſt himſelf worſhipped none, and a petulant railer at thoſe things which others held ſacred. *Socrates* himſelf went to the *Theatre*, where he ſat in the moſt conſpicuous place; and when one of his friends aſked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he anſwered, *Not at all; I fancy I am at a feaſt where every one enjoys me.* A long time after this *Anytus*, conceiving the ſeaſon now proper for the execution of that vengeance which he had ſo long meditated, engaged *Melitus* to prefer a complaint againſt him to the ſenate, which he did in theſe words: Melitus *ſon of* Melitus, *a* Pythian, *accuſeth* Socrates *ſon of* Sophronicus, *an* Alopetian. Socrates *violates the law, not believing the deities whom this city believeth, but introducing other new* gods. *He violates the law likewiſe in corrupting youth, the puniſhment death.* When the day of trial came on, *Melitus* opened the proſecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get through it. The crimes he therein alledged were, that *Socrates* perſuaded his ſcholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, by telling them, that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, *Anytus* began a long and malicious harangue, wherein he was favourably heard; and after him *Lyco* in a ſet rethorical ſpeech ſupported the accuſation. When theſe had done ſpeaking, *Socrates* went up into the orators deſk, and from thence ſpoke after this manner to the people; "I am ſurprized, "O *Athenians!* how *Melitus* came by this extraordinary piece of knowledge, that "I do not worſhip the gods the city worſhips. Others have ſeen me, and ſo might "*Melitus*, if he had pleaſed, ſacrifice at common feſtivals on the public altars; "how do I introduce new deities, when I profeſs in all my actions to be directed by the voice of God? they who obſerve the notes of birds or the anſwers of "men are guided by the voice. None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from "the ſupreme power and is oraculous. That the prieſteſs on the tripod conveys "to us by her voice what ſhe receives from the god, who doubts? and that he "foreknows future events, and communicates them to whom he pleaſes, all men "believe and confeſs as well as I. Many call ſuch as foretel future things, ſoothſayers and diviners. I aſcribe theſe things to the dæmon, and, I conceive, "ſpeak more religiouſly therein, than they who fancy I know not what divine power "in birds; that I am no impoſtor herein, many can atteſt, who have aſked my "advice, and never found it fail; let ſuch as are incredulous hear this alſo to confirm their opinions; as to my being favoured of the gods, when *Chærephon*, in "the preſence of many witneſſes, inquired of the oracle at *Delphos* concerning me, "*Apollo* anſwered, that no man was more free, more juſt, more wiſe; yet the "ſame god ſaid more of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* law-giver, that he knew not "whether to call him a god or a man. Me he compared not with the gods, "though he gave me the priority amongſt other men, but truſt not the gods herein, conſider me exactly yourſelves, whom have you leſs a ſlave to ſenſual "pleaſures? Whom more free? I accept neither ſtipends nor gifts. Whom more "juſt than him who conforms himſelf ſo to the preſent time, as that he ſtands not "in need of the defence of any other? who will ſay that he deſerves not the title "of wiſe, who, ſince he was able, never loſt any opportunity of learning, by inquiry, all the good poſſible? And that I took not the pains in vain, is evident "from hence, that citizens and ſtrangers, ſtudious of virtue, have preferred my converſation to that of other men. Why do you think ſo many deſire to "oblige me by gifts, whom they know to have no capacity of requiting them? "or

a " or how can you account for my engaging ſo many, without requiring any return
" from them? that when the city was beſieged, and every one lamented the
" wretchedneſs of his condition, I ſhewed no alteration of temper, but remained
" the ſame as before; that while others lay out their money on exteriour things to
" pleaſe themſelves, I furniſh myſelf from within, with ſuch things as pleaſe me
" better. If none can controvert what I ſay, how comes it to paſs, that I de-
" ſerve not commendation both of gods and men, inſtead of being charged, as I
" am now by you, *Melitus*, that with theſe inſtructions I corrupt youth? Every
" one knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one whom I of religious
" have made impious, whom from a modeſt deportment I have rendered impudent,
b " of a frugal diſpoſition prodigal, of a ſober habit debauched, of a hardy way of
" life effeminate? know ye any of theſe?" " I know thoſe, anſwered *Melitus*,
" whom you have perſuaded to be more obedient to you than to their own parents."
" With reſpect to inſtruction, I confeſs I have, anſwered *Socrates*, for that was my
" ſphere, not theirs. In regard to their health, men conſult phyſicians before their
" parents; in law ſuits they apply to council, not to couſins; and in war you
" inquire as to your general's ſkill in arms, not who are his allies." " With
" good reaſon, cryed *Melitus*, and fit we ſhould." " Is it ſo, ſaid *Socrates:* If others
" are preferred for ſuch things as they excel in, and with reaſon too, can you
" think it fit, becauſe in the opinion of ſome I have an advantage beyond others
c " in the educating of youth. which is a matter of the greateſt conſequence to ſociety,
" that therefore I ought to ſuffer death? *Anytus* and *Melitus*, O my judges, may
" procure that judgment, but hurt me they cannot: to fear death is to ſeem wiſe
" and not to be ſo, for it is to pretend to underſtand what we really underſtand not,
" no man knows what death is, or whether it be not the greateſt happineſs
" which can arrive to us, yet all fear and ſhun it, as if they were ſure it would be
" the greateſt misfortune." *Plato* would alſo have ſpoke in his defence, and going up into the deſk, opened his ſpeech thus: *Though I*, Athenians, *am the youngeſt of thoſe that come up into this place.* The people immediately cried out, *of thoſe which go down*, which they conſtrained him to do without ſpeaking another word; then
d proceeding to vote, it was carried againſt *Socrates* by two hundred eighty-one voices. He might, however, have eſcaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a proſecution againſt him deſerved rather the higheſt rewards, and a maintenance out of the publick ſtock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were ſo much incenſed, that they judged him to a capital puniſhment by a majority of eighty. He might eaſily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed upon him to have made his eſcape; but he refuſed, drank the poiſon in their preſence, praying to God to make his paſſage from this life happy, and ſhewed the ſame calmneſs and reſolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

It

(O) *Socrates* happened to be condemned the very day after the ſacred ſhip ſet ſail for *Delos*. The reader muſt obſerve, that this ſhip went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of *Theſeus* in *Crete*, and in conſequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ſhip from the port of *Athens* to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death; this ſometimes, by means of contrary winds, occaſioned the intervention of a conſiderable ſpace, as happened in the caſe of *Socrates*, who was in priſon thirty days before his death; in this time he was viſited by his friends, ſome of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed. *Why*, ſaid he, *do you know any place out of* Attica *where death never comes? Plato* hath wrote a long diſcourſe concerning the manner of his death; we will from thence tranſcribe only ſo much as relates immediately thereto, though indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. " It was
" now ſun-ſet, for he had ſtaid long within, when
" the officer entered, and after a little pauſe, ſaid,
" I have not, *Socrates*, obſerved that carriage in you
" which I have found in others; but as I thought
" you the moſt generous, the mildeſt, and beſt of
" all men, that ever came into this place, ſo I
" now ſee you hate me not, for that whereof o-
" thers are the cauſe: you know the meſſage I
" bring, farewel; bear what you cannot remedy.
" With that he departed weeping; and fare thee
" well, ſaid *Socrates*, I am well: how civil is this man?
" I found him the ſame all the time of my impri-
" ſonment, he would often viſit and diſcourſe with
" me, uſed me always courteouſly, and now ſee
" how kindly he weeps for me; but come, *Crito*,
" let us do as he bids us, if the poiſon be ready let
" it be brought. The ſun is yet ſcarce ſet, anſwered
" *Crito*, others take it late after a plentiful ſupper
" and full cups; make not ſo much haſte, there is
" time enough. He replied, they who do ſo think
" they gain time, but what ſhall I gain by drink-
" ing it late, only deceive myſelf, as covetous of
" life, and ſparing of that which is no longer
" mine? Pray let it be as I ſay; then *Crito* ſent one
" of the attendants, who immediately returned,
" and

IT is easy to judge, from the usage they gave the worthiest men amongst them, a the *Athenians* least deserved to meet with patriots; yet so it was, that, notwithstanding her ill usage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. *Conon*, who, after the misfortune which befel him at the battle of the *Hellespont*, which was followed by the Destruction of *Athens*, had kept himself close in *Cyprus* and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no less than the restoring of the *Athenian* affairs to their ancient state, and bestowing once more upon that city the empire of the sea; with this view he caused a project to be transmitted to the *Persian* king, wherein he endeavoured to demonstrate, that the pride of the *Lacedæmonians* would be extremely detrimental to his affairs, that, their dominion once thoroughly settled in *Greece*, they would presume to give laws to *Asia* also, b especially with respect to the *Greek* cities therein, and that therefore it would be expedient for the *Persians* to consider of some means for putting it once more in the power of *Athens* to check the insolence of that aspiring state, and thereby preserve the great king's dominions in peace and safety. *Conon*'s memorial was quickly supported by facts; two *Lacedæmonian* armies, within the compass of a few years, passed over into *Asia*, the last under *Lysander* and *Agesilaus*, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the *Persian* king had not, by sending some of his agents with vast sums of money into *Greece*, raised so many and so powerful enemies against *Sparta*, that she was constrained to recal *Agesilaus* to her assistance. The expediency of *Conon*'s advice being so fully made known, he, as c a person perfectly well skilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the *Persian* fleet; the *Athenians* in the mean time had the courage to join with the *Argives* and other states in a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, which they pursued with variety of fortune. *Conon* attacked the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the *Persians*, which consisted of ninety sail, and after an obstinate engagement, wherein the *Spartan* admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking fifty ships and five hundred prisoners. Afterwards he and *Pharnabazus* obliged most of the states, dependent on *Lacedæmon*, to change sides, particularly those of *Cos*, *Nicæa*, *Teos*, and *Chios*; *Mitylene*, *Ephesus*, *Erythrea*, and other places followed their example, and thus the *Lacedæmonians* at once lost the empire of the sea. d *Conon* determined after this unexpected success to return to *Attica*, and in his way thither

" and with him the man that was to administer " the poison, bringing a cup in his hand. To whom " *Socrates*; Prithee honest friend, for thou art well " versed in these businesses, what must I do? no- " thing, said he, but as soon as you have drank, " walk till you find your legs begin to fail, then " lie down, and in so saying he gave him the cup. " *Socrates* took it chearfully, not changing either " countenance or colour; and, looking pleasantly " upon him, demanded, whether he might spill any " of it as a libation, who answered, he had made no " more than would just serve. Yet, said *Socrates*, I " may pray to God, and will, that my passage hence " may be happy, which I beseech him to grant, " and in that same instant drank it off easily, with- " out any disturbance. Many of us, who till now " had refrained from tears, when we saw him put " the cup to his mouth and drink off the poison, " were not able to contain any longer; which *So-* " *crates* observing, *Friends*, said he, *what mean ye?* " *for this reason I sent away the women, lest they* " *should be so unquiet: I have heard we should die* " *with gratulation and applause, be quiet then and* " *take it patiently.* These words made us with " shame suppress our tears; when he had walked " a while, perceiving his legs to fail, he lay down " on his back as the executioner directed him; " who looking on his feet, pinched them hard, " asking him if he felt it; he answered no; he did " the like to his legs, and shewing us how every " part successively grew cold and stiff, told us when " that chillness came to his heart, he would die; " not long after he spake these his last words, O " Crito, *I owe* Æsculapius *a cock, pay it, neglect it* " *not* It shall be done, said *Crito*, will you have " any thing else? He made no answer, lay still a " while, then stretched himself forth; with that " the executioner uncovered him, his eyes were " set, *Crito* closed them. This was the end of the " best, the wisest, and most just of men". Tho' *Leo Allatius* and some others have endeavoured to represent the time of the death of *Socrates* as a point not easily settled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, since there is scarce a great event in the whole *Greek* history, the time of which is more unquestionably settled The *Arundelian* marbles, and many other authorities, shew that it happened when *Laches* was archon, in the first year of the ninety-fifth *olympiad*, that is 2599 years before the flood, and four hundred before the birth of Christ. The reader may possibly be desirous to know what became of his enemies; and because we shall have no opportunity of inserting it in the history, we will add it in this note. The *Athenians* grew very quickly sensible of the mischief they had done, and because it was irreparable they so hated its authors that they would not suffer them to light fire at their houses. They would not answer them a question. They would not bathe with them; and if they were seen to touch ever so large a vessel of water, they threw it away as impure, until the men, unable to bear this usage longer, hanged themselves; and for the same reason the *Athenians*, that they might blot from their minds the memory of so black an action, forbad the name of *Socrates* to be mentioned in the *Theatre* (z.)

(z) *Plato in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.*

a thither brought over the *Cyclades*, reduced *Cythera*, put a garison therein, and, after having confirmed the *Corinthians* in their league with the *Athenians*, sailed from thence to *Athens*, where he promised the citizens to rebuild the long wall and to refortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitud of workmen, and landing a great number of men from the fleet; the *Thebans* also sent five hundred carpenters and masons, and other cities did the like; but *Tiribazus*, who commanded the *Persian* armies in *Asia*, envying *Conon*'s great success, gave out, that he made use of the *Persian* power merely to get towns and countries of his own citizens. To answer which charge, he sent for him to *Sardis*, where upon his first appearance he threw him into prison [f].

b THE disturbances in *Greece* gave the *Athenians* an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, and making themselves once more considerable; the *Corinthian* war particularly, as it lasted a considerable time and with various success, served as a kind of school to the *Athenian* youth who addicted themselves to arms; and it served the better, because the *Athenian* general, who then commanded, was *Iphicrates*, not only the best officer of *Greece* in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had studied it from the glory resulting therefrom, *Iphicrates* looked upon it as a science, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was the son of a shoe-maker, but *Cornelius*
c *Nepos* does not mention any thing of his family; the first exploit by which he distinguished himself was in a sea-fight, where finding himself wounded and unable to remain on board the enemy's ship, he catched up one of the soldiers in his arms and carried him on board his own, which shews, that he had great strength of body, as well as mighty presence of mind. We are told further with respect to his person, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he struck with awe all such as conversed with him. He shewed his good sense in altering the habit and arms of the *Athenian* soldiers which had been used to his time; instead of large heavy shields, he gave them light ones; instead of short spears, long ones; and instead of little stabbing swords, weapons of a more useful size. In this war of *Corinth* he gained by
d his skill great advantages over armies, more numerous and composed of better soldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp though it was in the country of his allies; and when some of his officers, who thought he gave the soldiers needless trouble, asked him, who he was afraid of; I am afraid, answered he, of being forced to use that expression, which of all others least becomes a general, *I did not think of it*. *Agesilaus* king of *Sparta*, whose troops had been elsewhere always victorious, were notwithstanding beaten with great loss by this *Athenian*, which exceedingly grieved *Agesilaus*, and made him abate somewhat of that haughtiness he had hitherto shewn upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace. Abroad
e the affairs of the *Athenians* went but ill, the exiles from *Rhodes*, which was now under a democratic government, went to *Sparta*, and boasting there of their great interest, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change sides and join with the *Lacedæmonians*, two fleets were sent to that island. The *Athenians*, greatly alarmed at this, dispatched the famous *Thrasybulus*, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the designs of the *Lacedæmonians* from taking effect. When this great captain came into these seas, he received such intelligence
f from *Rhodes*, as thoroughly convinced him, that any attempt he made thereupon would be fruitless; he therefore sailed to the *Hellespont*, where he reconciled two *Thracian* princes, and made them confederates with the *Athenian* state; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing such cities as, taking advantage of the bad state of the *Athenian* affairs, had revolted from them. In pursuance of this scheme, he reduced *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, and afterwards sailing over to *Lesbos*, where all the cities had revolted except *Mitylene*, he brought them again under the obedience of
g them, and levied considerable sums of money by way of fine for the revolt; after these victories he set sail for *Rhodes*, hoping, that the fame of them would awe the people of that island and contribute to the end for which he had been sent thither. First of all he exacted a sum of money from *Aspendus*, but after it was paid him, his soldiers having plundered some of the inhabitants without his knowledge, so much provoked them, that in the night, when *Thrasybulus* thought himself safe

[f] XENOPHON. lib. iv. DIODOR. lib. xiv. CORN. NEPOS, in vit Cononi.

and expected no harm, they ſuddenly entered his camp, where they committed great a
ſlaughter, and in the beginning thereof ſlew him, which ſo terrified his ſoldiers, that,
making what haſte they could to their ſhips, they withdrew without attempting to
proſecute further the expedition on which their general had been ſent. This end had
Thraſybulus, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune ſuperior to
moſt, and in the glory of freeing his country from ſervitude, without any view to his
own intereſt, ſcarce equalled by any. The *Athenians* to ſupply his place were con-
ſtrained to ſend *Iphicrates*, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals;
their inſolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguiſhed all their
great men. *Iphicrates* had only with him eight gallies and twelve hundred men,
when he joined the remains of *Thraſybulus*'s fleet, hitherto commanded by one *Argy-* c
rius; he having intelligence, that *Anaxibius*, the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, proud of
ſome ſmall ſucceſſes he had obtained, lay very careleſly at *Abydus*, immediately ſailed
thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns,
fell upon and ſlew them, after which *Iphicrates* ſailed to *Cherſoneſus*. Shortly after
this *Ægina*, at the motion of *Eteonicus* revolted, whereupon the *Athenians* ſent one of
their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary,
the inhabitants of the iſland, as ſoon as the *Athenian* fleet was withdrawn, began to in-
feſt the coaſt of *Attica*, which vexed the *Athenians* exceedingly, and conſtrained them
to keep a ſquadron continually at ſea, to protect as well the villages on the ſhore, as
their ſhips employed in trade, an evil they had not experienced ſince the cloſe of the d
Peloponneſian war. The affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* obliging them to remove the
fleet they had in the neighbourhood of *Ægina*, the *Athenians* ſent *Eunomes* with a
ſtrong ſquadron to keep in *Gorgopas*, who was left to command there. *Gorgopas*,
finding his much outnumbered by the *Athenian* gallies, retired into port and landed
his troops, which when the *Athenian* admiral perceived, he put to ſea in the night,
carrying a light in his poop, that the reſt of his ſhips might ſteer after him. *Gor-*
gopas inſtantly reimbarked his men, and ſtood away after the *Athenian* fleet, keeping
aloof, till *Eunomes*, entering a port of *Attica*, began to land his men; which when
he had half finiſhed, *Gorgopas* fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obſti-
nate fight carried off four gallies to *Ægina*; this loſs was a little after repaired by e
Chabrias the *Athenian* general, for he ſailing to *Cyprus*, with a fleet which had a body
of land-forces on board, landed in *Ægina* in the night-time, and having poſted the
major part of his troops in a valley near the temple of *Hercules*, ordered the reſt to
advance towards a place called the *Three Towers* at break of day; *Gorgopas*, as ſoon
as he had intelligence of the *Athenians* landing in the iſland, marched with what
forces he could to oppoſe them, and ſent orders to all who were on board the fleet
to haſten to him with the utmoſt ſpeed; which accordingly they did; and theſe
ruſhing all by the ambuſcade where *Chabrias* lay, he ſuddenly charged them in
flank and rear, while the other *Athenians* fell upon them in front; *Gorgopas* with
eight *Spartans* being quickly ſlain, the reſt betook themſelves to flight, of whom
Chabrias cut off near four hundred men, which, with the want of the ſubſidies they
expected from *Sparta*, ſo broke the ſpirits of the inhabitants of *Ægina*, that they
undertook nothing for a conſiderable time after. At length *Teleutias* being ſent
from *Sparta* to command the gallies in that iſland, he ſo wrought upon the people
by his fair ſpeeches, that they went on board the ſhips, and offered to follow him
where he pleaſed. He, having ſacrificed and taken a day's proviſion on board, put
out to ſea, and having in the night rode very near the port of *Athens*, as ſoon as it
was day, he ſailed ſtrait into the *Pyræum*, where he took ſeveral gallies and a great
number of priſoners. Theſe he ſent preſently away to *Ægina*, and afterwards cruiz-
ing along the coaſt, carried off ſeveral trading veſſels and an immenſe booty, out of
which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that
they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an
Athenian ſquadron of eight gallies and took them; after which drawing together a
fleet of eighty ſail with twenty gallies of *Syracuſe*, he roamed about without rival,
and maintained the dominion of the ſea for the *Lacedæmonians*[1].

Peace of Antalcidas. *After the firſt 2012.* *Before Chriſt 387.*

THE *Spartans*, willing to ſecure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered
Antalcidas their admiral to ſettle with the miniſters of the king of *Perſia* the terms of

[1] XENOPHON. lib. iv. v. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Iphic. Thraſyb. & Chabr.

a a general peace in *Greece*; for, on account of the *Corinthian* war and the vaſt expence of keeping ſo many fleets at ſea, *Sparta* was grown weary of fighting, though ſhe had the better of her rival. The *Athenians* on the other hand, wearied out with continual misfortunes, were far from being averſe to the putting an end to the war; for which the reſt of the cities of *Greece* were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their intereſts; they therefore ſent all of them agents to *Tiribazus* to know what term the king his maſter would propoſe. The *Perſians* having firſt ſhewn them the great king's ſeal, opened his diſpatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it juſt the cities in *Aſia* ſhould belong to him and remain under his juriſdiction, and that all the reſt, little and great, ſhould remain free; of the iſlands, how-

b ever, he claimed *Clazomene* and *Cyprus*; *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Sciros*, he left to the *Athenians*, becauſe they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the *Greek* ſtates rejected theſe terms, he and the reſt of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by ſea and land. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* accepted them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was ſtiled the peace of *Antalcidas*, which in the main was very ſcandalous to *Sparta*, who, after ſo long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the *Grecian* cities in *Aſia*, now delivered them up to the king [n].

The deſign of this peace was evidently the raiſing *Sparta* to an uncontroulable dominion over the *Grecian* ſtates, which ſhe began to exerciſe immediately after it

c took effect, falling firſt on the *Mantineans*, and afterwards on other little ſtates, at laſt on *Thebes* itſelf, where, without the leaſt provocation, the *Lacedæmonians* ſeized the citadel, and enabled the *Thebans* of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to *Athens*, which city was far from making the ſame figure now as formerly; the *Grecians* remembring with averſion her cruelty when in power, and ſeeing with diſdain her indolence under the affronts of *Sparta*. The *Theban* exiles, however, found here not only a ſafe place of refuge, but all the kindneſs and aſſiſtance they could reaſonably expect from the principal men of *Athens*, who laboured hard to perſuade the people, that it was both ſafe and honourable for them to ſuccour theſe unhappy men. The exiles, unſatisfied with being ſafe abroad, longed

d to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy in *Thebes*, and by the private aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* brought matters ſo to bear, that they got poſſeſſion of the city; but fearing leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould ſend mighty ſuccours to their gariſon in the citadel, they ſent deputies to *Athens*, beſeeching the people to call to mind with what kindneſs they had received the *Athenians*, who were baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, and how far it was owing to their aid that the *Athenians* recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to deſert them now, when the *Thebans* were ready to fight againſt *Sparta* for the liberty of *Greece*, but to afford them ſuch ſuccours as might enable them to fight with hope. The people, having heard the *Theban* deputies, came preſently to a reſolution of ſend-

e ing away ſuch a body of auxiliaries, as might at once demonſtrate their gratitude to the *Thebans* and their care of the liberty of *Greece*; with this view they ſent *Demophoon* at the head of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, who marched with prodigious diligence to *Thebes*, where they enabled thoſe of their party to take the citadel, which they affected before the *Lacedæmonians* could relieve it; after which the *Athenians* returned home. From this time forward they ſought by all means to raiſe a party againſt the *Spartans*, by putting themſelves at the head, by which they hoped to recover ther ancient luſtre. The forces, however, of the *Lacedæmonians*, being as yet much greater than their own, made them ſometimes obliged to diſſemble their hatred to that ſtate, and alſo to diſcountenance thoſe orators

f who were notoriouſly enemies to *Sparta*. An accident happened at laſt which entirely changed the face of things, and conſtrained the *Athenians* to declare openly againſt *Lacedæmon*. One *Sphodrias* a *Spartan*, who commanded at *Theſpis*, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had ſucceeded, his countrymen muſt have been abſolute lords of *Greece*; for he marched ſuddenly with a great body of troops towards *Athens*, and hoped to ſeize the port of *Pyræum* in the night; but when he had marched as far as *Eleuſina*, the ſun began to appear, upon which his ſoldiers refuſed to march any farther. That he miſſed his blow was far from being the worſt conſequence of his raſhneſs; the *Athenians* were ſo much alarmed, that they ſeized certain *Spartan* em-

baſſadors

[n] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Artax. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphicr

baſſadors who were in their city, and made them priſoners, conceiving, that they a
were privy to this attempt; but they, aſſerting their innocence, aſſured the people
of *Athens*, that *Sphodrias* ſhould be called to a ſevere account, and pay with his life
for this infamous attempt, whereupon they were releaſed; but *Sphodrias* being brought
to a trial and acquitted, the *Athenians* inſtantly declared war, accounting it better to
hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their
houſes by ſuch ſudden expeditions. They named on this occaſion three generals,
Timotheus, *Chabrias*, and *Calliſtratus*, directing them to levy an army of twenty
thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; they likewiſe ordered a fleet to be fitted
out of two hundred ſail. To ſhew that they did not intend to fight for themſelves
only, but that they would do juſtly by all their confederates, they reſtored all the b
lands, which had been divided among their citizens, out of *Attica* to their ancient
proprietors, and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing
a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city of *Athens*, that they
preſently drew over a great number to their ſide, and exceedingly alarmed the *La-
cedæmonians*. The fame alſo of the *Athenian* generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their
country, for *Timotheus* was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father *Conon's*
merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; *Chabrias* was reputed one of the
firſt generals of his age, and *Calliſtratus* was a man of great worth and high accom-
pliſhments; as for *Iphicrates*, the king of *Perſia* had begged him of the *Athenians*,
and they held the friendſhip of that prince, in conſideration of the great ſervices he c
received from that experienced general. In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*
invaded *Bœotia* under the command of their king *Ageſilaus*, who with a mighty army
braved the *Thebans* and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city. *Chabrias*,
who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when *Ageſilaus*
led the *Sparton* army in battalia towards them, *Chabrias* ordered his ſoldiers to lean
one knee on the ground, to let their ſhields hang careleſsly on their arms, but to keep
their ſpears extended as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect
the *Spartans* without putting themſelves into any hurry. *Ageſilaus* having weighed
within himſelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and
the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. After-
wards the *Athenians* obtained ſome advantages, and in conſequence of them obliged
Cleombrotus king of *Sparta* to retire without entering *Bœotia*. *Chabrias* in the interim was
recalled to take upon him the command of the *Athenian* fleet which was to go againſt
Naxus; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but in vain, *Pollis* the *Lacedæmonian*
coming with a great fleet to its relief. *Chabrias*, deſirous to regain the honour of
his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the *Lacedæmonians* battle; the en-
gagement was long and obſtinate, at laſt, however, he gained an abſolute victory,
though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the *Lacedæmonians* loſing twenty-four, beſides
eight that were taken with all their men. But *Chabrias* did not purſue this victory as
he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals, who had ſuffered
for not ſuccouring the wounded and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the *Athe-
nian* reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory, which, with their own proper
forces, the *Athenians* had acquired ſince the *Peloponneſian* war. Afterwards he ſailed
againſt the *Thracians*, and delivered the *Abderites* whom they had treated with great
cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city and providing
againſt the return of the barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew by
whom, or for what reaſon. The *Athenians* ſent *Timotheus* to ſupply his place, which
he effectually did, proving more formidable to the *Lacedæmonians* in his ſingle perſon,
than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he drew
many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great ſkill in maritime affairs he
vanquiſhed them in a ſea fight at *Leucades*, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the
Athenians on this ſide. *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* endeavoured all this time to recon-
cile the *Grecians* among themſelves, becauſe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in
a war he intended againſt *Egypt*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were
weary of war, and therefore ſuffered themſelves to be the more eaſily intreated;
beſides, they were both apprehenſive, that the *Thebans* would at length run away with
that authority for which they had ſo long contended; they therefore clapped up a
ſudden peace, which was ill kept, upon theſe terms, that all cities ſhould be free; to
which the *Thebans* would by no means yield, for they would never conſent, that all the
little cities of *Bœotia* ſhould be freed from their dominion. *Iphicrates*, much about
the

a this time quitted the *Perſian* ſervice, where he had been entruſted with the command of twenty thouſand *Greeks*, eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to *Athens*. The reaſon of this was, that *Pharnabazus* and he had differed, whereupon the *Athenian*, fearing that this *Perſian* general would ſerve him as he had *Conon*, that is clap him into a priſon and put it out of his power to defend himſelf, choſe rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner before-mentioned; he was quickly followed to *Athens* by *Perſian* embaſſadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earneſtly deſired that he ſhould be puniſhed; to which the *Athenians* anſwered, that they would puniſh him when he was proved guilty; but in the mean time, having occaſion for his ſervice, they made him admiral of their fleet. The late
b peace having given the *Grecian* cities a juſt title to freedom, diſputes aroſe in many of them, whether ariſtocracy or democracy ſhould prevail, and theſe diſputes not being accommodated by words, ſedition and civil war enſued in ſeveral places, eſpecially in *Zacynthus* and *Corcyra*; the *Lacedæmonians*, notwithſtanding the peace, aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power ſuch as were for oligarchy, and the *Athenians*, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government. *Mneſippus* the *Lacedæmonian* general blocked up *Corcyra*, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; *Timotheus*, who had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, having found it neceſſary to ſail to *Thrace*, preferring the ſervice of his own country to the neceſſities of its allies, for which the *Athenians* rewarded him and *Iphicrates*
c after the old manner; that is to ſay they condemned them both; but when the former brought along with him many embaſſadors, who deſired to renew the ancient leagues between their conſtituents and *Athens*, and alſo proved that he had encreaſed the fleet with thirty gallies and brought mighty ſums into the public treaſury; the *Athenians*, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls had made *Athens* once more a city, reſcinded their former decree, and reſtored *Timotheus* to his command. In the mean time *Cteſides* was ſent with five hundred men to *Corcyra*, where he was ſo fortunate as to kill the *Lacedæmonian* general, and to leave very little to be done by *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, who came at length with the fleet. *Artaxerxes* ſtill labouring to reconcile the *Grecian* ſtates, and the *Athenians* having
d conceived a violent antipathy againſt the *Thebans* for deſtroying *Platæa* and *Theſpis*, ſent deputies to *Sparta* with *Calliſtratus* at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, to which, as before, the *Thebans* refuſed to conſent; this happenned in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond *olympiad*, *Alciſthenes* being archon at *Athens* [u].

The Athenians *declare for and aſſiſt the* Lacedæmonians.

THE *Athenians*, now perceiving that they were become very inconſiderable, endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves, by propoſing an oath to the cities of *Greece*, that they would obſerve the truce eſtabliſhed by the king, and in caſe any injury was offered to one city, that ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by all; this was readily yielded to by all, except the *Eleans* and *Thebans*: between the latter and the *Spartans* a new war
e broke out, in which the latter was ſo diſtreſſed, that they demand aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent *Iphicrates*, who in this expeditition loſt ſome part of his reputation. Some Negotiations for a general peace being ſet a-foot at the court of the *Perſian* king, the *Athenians* amongſt the reſt ſent deputies, and amongſt them one *Timagoras*; the *Thebans*, who now aimed at the dominion of *Greece*, ſent *Pelopidas*, a man of ſuperior abilities, who drew to himſelf the confidence of the *Perſian* king, and having found a way to bring over *Timagoras* to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was agreed, that *Meſſene* ſhould be exempted from the *Lacedæmonian* government; that the *Athenians* ſhould no more pretend to the ſovereignty of the ſea; that the cities ſhould be governed by their own laws, and the *Thebans* be eſteem-
f ed the king's chief friends and allies. *Timagoras* on his return was accuſed to the *Athenian* people of having betrayed his truſt, upon which he was condemned and put to death. The *Argives* falling upon the *Phliaſians* on account of their remarkable fidelity to the *Lacedæmonians* and bringing them to great ſtreights, the latter deſired aid of the *Athenians*, who thereupon ſent *Chares* to their aſſiſtance, who behaved himſelf with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories againſt the *Argives*. After this the *Athenians* entered into a ſtrict league with the *Arcadians*, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take ſuch opportunities, as the times offered for maintaining themſelves in any ſhew of power. *Timotheus* their laſt great com-

[u] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Timoth. JUSTIN.

commander gave, however, ſome degree of credit to their arms, by reducing *Torone* and *Potidea* in *Macedonia* under their obedience, and raiſing the ſiege of *Cyzicum*. The war ſtill continuing between the *Thebans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Epaminondas*, deſiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at *Mantinea*, againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians Achæans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*; of the latter there were ſix thouſand, who behaved very well in the left wing where they were poſted, but were at laſt put to flight by the *Thebans*; however, they rallied again and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the *Thebans* had the victory, but it coſt them very dear; for they loſt here *Epaminondas* their glorious general, who firſt inſpired them with the thoughts of attaining the ſovereignty of *Greece* both by land and ſea. Some ſtirs in *Arcadia* engaged the *Athenians* to ſend thither a great army under the command of *Pammenes*, who performed what he was ſent for, and returned home with honour. *Alexander*, prince or tyrant of *Pherea*, having undertaken an expedition againſt the *Cyclades*, met with ſome oppoſition therein from *Leoſthenes* the *Athenian*, whereupon he attacked ſome gallies belonging to that ſtate and took them; upon which the *Athenians* being angry with *Leoſthenes*'s bad ſucceſs, condemned him, and ſent *Chares* with a fleet into thoſe parts, who was ſo far from repairing the diſaſters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increaſed them, plundering the confederates of the *Athenians*, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating ſeditions where-ever he came, and ſeeming to have nothing elſe in view but to enrich himſelf [x].

The firſt Macedonian war. Year after the Flood, 2639. Year before Chriſt, 360.

We are now come to thoſe times in which the *Athenians* came to contend with *Philip* of *Macedon*, unluckily for them, when all their great captains were exhauſted, and when this prince appeared with a genius ſuperior to all the politicians and cheiftains of his time. The *Athenians* were very early apprehenſive of his abilities, and therefore they eſpouſed the cauſe of *Argius* his competitor, to whoſe aſſiſtance they ſent *Mantias*, at the head of three thouſand men, with a great fleet. This *Mantias* put things into a good poſture at his firſt arrival; for beſides the *Macedonians*, who adhered to *Argius*, the *Pæonians* and the *Thracians* were of his party. King *Philip* advanced, however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an aſſured victory, rather than to a doubtful engagement. Firſt, he took off the *Pæonians* and *Thracians*, by giving them a prodigious ſum of money, and as ſoon as they were retired, he fell upon *Argius* and *Mantias*, who ſtill lay with their army at *Methone*, and thoroughly routed them. The *Macedonians* of *Argius*'s party he purſued, but ſuffered the *Athenians* to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the ſpirits of that people, and readily diſpoſed them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly ſought to make themſelves maſters of *Amphipolis*, to which *Philip* quitted his claim, the ſituation of his affairs requiring it, and in conſequence thereof a peace was concluded; however, he took it ſhortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled ſuch of its citizens as had given him offence; the *Athenians* not being able to relieve it, on account of the many troubleſome affairs in which they were now engaged, and of which we are next to give an account [y].

The ſocial war. Year after the Flood, 2643. Year before Chriſt, 356.

The *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, growing weary of the *Athenian* yoke, reſolved to throw it off and ſet themſelves free. The *Athenians* on the firſt notice thereof ſent *Chares* with a land army to beſiege *Chios*, while *Chabrias* (who, as we obſerved, *Diodorus* affirms to have been ſlain long before,) was to block up the place by ſea. *Cornelius Nepos*, who expreſly wrote the life of that general, ſays, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the ſoldiers and ſeamen, having a better opinion of his skill than of their generals, in a manner forced on him the command, which reſpect of theirs proved his deſtruction; for endeavouring firſt to enter the haven where he had broke in, nobody followed him, ſo that, being encompaſſed by the enemy, his gally was ſunk, out of which caſting himſelf he might eaſily have eſcaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was ſlain. If we may credit the author beforementioned, the *Athenians*, doubting whether *Chares* with his fleet of ſixty ſail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, diſpatched away ſixty other ſhips under the com-

[x] Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra Justin. lib. vi. [y] Diodorus lib. xvi. Plut. Corn. Nep. Just. ubi ſupra.

a command of *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*, making them all equal in commiſſion. In the mean time the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infeſted *Imbros* and *Leſbos*, taking all ſhips that fell into their hands, and raiſing contributions where-ever they landed their troops, ſo that by theſe methods they acquired mighty ſums of money, where-with they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards beſieged *Samos* both by land and ſea. The *Athenian* generals, to conſtrain them to abandon this deſign, went and beſieged *Byzantium*, which had the effect they propoſed, for immediately the confederates raiſed the ſiege of *Samos*, and with their utmoſt force bore away for *Byzantium*. When they came before the port, they offered the *Athenians* battle; but a great ſtorm ariſing, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates*
b thought it improper to fight, though *Chares* vehemently preſſed it; and becauſe he could not carry his point, he ſent home to *Athens* and accuſed his collegues, at which the people were ſo incenſed, that they caſhiered and fined them; *Timotheus*, being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to *Chelos* broke his heart. Such was the end of the great *Conon*'s ſon, a man no-way inferior to his father, either in military ſkill or in love to his country; the *Athenians*, when they heard of his demiſe, remitted the greateſt part of his fine to his ſon, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they moſt unaccountably appropriated to the reparations of thoſe walls, which had been built by his grandfather. *Philip* of *Macedon* in the mean while took *Pydna*, which he afterwards delivered up to the *Olynthi-*
c *ans*, after which he beſieged and took *Potidea*, which had ſo long been under the power of the *Athenians*, and which was of vaſt advantage to them in all their *Thracian* war. *Chares* the *Athenian* admiral, having now no-body to check him, raſhly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to ſerve his country. *Pharnabazus* having revolted from the king of *Perſia*, a mighty army was ſent againſt him by the king; *Chares*, hoping that the *Perſian* would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved an over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally routed. The *Athenians*, as their cuſtom was, ſtruck with the firſt news of the victory, cried up *Chares* as one of the greateſt patriots that could be; but afterwards, when the *Perſian* king by his ambaſſadors complained of the act, as
d contrary to the amity which ſubſiſted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the *Perſians* intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the *Athenians* treated *Chares* as a traitor, and cryed out vehemently againſt that action which they had as vehemently commended, and, in the firſt tranſports of fear, reſolved to make a peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them, almoſt upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, tho little to the honour of the *Athenians*, after the war had laſted four years [z].

Phocian *War*. *After the flood* 2644. *Before Chriſt*. 355.

THE *Phocian* war broke out the ſame year, in which the *Athenians* made peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them; this war concerned all *Greece*, and
e particularly the *Athenians*, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the beginning of it, yet it is requiſite we ſhould give an account thereof here. The *Phocians* had plowed ſome of the lands dedicated to the *Delphian Apollo*, for which they were fined by the *Amphictyones* or ſtates general of *Greece*, but, inſtead of ſubmitting to the judgment of that court, the *Phocians*, at the motion of *Philomelus* a bold and daring ſpeaker, carried their inſult on *Apollo* yet farther, and ſeized on the temple and all its riches; this put all *Greece* into a flame, the *Locrians* and *Bœotians* made war on the *Phocians*, and to countenance their cauſe ſtyled it *ſacred*; the *Phocians*, on the other hand, pretended, that they were far from being ſacrilegious perſons, for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only
f reſumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their anceſtors; but knowing that an army could better ſupport their pretenſions than fine ſpeeches, they applied themſelves to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war laſted a long time and with various ſucceſs, ſometimes the *Phocians*, and at other times the *Thebans*, prevailing; however, it was conceived, that the *Athenians* acted unworthily in ſending ſuch great ſupplies as they did to the *Phocian* commanders; at one time no leſs than five thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, becauſe it was certain, that the chief reaſon which induced them thereto was the high pay given to their troops, and as the money expended on this occaſion was raiſed, either by the coinage, or ſale, of the dedicated things in the temple

[z] DIODOR. PLUT, CORN. NEP. JUST. ubi ſupra.

temple of *Delphos*, it was conſidered as a ſacrilege to receive any part of this theft, a
eſpecially for defending the robbers. but indeed the *Athenians* were much degenera-
ted in their manners, of which their inclinations to theſe ſort of proceedings may
paſs for a manifeſt proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wiſe and free people
to run, as the *Athenians* had formerly done, into groſs and cruel ſuperſtitions, yet
it has been in all times accounted a certain ſign of corruption and degeneracy, when
people loſe all ſenſe of religion, and openly affront thoſe powers they pretend to wor-
ſhip. It is true, the *Athenians* pretended to colour the aſſiſtance afforded by them
to the *Phocians*, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured
to raiſe up their power to ballance that of the king of *Macedon*; but even at this di-
ſtance of time we may conclude, that theſe were merely pretences, ſince it is certain, b
that when *Iphicrates* intercepted ſome ſtatues of gold and ivory, ſent by *Dionyſius* the
Sicilian, they ſent him orders to ſell them publickly, notwithſtanding they were de-
dicated to the *Olympian Jupiter* and to the *Delphian Apollo*. But it muſt be owned,
that not *Athens* only, but all *Greece*, was at this time governed by money; the *Per-*
ſian king, who had always made uſe of gold to preſerve himſelf from the unwel-
come viſits of the *Greeks*, and to purchaſe their aſſiſtance when he found it neceſ-
ſary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater ſums in *Greece* than
any of his predeceſſors, becauſe bribery, like other vices, riſes higher by degrees;
and when men have been accuſtomed to take money, they require larger wages
than thoſe which contented them at firſt. *Philip* of *Macedon*, having found a c
way to render the gold mines in *Thrace* infinitely more beneficial to him, than they
had been to the *Athenians*, openly practiſed the ſame art, maintaining penſioners in
all the ſtates of *Greece*, and in *Athens* among the reſt. The *Phocian* chiefs had no-
thing elſe to ſupport their cauſe but money, and that they parted with it very freely,
we may gueſs from what *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* tell us; that in a few years they
ſquandered ten thouſand talents, which falls little ſhort of two millions of our money.
The orators, or, as the *Athenians* ſtiled them, the *Demagogues*, that is, ſuch as
led the people by their ſpeeches, were moſt of them retained by ſome or other of
theſe parties. *Demoſthenes* himſelf, who was by far the moſt worthy of that num-
ber, was not unimpeached of accepting *Perſian* gold. He became about this time d
eminent, and therefore, according to our cuſtom of giving the characters of *Athenian*
ſtateſmen, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould here draw his, ſince he was the *Pericles* of
his time, and in right of his eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow-
citizens. He was the ſon of an eminent *Athenian*, who had raiſed a great fortune
from the manufacture of ſword-blades, but was far from being a blackſmith, as *Ju-*
venal would have us believe. *Demoſthenes* himſelf ſeemed leaſt of all deſigned by
nature for an orator, his perſon was far from being handſome, his tongue was too
large, his voice weak and broken, and his geſture very uncouth. His father dying
when he was young and his own conſtitution being weak, his mother indulged him
to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender e
years, impoſed on him to the prejudice of his fortune; theſe unforeſeen accidents
led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was ſeventeen
years old in ſeveral law-ſuits, he pleaded his own cauſe, which no law forbad, and
having from thence attained an ability of ſpeaking, he attempted, when of a pro-
per age, to harangue the people, in which he ſucceeded ſo ill, that it had like to
have diſcouraged him from ſpeaking more; but his paſſion for becoming an orator
enabled him to get the better of nature and the people; to render his tongue flexi-
ble, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak with ſtones in his mouth; to raiſe his
voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the ſea ſhoar; to repreſs a habit he had
got of ſhrugging his ſhoulders, he hung a ſword drawn in his chamber, at ſuch f
a height, that when he practiſed his orations it pricked his ſhoulders whenever he
pulled them up: long practice ſupplied him with all things, and knowing he had
nothing to truſt to but his merit, he by ſtudy and patience acquired a manly ſolid
eloquence, not only ſuperior to that of his contempotraries, but alſo excelling all
that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our
hands, demonſtrate beyond a queſtion. He declared himſelf, in loud terms,
againſt the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their
fickleneſs, faithleſſneſs, and want of true regard for the public intereſt. He ex-
claimed againſt their vanity, in attributing to themſelves the merit of their an-
ceſtors,

a anceſtors, and fancying that the reputation of the antient *Athenians* would ſupport the vices of their poſterity. He expatiated on the neceſſity of purſuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he adviſed them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occaſions to aſſiſt them, whereby they might keep war at a diſtance, enure their ſubjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the *Athenian* name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the *Perſian*, becauſe it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but, on the contrary, it was his intereſt to preſerve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preſerve the independency of all the ſtates of *Greece*. Above all, he cautioned
b them againſt the growing power of the *Macedonian*, he obſerved, that the dominion of republics ſeldom laſted long, whereas monarchies laſted the longer for being powerful; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear *Philip* more than the *Thebans*, and not ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed, either by his ſpecious pretences of loving peace, or of his affection to the *Athenian* ſtate; but in theſe diſcourſes, as he ſhewed himſelf a true patriot, ſo there wanted not many pretended ones, who ſtrenuouſly pleaded the cauſe of *Philip*. But the *Macedonian* in the mean-time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchaſed by his money, but endeavoured by force to eſtabliſh himſelf in that abſolute power over *Greece* which he affected. He made uſe of the war then raging between the *Phocians* and the *Bœotians* to march
c into *Greece*, and though he had ill ſucceſs in two engagements, yet he overcame at laſt, and, partly by force, partly by fraud, gained poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*; then it was that *Demoſthenes* endeavoured to rouſe the *Athenians* to a proper ſenſe of their danger, and to that end compoſed the firſt of thoſe orations which bear the title of *Philippic*, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind; he ſhewed the *Athenians*, with great perſpicuity and candor, that it was to no purpoſe to make uſe of palliations in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that to apply a remedy to this evil and that would preſerve them from ruin. He proved to them, that *Philip's* plain and ſettled deſign was to advance himſelf to the ſovereignty of *Greece*, in conſequence of which they muſt become his ſubjects, tho' he might perhaps call
d them his allies. He therefore adviſed them to think of forming a plaiſter as broad as the ſore, and, inſtead of oppoſing *Philip* here and there, in ſending ſuccours as they had two or three times already done to places taken before they could arrive, to begin a war in earneſt, to excite all their confederates to riſe in arms, and concur with them in deſtroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor ſuffer other people to enjoy their poſſeſſions in quiet. He concluded with aſſuring them, if they truſted any longer to expedients they would be ruined, becauſe *Philip* would every day grow ſtronger, and they weaker; whereas, by following vigorous and uniform counſels, they might poſſibly retrieve all things, and reduce *Philip* and his *Macedonians* to their primitive obſcurity. The *Athenians* liſtened, as
e they were wont to do, attentively to his diſcourſe, and came to ſome reſolutions which were ſuitable thereto; but contented themſelves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To ſay the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was *Chares*, a man of great vices and ſmall abilities; it is true, *Phocion* was then in their ſervice, but they employed him in a trifling war in *Cyprus*, where it was not in his power to do them much good; beſides, he was ſo modeſt that he never fought command, nor inſtigated wars that he might raiſe his authority by them, though, taken as a ſoldier and an orator, as a ſtateſman and a general, he was by far the greateſt *Athenian* of his time. As he was a moſt diſintereſted patriot, he could have no great affection for *Philip*, but, as he
f perfectly well knew the diſpoſition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to ſupport long ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to pull down the *Macedonian* power, he did not expreſs himſelf vehemently, but choſe rather to cultivate the eſteem which on all occaſions *Philip* ſhewed for the ſtate of *Athens* as a means of preſerving her, when things ſhould be in that ſtate which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will eaſily diſcern, that *Demoſthenes* and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his deſigns vaſt and ſurprizing; *Phocion* on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himſelf in very few words, and propoſed things at once fit and eaſy to be done; yet he ſeldom or never concured with the people, but ſpoke as poignantly againſt their vices as *De-*

mosthenes himself; insomuch, that this orator once told him, *The* Athenians, Phoci- a
on, *in some of their mad fits will murder thee. The same*, answered he, *may fall to thee*, Demosthenes, *if ever they come to be sober*. At this season such of the *Athenians* as had a competent share of eloquence and knowledge in state affairs, applied themselves to the management of the assemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; such again, as had spent their time in the army, addicted themselves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain such commands as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, seldom aspiring to the sureme magistracy, but confining themselves wholly to what they conceived their sphere. *Phocion* was too wise not to discern how dangerous such a con- b
duct must in the end prove to the state; he saw, that their speakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become soldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himself therefore alike to both, he spoke frequently in the assemblies, but in few, plain, and significant words; he refused no commands that were assigned him, never canvassed for any, and lived and died poor. The *Chalcidian* cities fell most of them into the hands of *Philip* in the last year of the hundred and seventh *olympiad*, and the year following he made war on the *Olynthians*, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an overmatch for his predecessors. When the news of this expedition was spread through *Greece*, *Demosthenes* exerted his utmost eloquence to engage the *Athenians* to aid the people of *Olynthus* to the utmost of their power, and there are still remaining three c
excellent orations on this subject. The reasons offered by him appeared so clear, and the necessity of sending succours to *Olynthus* was made so evident, that relief was decreed. The supplies sent were small, but they came so opportunely, that the *Olynthians* received great advantages from them, which being reported at *Athens*, the people became insolent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the *Athenians* had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the side they favoured; but *Demosthenes* shewed them the vanity of these light conceits in his third oration on the *Olynthian* war, wherein he told them, that there was indeed some merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of losing even this, if they did not proceed with the same spirit, and enable their confederates d
not only to repulse the invasion of *Philip*, but also to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into *Macedon*, which of late years *Philip* had struck through all his neighbours. But the *Athenians* were not able to relish such high-seasoned discourses, they were content to send a squadron now and then to the coasts of *Thrace* with a small body of land-troops on board; but to think seriously of a war like that which their fore-fathers had sustained against the *Peloponnesians*, and for it to forego all their public diversions, and relinquish all the donatives which they at present received from the revenue of the state, was what the *Athenians* of those times could not be brought to endure; what therefore *Demosthenes* had predicted came exactly to pass, *Olynthus* could not long resist the power of *Philip*'s armies and his bribes; e
on the contrary, two of its citizens betrayed the place into his hands, where having exercised all that his cruelty and his avarice could dictate, he marched away, big with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire and ruining his neighbours [z].

The *Phocian*, or, as the friends of *Philip* affected to call it, *the sacred* war, was open yet, and the *Boeotians* and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, entreated the king of *Macedon* to come down into the heart of *Greece*, and put an end thereto. But *Philip*, being at that time intent on his conquests in *Thrace*, did not listen so readily to this proposal as was expected; the true reason was, that he grew apprehensive of the *Athenians*, and was in some doubt, whether, considering their great interest in *Thrace*, they might not be able to stir up much mischief in his absence. He therefore proposed to make peace with them, and, his party in *Athens* having drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their republic, *Æschines* with some other deputies were sent to treat with him. He made these embassadors wait his leisure, until he had finished his affairs in *Thrace*; then he came suddenly down into *Thessaly*, proposing to pass immediately into *Phocis*, which grievously alarmed the *Athenians*, notwithstanding their ministers had concluded a peace for seven years. *Demosthenes* advised them to send and demand a ratification of the treaty before he passed the *Pylæ*, as also to persuade

[z] Diodor. lib. xvi. Plut. in vit. Demost. & Phocion. Justin. lib. ix. Demost. Olynth. & Philip.

a perſuade him not to undertake a war againſt the *Phocians*. On the other hand, the *Bœotians* ſent to intreat him to continue his march and come ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance. *Philip* heard all the embaſſadors, and though their demands were diametrically oppoſite, he promiſed them all to do as they deſired, and thereby kept them in a ſtate of dependence; till he ſeized the poſt of *Thermopylæ*; then coming down with a mighty army into *Locris* in the third year of the hundred and eighth *olympiad*, he put an end to the ſacred war by his preſence only, for the *Phocians*, finding themſelves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave to march away with ſuch as would follow him; the reſt were left to the mercy of *Philip*, who referred them to the *Amphictyons*, which great council, in return for
b this eminent ſervice, took from the *Phocians* their double voice, and gave it to *Philip* and his ſubjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he bent his arms firſt againſt the *Illyrians*, and ſoon after, when he conceived the *Athenians* unable to help them, he attempted to bring the *Perynthians* under his dominion. *Perynthus* was ſeated on the ſhore of *Propontis*, and, as it always favoured the *Athenians*, had incurred the *Macedonian*'s high diſpleaſure. The inhabitants, however, were not eaſily ſubdued, they had learned from the *Athenians* to ſet a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themſelves valiantly, when they heard that *Philip* was marching againſt them. The *Perſian* king beginning to doubt the deſigns of the *Macedonian*, whoſe anceſtors had been his tributaries, gave
c inſtructions to his lieutenants, who were neareſt *Perynthus*, to favour the inhabitants as much as poſſible; the *Byzantines* alſo, doubting much the intentions of *Philip*, ſent *Perynthus* a very great ſupply, inſomuch, that they not a little weakened their own forces, of which *Philip* having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up *Perynthus*, and marched at the head of the reſt to ſurprize or beſiege *Byzantium*; at the news of this the *Athenians* were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed, that ſuccours ſhould be immediately ſent, and with more than ordinary care put it in the power of *Chares*, who was elected general, to ſail with a good fleet and a numerous army to the aſſiſtance of the *Byzantines*; yet this effected nothing, for when the fleet appeared off of *Byzantium*, the inhabitants of that city refuſed to let it enter
d their port, having before experienced the worth of the *Athenian* admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pyrate with a commiſſion. *Chares*, having dreſſed this refuſal in the worſt colours poſſible, diſpatched advice of it home, where it put the *Athenians* into a mighty chafe, and cauſed many of them to ſay in the aſſembly, that it was a pity they had aſſiſted the *Byzantines* at all; upon which *Phocion* riſing up addreſſed them in the following conciſe terms: *My maſters, you ought not ſo much to blame the jealouſy of your allies, as the baſe behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you ſuſpected even to thoſe who are unable to ſupport themſelves without your aſſiſtance.* Upon this the people with their uſual inconſtancy dropped their former opinion, and unanimouſly choſe *Phocion* general, who, immediately ſailing to the *Helleſpont*, received the
e Command of the fleet from *Chares*, and again appeared before *Byzantium*, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the *Byzantines* would by no means permit it, ſetting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the *Athenians* when they had *Phocion* for their general, who quickly obliged *Philip* to return to his own dominions, took many of his ſhips, recovered ſeveral places into which he had put gariſons, and exceedingly haraſſed the frontiers of his kingdom, ſo that it appeared, that the *Macedonian* was not invincible when oppoſed by a man of probity as well as of abilities [a].

f Sometime after this the *Megareans* privately ſought the friendſhip of the *Athenians*. *Phocion*, being apprehenſive that the *Bœotians* would exert themſelves to prevent this union, cauſed an aſſembly to be called very early in the morning; where having preſented the petition from *Megara* and backed it with great warmth, the *Athenians* came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all ſuch as would go on this expedition ſhould immediately aſſemble in arms, and a great number preſenting themſelves very readily, he without more ado put himſelf at their head, and marched directly away to *Megara*, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port *Niſæa*, and thereby effectually ſecured it to the *Athenians*; after this he was ſent again among the iſlands to regulate all things for the intereſt of his country. *Philip* in the mean time neglected nothing

[a] Diodor. Plut. Just. ubi ſupra.

which

which might either tend to the raiſing of his own power, or depreſſing that of the *Greek* ſtates; but, above all deſiring to humble the *Athenians*, he came ſuddenly down to *Phocis*, and having ſeized *Elatæa*, he there aſſembled a mighty army with a reſolution to invade *Attica*, for which purpoſe there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing through *Bœotia*; the *Athenians* upon this were in the utmoſt confuſion, ſo that *Demoſthenes* had need of all his eloquence to keep up their ſpirits; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon them to declare war againſt *Philip*, and to ſend to the *Bœotians* to intreat them to ſtand faſt for the liberty of *Greece*; he alſo engaged them to raiſe a very conſiderable army in an inſtant, and to chuſe *Chares* and *Lyſicles* generals, who without more ado marched into *Bœotia*, where they were kindly received and promiſed all things. *Philip*, however, reſolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, ſent *Python* into *Bœotia* to perſuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the *Athenians* oppoſed *Demoſthenes*, whoſe eloquence prevailing, the *Bœotians* joined their utmoſt force with the *Athenians*, and reſolved to hazard all in a general engagement. *Demoſthenes* magnified this at *Athens* as a mighty ſtroke of policy, becauſe he put the war at a diſtance from *Attica*, to which *Phocion* ſhrewdly replied; *Let us not be ſo careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a diſtance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worſt of calamities will be ſoon at our doors.* *Phocion* had the reſolution alſo to expreſs at the ſame time a diſlike of the war and a doubtfulneſs of its event, nay even to propoſe an accommodation and the renewing of the peace with *Philip*, when an *Athenian* of very bad character cried out, *Dareſt thou*, Phocion, *think of diſſuading the Athenians from the war, now the ſword is drawn? Yes, I dare*, returned he, *though I know that in time of war I ſhall always be thy Maſter, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine.* The event ſhewed how juſt a notion *Phocion* had of things, for *Philip* coming down at laſt with an army of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* met him at *Chæronæa*. In this battle, which began at the riſing of the ſun, *Alexander* commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it conſiſted, the *Athenians* having the right, and the *Bœotians* the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon *Stratocles* an *Athenian* commander cried out, *Come on, brother ſoldiers, let us drive them back to* Macedon; which king *Philip* hearing, ſaid very coolly to one of his officers, *Theſe* Athenians *do not know how to conquer.* Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be ſtreightened, and drawing his men up very cloſe, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the *Athenians* were eager in their purſuit, he came down like thunder, broke, and routed them with prodigious ſlaughter. *Demoſthenes* acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deſerted his poſt, and was one of the firſt that fled. *Philip* did not preſerve that wiſdom after his victory which he had ſhewn in the fight; for he danced about like one diſtracted with joy, and coming up to the band of *Athenian* priſoners, treated them with ſcoffs and ill languague; upon which *Demades*, who was one of them could not help reproving him: *Since fortune*, O Philip, ſaid he, *ſeems to have aſſigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *why wilt thou play* Therſites? At which *Philip* bluſhing ordered him to be immediately releaſed, and diſcharged likewiſe the reſt of the *Athenian* captives, who ſending afterwards to demand their baggage, *Philip* ſaid laughing, *I believe theſe people don't think we beat them in earneſt.* He ordered them, however, to be given them; he likewiſe ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to renew the peace, which was done. After this *Philip* convoked a general aſſembly of the *Greeks*, into which *Demades* perſuaded the *Athenians* to inſiſt on being received. *Phocion* oppoſed it, alledging, that they ought firſt to be informed what *Philip* would demand in that aſſembly; however, it was carried againſt him; but when it afterwards appeared, that the *Athenians* were by this raſh ſtep obliged to furniſh the king with a body of horſe and a ſquadron of ſhips, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the aſſembly *Demades* and the other orators, who were ſo forward in the buſineſs, expreſſing at the ſame time a doubt, whether they ought to comply with articles ſo unworthy of the *Athenian* ſtate. *Phocion* upon this ſtood up again, *I foreſaw, gentlemen*, ſaid he, *what would happen, and therefore I was againſt this ſtep when it was firſt propoſed; but ſince it is once taken, I am for it, and adviſe you to bear it as well as you can, always remembring the conduct of your anceſtors, who ſuited their behaviour to their fortune; ſometimes giving laws, ſometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preſerved their own city, but alſo all* Greece. The kindneſs expreſſed

a expreſſed by the king towards the *Athenians* was not over ſincere, ſince he doubted ſo far of them, as to require, on the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*, that a deputy ſhould be ſent from them with a gold crown, as from the reſt of the cities, which was accordingly done, and preſented to him in the midſt of the marriage ſolemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conſpirator againſt *Philip* fled to *Athens* he ſhould be delivered up. At this marriage, however, *Philip* was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at *Athens*; *Demoſthenes* and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which *Phocion* reprehended, bidding them remember, *that the army, which had beat them at* Chœronæa, *was leſſened but by one.* This

b reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put *Lyſicles* their general to death, merely becauſe he was ſo unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed *Demoſthenes* to exalt the memory of thoſe who fell therein in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to theſe meaſures had juſt now flattered the king by ſending him a crown of gold, ran again into the ſame extravagancies, and heard with pleaſure all the harſh things the orators could ſay of the young *Alexander*, whom they repreſented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to graſp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing; but he ſoon gave them occaſion to underſtand, that they were mightily miſtaken by his quick diſſolution of that confederacy which they formed, not only for depriving him

c of the command of *Greece*, but even of his hereditary dominions; for *Demoſthenes* taking pains to inſpire all the ſtates with high notions of liberty, the *Ætolians* firſt of all made a decree to recall the exiles whom *Philip* had driven out of their country. The *Ambraciots* drove out the *Macedonian* gariſon, the *Thebans* caſt out that which had been eſtabliſhed in the citadel, the *Arcadians*, as they had refuſed to give their votes for *Philip*'s becoming general of *Greece*, ſo they now rejected *Alexander*; the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Lacedæmonians*, and others in *Peloponneſus*, all ſpoke the ſame language, and all determined to throw off that yoke which the *Macedonians* had impoſed; they likewiſe treated with *Attalus*, *Alexander*'s uncle, who aſpired to the kingdom, to favour his pretenſions; ſo that if the ſon of *Philip* had really been as

d weak as the *Athenian* orators would have repreſented him, he muſt have been cruſhed by ſuch a load of oppoſition; but he, far from being diſmayed, came firſt into the council of the *Amphictyons*, where he procured himſelf to be recognized general of *Greece*. He then marched immediately towards *Thebes* with a numerous army, ſacked, and plundered it, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt of the confederates, that no-body durſt oppoſe him. As to the *Athenians*, he refuſed to admit them into his favour, unleſs they delivered up to him *Demoſthenes*, and, as ſome ſay, nine more of their orators; other hiſtorians ſay, but ſeven. This ſtruck the aſſembly with the utmoſt terror, none knowing what to ſay, or what to propoſe; at laſt they called upon *Phocion* and deſired his opinion, upon

e which, ariſing up and pointing to his friend *Nicocles*: *Theſe perſons*, ſaid he, *whom* Alexander *demands of you, are they who have brought you into theſe miſerable circumſtances; circumſtances ſo miſerable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I ſhould adviſe you to deliver him innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchaſe your ſafety, I would reſign it chearfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that thoſe who have fled for ſuccour from the deſolation of* Thebes, *ſhould have ſo little hopes of ſafety here; ſurely it would be more for our intereſt to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle:* Demoſthenes contented himſelf with ſaying, *that once on a time the wolves offered to make peace with the ſheep; but firſt, ſaid he, they would have them give up their dogs.* The ſtream, however,

f was too ſtrong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way. The firſt decree which the *Athenians* paſſed for making peace and which they ſent to *Alexander*, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the embaſſadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when *Phocion* preſented the ſecond decree, he received him very graciouſly, and not only granted him his requeſts, but liſtened to his advice, nay he had the complaiſance to tell him at parting; *Your* Athenians *ought to have their eyes about them, for, if I ſhould miſcarry, they only are worthy to command.* The friendſhip, which *Alexander* contracted with this general, was not broke off or interrupted by his expedition into *Aſia*; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty preſents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was ſtill a greater mark of his regard,

when he no longer uſed in his letters the praiſe of *Alexander wiſhes health*, he preſerved it to him and *Antipater*, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occaſion for gallies to complete his fleet, he ſent to demand thoſe which had been promiſed him by the *Athenians*; the orators, as they were wont, oppoſed this as derogatory to their freedom; at laſt *Phocion* being required to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments freely, which were, that the gallies ſhould be immediately ſent; *For*, ſaid he, *till you can put yourſelves at the head of* Greece, *I would have you the friends of thoſe who are at the head of it*. *Harpalus*, one of *Alexander*'s commanders, having in ſeveral reſpects failed in his duty, and dreading the reſentment of his prince, fled with an immenſe quantity of treaſure, which he had amaſſed together out of the ſpoils of *Aſia*. *Athens* was the city of *Greece* he thought the moſt proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he came and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that, ſince he came laden with wealth, he ſhould meet with friends enough to be purchaſed. Accordingly moſt of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be ſerviceable, and upon what terms; as for *Demoſthenes*, his good ſenſe engaged him to make a warm oration againſt receiving a perſon who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the commonwealth in a war, at once dangerous and unjuſt; but a few days after, when the treaſure was publickly brought aſhore and laid up, *Demoſthenes* being preſent took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon *Harpalus* deſired him to poize it in his hand, and conſider its weight; which he did, and then aſked the price of it; *To you, Sir* (ſaid *Harpalus*) *it ſhall come with twenty talents*; at night accordingly it was ſent, and *Demoſthenes*, when he was called upon the next day in the aſſembly to deliver his opinion, ſhewed his neck, which was ſwathed round with ſeveral rollers, and made ſigns, that he was unable to ſpeak, upon which ſome of the wits ſaid, *The orator had got a ſilver quinſey*. As for *Phocion*, *Harpalus* knew well that he was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſent him no leſs than ſeven hundred talents, and offered to commit himſelf and all his affairs to his diſpoſal; but *Phocion* treated thoſe who came to him very roughly, and threatned not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the laſt time in the aſſembly, thoſe who had received his money railed moſt at *Harpalus* to conceal their own guilt, whereas *Phocion* expreſſed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in ſuch gentle terms, that *Harpalus* again offered him money; but he was impregnable, and in the end the *Athenians* expelled the *Macedonian* the city, and ordered the court of *Areopagus* to take cognizance of ſuch as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very ſeverely with them, and particularly fined *Demoſthenes* fifty talents, and ordered him to be impriſoned till it was paid, but he ſhortly after made his eſcape from thence and fled to *Ægina*, where he remained till after the death of *Alexander*, which was no very long time [a].

This great event altered all the affairs of *Greece*; the *Athenians* had been much diſſatisfied with him, for deſigning to take from them *Samos*, in order to reſtore it to its antient inhabitants; and therefore, when *Aſclepiades*, the ſon of *Hipparchus*, brought the firſt news of it to *Athens*, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what *Aſclepiades* had related was true. *Phocion*, fearing they would do ſome mad action or other, cried out, *Well, ſuppoſe it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow, ay, and the next day, ſo that we ſhall have time enough to deliberate coolly*. The orators unanimouſly concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all *Greece* was in commotion, ſo that at length it was carried by a great majority, that the *Athenians* ſhould take upon them the defence of the common liberty, ſhould free all the cities from their gariſons, ſhould fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail, and that all men under forty years old ſhould take up arms. *Leoſthenes* was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched againſt the *Macedonians*. *Antipater*, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, ſent to *Craterus* in *Cilicia* to come to his aſſiſtance, but in the interim he marched into *Theſſaly* himſelf with 13000 foot, and 600 horſe. The *Theſſalians* joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when *Leoſthenes* approached, and it appeared, that the *Athenians* and their confederates were by far more numerous, the *Theſſalians* deſerted to

[a] Diodor. lib. x. ii. Plut. in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xi. & xii.

a to them; yet *Antipater* had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himself constrained to fly; but he shewed himself a great general in his flight, for arriving with some foot at *Lamia* a city in *Thessaly*, he caused the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops as fast as they came up, so that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obstinate resistance. *Leosthenes*, coming up with the confederate army, invested and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by storm, he was constrained to make a regular siege: *Antipater* watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by fresh troops, made a sally upon the workmen, and put them in great disorder. *Leosthenes*, coming to encourage them, was
b unfortunately killed with a stone, which greatly dispirited the *Greeks*; however, they chose *Antiphalus* their general and continued the war, notwithstanding *Antipater* had escaped out of *Lamia*; not long after they routed the *Macedonians*, under the command of *Leonatus*, which victory was their ruin; for slighting the *Macedonians*, many returned home to their respective cities. *Antipater* having joined the remains of *Leonatus*'s army, and being joined afterwards by *Craterus*, who yielded to him the command, he soon after fought and routed the *Greeks* under the command of *Antiphalus* and *Memnon*: though there were but five hundred men slain in this battle, yet the confederates were so dispirited that they sent to *Antipater* to treat of peace; but *Antipater* refused to treat at all of a general peace, professing at the
c same time, that he was willing to hear and receive embassadors from each of the cities, and to consider their respective demands. At first the *Grecians* rejected this with scorn, but when several of the *Thessalian* cities were taken by storm, they were glad to treat upon the terms prescribed, upon which *Antipater* received the embassadors very kindly, and granted almost every thing they desired; thus the *Athenians* were deprived of all their confederates, and in a short time reduced to the utmost extremity. In this distress *Phocion* with some of the orators were deputed to go to *Cadmæa*, where *Antipater* was encamped, to procure from him, if possible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, *Phocion* intreated that the terms might be adjusted there, whereas *Craterus* was for marching into *Attica*, and treating with
d the *Athenians*, as it were at their own doors; saying it was unreasonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. *Antipater* replied, that what he said was just; But yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to *Phocion*. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather *Antipater* imposed upon the *Athenians* these conditions; that *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* should be delivered up, that the antient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored, that they should receive a garison into *Munichia*, defray the charges of the war, and submit to some other taxes. *Phocion* was very desirous that they might be spared the garison; but *Anti-*
pater answered, *I will deny thee*, Phocion, *nothing, but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own.* In consequence of this treaty, *Menyllus*, a man of great sweetness
e of temper and one of *Phocion*'s friends, was sent to command the garison, which entered *Munichia*; *Demosthenes* in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to *Antipater*; and being pursued by some persons in that nobleman's service, poisoned himself (P). The *Macedonian* garison being settled in *Athens*, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchised and sent into *Thrace*, where *Antipater* assigned them

(P) As to the character and eloquence of *Demosthenes*, we have spoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greatest part of which have escaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elsewhere; in this note we have nothing in view, but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length, would have broke in on the thread of our history, and to have passed over in few Words, must have offended the peruser. When he was banished, that is voluntarily, by flying from prison, some of his enemies followed him out of town; from these he endeavoured to hide himself, but they having him in view, kept close to him, and at last coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and presented him with a sum of money for his support; whereupon *Demosthenes* broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, *Alas, how shall I support my self under so heavy an Affliction, since I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elsewhere?* To say the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greatest part of which he spent either in *Ægina* or *Træzene*, from whence he could see the coast of *Attica*, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes; he had a just sense, however, of the danger, to which wise men are exposed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; *O Goddess*, Minerva, *whence comes it, that thou delightest in three such fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people.* When *Leosthenes* led the *Greeks* against *Antipater*, and endeavoured to prevent slavery from being induced

them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time political affairs were managed by men of the better sort, and especially by *Phocion*, who was in very high credit with *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. He was for proceeding still on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the *Athenians*, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually repining at the loss of that power, which they knew not how to manage, abhorred the sight of the *Macedonian* garison, which they knew not how to remove, and earnestly longed for an alteration of circumstances, though there was no reason to hope that such an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually pressing *Phocion* to apply to *Antipater* for removing the garison, and at last finding all their sollicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on *Demades* the orator, who was also in the *Macedonian* interest, and had been greatly favoured by *Antipater*. This man, willing to do the people a pleasure, and at the same time to make a display of his interest, readily undertook the proposed embassy. This *Athenian* was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and disinterestedness were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may guess from this saying of *Antipater*'s, *That he had two friends at* Athens, Phocion *and* Demades, *the former a man who would receive no satisfaction for the services he did him, and the latter who would never be satisfied how much so ever he received.* Whether *Antipater* had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether *Demades* had reason to hope greater appointments from *Perdiccas*, who was *Antipater's* mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but so it was, that *Demades* had entered into a correspondence with *Perdiccas*, and had put him upon invading *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and assuming the government of them himself, making use in one of his letters of this expression, *That at present they leaned on an old rotten staff*, meaning *Antipater*. It so fell out, that all these transactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out, while *Demades* and his son *Demias* were solliciting the recal of the garison; upon which *Antipater* ordered the son to be put to death, not only in the presence of the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this *Demades* himself

induced by all the commanders of *Alexander* the great, *Demosthenes* exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in stirring up all the little states to remain firm in their confederacy for supporting the *Grecian* liberty, Amongst the rest, he travelled to the *Arcadians*, among whom one *Pythcas* an agent of the *Macedonians* was very busy; this man, seeing the the *Athenian* embassadors and *Demosthenes* with them at a public assembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain sign there is some disease in the family where asses milk is brought, so the coming of the *Athenian* embassy was an ever-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indisposed. *Demosthenes* immediately retorted this comparison. As asses milk, said he, is never carried into a house, but with an intent to restore the health of those who dwell therein; so the *Athenians* never send their embassadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of those distempers with which it is afflicted. On the report of this the *Athenians* instantly recalled him, found a means to satisfy his fine, and paid him the highest honours they could invent, but his prosperity was of a very short continuance; for in *September* the *Greeks* lost the battle of *Cranon*, in *October* the *Macedonian* garison entered *Athens*, in *November Demosthenes* fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him the same month; for one *Archias* a player to having undertaken, *Antipater* to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Neptune* in the little island of *Calauria*, he passed over thither with a small detachment of *Thracian* guards. When he found *Demosthenes*, he would fain have persuaded him to go with him to *Antipater*, assuring him, that he would receive no harsh treatment, which was very improbable because, most of his friends were already murdered. To these fine speeches therefore the orator answered, O Archias, *I was never much pleased with you as a player, and now I am as little moved by you as a Negotiator.* Archias beginning at this to grow angry and to threaten him; *Now*, said Demosthenes, *thou speakest like the mouth of* Macedon; *before thou didst but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family.* Having thus spoken he withdrew himself farther into the temple, and taking some paper as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for some time. Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The soldiers who stood at the door, supposing all this to proceed from pusillanimity, in derision called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And *Archias* drawing near desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had said before, he once more promised to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demosthenes*, perceiving, that now the poison had pierced and seized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon *Archias*, *Now*, said he, *as soon as you please you may act the part of* Creon *in the tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied*; *but*, continued he, turning towards the altar, *O gracious* Neptune, *I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, arise and depart out of this sacred place, without profaning it*; *but* Antipater *and the* Macedonians *have not left so much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death.* After he had thus spoken, he desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger; as he was going forward and passing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost (3).

(3) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen. prope fin.*

himself was put to death; and the *Athenians* left without hopes of ever seeing this
a bit taken out of their mouths [b].

Cassander seizes Athens. *Year after the flood*, 2681. *Year before Christ*, 318.

On the death of *Antipater* two factions sprung up in *Macedonia*, the one headed by *Polyperchon*, who had the custody of the persons of the kings and the other by *Cassander* the son of *Antipater*; the latter sent *Nicanor* to command the garrison in *Athens*, a man of great art and a good soldier; with him *Phocion* often conversed, labouring all he could to persuade him to use the citizens kindly; and to leave the government in the same condition in which he found it; *Polyperchon*, on the other hand, desiring to recover the *Greek* cities from his rival *Cassander*, published a decree in the kings name, restoring them all to freedom, par-
b ticularly *Athens*, directing the garrison immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be restored; this had its effect, for it put the *Athenians* all into confusion; *Nicanor* refused to obey the decree, and because *Phocion* corresponded with him afterwards, the people accused him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he desired nothing more than to see their liberty restored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unsupported by arms, *Nicanor* paying no respect to *Polyperchon*'s orders. Not long after *Polyperchon* came with the kings and a great army into *Attica*, or at least to the borders of *Attica*, whither *Phocion* was sent, and deputies from the *Athenians* to accuse him; *Polyperchon*, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had published, sent back *Phocion* and his friends
c chained in carts, with this message, *That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the* Athenians *as a free people*. As soon as there was silence made that he could be heard, *Phocion* demanded, whether they intended to proceed against them by form of law; and some crying out that they would, *Phocion* demanded, how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no such thing was to be expected, he cried out, *As for myself, I confess the crime objected to me, and submit myself to the judgment of the law; but consider, O ye* Athenians, *what have these poor innocent men done, that they should be involved in the same calamity with me?* The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the
d decree was read, adjudging them all to death, *viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Theudippus, Agamon*, and *Pythocles*; these were present; *Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles*, and others, were condemned in their absence; some moved, that *Phocion* might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the assembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimously; some putting on garlands of flowers when they gave their votes; as he was going to die, a person who was his intimate friend asked him, if he had any message for his son, *Yes*, replyed Phocion, *tell him, it is my last command, that he forget how ill the* Athenians *treated his father*. The spleen of his enemies was not extinguished with
e his death, they passed a decree, whereby his corps was banished the *Athenian* territories, they likewise forbad any *Athenian* to furnish fire for the funeral pile. One *Conopion* an undertaker took up the corps and carried it beyond *Eleusina*, where he borrowed some fire of a *Megarean* woman and burned it. A *Megarean* matron, who attended with her maids, raised on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the same time thus to the *Penates*. *To you, O ye* gods, *guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the most excellent* Phocion; *protect them, I beseech you, from all insults, and deliver them one day to be reposited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the* Athenians *shall become wiser*. It was not long before this came
f to pass, when the *Athenians* began to cool a little, and remember the many kindnesses they had received from *Phocion*; they decreed him a statue of brass, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence, and decreed that his accusers should be put to death; *Agnonides*, who was principally concerned, suffered; but *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, who were also concerned in it, fled; however, *Phocion*'s son met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almost the only good action he ever did, he having a very small share of his father's *abilities*, and none at all of his *virtues*. It was not long, however, before *Cassander* came with a great fleet into the port of *Athens*, and by the help of *Nicanor*, who commanded in the fort *Munichia*,

[b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xxvi.

Munichia, reduced this city into ſuch ſtreights, that the *Athenians* were content to a
ſubmit to him upon theſe terms: that he ſhould leave a gariſon in the fort, and appoint ſome *Athenian* to preſide over the city. He accordingly placed *Demetrius Phalereus* in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being deſcended from *Conon*, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had ſtudied under the philoſopher *Theophraſtus*, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philoſopher; he treated the *Athenians* with the utmoſt kindneſs, and made uſe of that power, which he might eaſily have improved into a tyranny, to do thoſe things for them which their factions had hitherto hindred them from doing for themſelves. He encreaſed their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent ſtructures, reſtored ſuch as b
were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other reſpect gave ſuch ſignal teſtimonies of his tender affection for them, that the *Athenians* ſet up no leſs than three hundred ſtatues to his honour, moſt of them equeſtrian; but becauſe he derived his power from *Caſſander*, and they were not able to depoſe him at their pleaſure, they ſecretly hated him, of which we ſhall ſee many inſtances hereafter [c].

Demetrius Poliorcetes *frees* Athens. *Year after the flood*, 2692. *Before Chriſt*, 307.

Antigonus, the moſt magnanimous of *Alexander*'s captains, and his ſon *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, *i. e. the city-taker*, having reſolved to free *Greece* from the yoke of *Caſſander*, determined to begin with *Athens*. The young prince *Demetrius*, who was the handſomeſt, and at the ſame time one of the braveſt, men of his time, took c
upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoiſting falſe colours he ſailed, without the leaſt oppoſition, into the port of *Athens*, where a multitude of people were aſſembled on the ſhore, who, when they diſcovered their miſtake, armed themſelves in haſte; but *Demetrius* quickly diſarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he cauſed a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other deſign than to deliver them from the oppreſſion of *Caſſander*, to expel the garriſon which he had placed in the fort, and to reſtore to them their antient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud ſhouts, beſtowing on him the title of *deliverer* and *benefactor*. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, he was in a moment deſerted, d
and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of ſuffering death. He thereupon ſent one *Ariſtodemus* to *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to *Thebes*: *Demetrius* received this meſſenger very reſpectfully, ſaid he came not to injure perſons of worth, and granted *Demetrius* both his requeſts; after this he blocked up the fortreſs of *Munichia*, and then departed to *Megara*, where *Caſſander* had alſo a garriſon; having ſet this place at liberty, he returned to *Athens*, and attacked *Munichia* ſo briſkly, that he took it by aſſault; after which at the earneſt intreaty of the *Athenians* he entered the city in great pomp, and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he therein publicly declared, that he did not only freely reſtore them to e
their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to beſtow on them fifteen thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ſuch a quantity of timber as would enable them to build a hundred gallies for the defence of their city. Theſe mighty favours the *Athenians* repaid with moſt unmanly flattery, for they beſtowed on *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* not only the title of *kings*, which hitherto they had not taken, but alſo ſtyled them *tutelar deities* and *deliverers*; and appointed a prieſt to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the firſt archon, they decreed, that for the future it ſhould be deſigned by the name of this prieſt. They cauſed the portraits of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* to be placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar where *Demetrius* firſt alighted from his chariot, and ſtiled it *the author of the deſcent of Demetrius*; they added two new tribes to the ten which already ſubſiſted, and called them *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*. To ſum up all, *Stratocles* propoſed and had it decreed, that, as often as they ſent embaſſadors to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, they ſhould be ſtiled *embaſſadors of the gods*; they changed the name of the month *Munichion* into *Demetrion*. It would be tedious to dwell on the reſt of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the ſame time that they paid all this court to *Antigonus* and his ſon, paſſed a decree, whereby they adjudged *Demetrius Phalereus* to death, ordered

[c] DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN.

a ordered all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and even ſent perſons to execute; as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give thoſe whom they now flattered to underſtand, that they would be ſure to deſert them, when they were deſerted by fortune. The democratic government was no ſooner reſtored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accuſations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of *Sophocles* the people decreed, that no philoſophers ſhould teach unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people, which occaſioned *Theophraſtus* the ſucceſſor of *Ariſtotle* to break up his ſchool. It is likely, that they were diſpleaſed with this great man, becauſe he was much in favour with
b *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, and becauſe their late governor *Demetrius Phalereus* had been his ſcholar; however, their reſentment did not laſt long, for they afterwards reſcinded this decree, and recalled the philoſophers; but their protector *Demetrius* being engaged with all his force in the ſiege of *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* took this opportunity of vindicating his title to *Greece*, and coming with a powerful army to ſupport it, many of the cities revolted to him, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he penetrated as far as *Attica*, and laid ſiege to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, thus diſtreſſed, ſent for aid to *Demetrius*, who came ſpeedily to their relief, and after obliging *Caſſander* to raiſe the ſiege, ſtript him in a very ſhort time of all his conqueſts. After this ſucceſs he put various cities under the power of the *Athenians*, and multiplied his good turns,
c as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The *Athenians* in return racked their wits to deviſe new compliments and acts of flattery, ſtill ſuperior to thoſe which they performed before. They aſſigned *Demetrius* lodgings behind the temple of *Minerva*, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her ſervice; this was a ſcandalous inſult on religion, becauſe *Demetrius* was remarkably intemperate with reſpect to women. But the *Athenians* were ſo corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural luſts, which afforded an inſtance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to lateſt times. There lived now in *Athens* a young gentleman ſo remarkably handſome, that he was ſtyled the beautiful *Damocles*; him *Demetrius* purſued where-ever he appeared, ſo that the poor young man was conſtrained to avoid the
d public bathing-places and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither *Demetrius* came, and ſurprized him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never enough to be commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it was ſtifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on ſuch particulars as theſe in any other period of the *Athenian* hiſtory; but the *Athenians* having now forgot to act, we are conſtrained to entertain the reader with what they ſaid, and having no more victories to ſpeak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, *Demetrius* had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the prieſts of *Ceres*, and admitted to all the myſteries. Now the conſtant practice in this caſe was, that he who
e deſired ſuch admiſſion was introduced as a novice in the leſſer myſteries in the month of *November*, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of *Auguſt* following: but when *Demetrius* ſignified his deſire it was the month of *March*. *Stratocles* furniſhed them with an invention which ſet all things to rights, and which ought everlaſtingly to be remembered to the diſhonour of this ſervile flattering people. He propoſed a decree and procured it to be paſſed, that the month of *March* ſhould become *November*; in conſequence of which, *Demetrius* was admitted to the leſſer myſteries: when this was over, *Stratocles* had it decreed, that the month before called *November* ſhould now be called *Auguſt*; and by virtue of this decree, *Demetrius* aſſiſted at the greater myſteries. *Philippides* the comedian could not help ſtigma-
f tizing theſe mean compliances in the following diſtich:

What miracles by flatt'ry wrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year!

THE pride with which the *Athenians* inſpired *Demetrius* and his father, drew upon them firſt the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the reſt of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* againſt them; this obliged *Demetrius* to quit *Greece* and to go into *Aſia*, where in one battle his father *Antigonus* loſt his empire and his life, and *Demetrius* was conſtrained to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips from *Epheſus* towards *Athens*, where he had left his queen *Deidamia* and great part of his navy; but in the iſlands called *Cyclades* he met with embaſſadors from that city, who informed him, that the *Athenians* had made a decree, that no crowned head ſhould enter their city; a moſt grateful

grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for a their saviour and their god! *Demetrius* did not, however, resent this usage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only desired, that his ships and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done; however, the *Athenians* were shortly after severely punished, for their seditions among themselves encouraged one *Lacharis* to seize the sovereignty, and to reduce the people to submit to him, who was but an obscure person, rather than live under the protection of so great princes; but when the affairs of *Demetrius* were a little restored, he began to think of humbling this insolent and inconstant people, who, to shew their ingratitude and contempt, passed a decree in full assembly, whereby they made it death for any person to propose a treaty or intercourse with *Demetrius* on any pretence whatsoever. This rather irri- b tated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aside his first design. He therefore first began to interrupt the trade of *Athens*, and to ruin its territories, at last he closely besieged the city; *Lacharis* in the mean time applied to *Ptolemy*, beseeching some relief, for the *Athenians* were almost starved, *Demetrius* punishing capitally such as attempted to bring them provisions; by degrees their distress grew so great, that a bushel of salt was sold for forty drachms, and a bushel of wheat for three hundred. At last a hundred and fifty ships laden with corn came from *Egypt*, and anchored at *Ægina* in sight of *Athens*; but *Demetrius* being at the same time reinforced with three hundred sail from *Cyprus* and other places, the *Egyptians* cut their cables in the night and steered away. *Lacharis*, as soon as he was acquainted with this c misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the *Athenians*, who had no choice but starving or yielding, surrendered at discretion to *Demetrius*, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He first of all commanded, that the *Athenians* should all instantly assemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he surrounded it with his guards, and so brought in a body of armed men, who were posted round the stage. The people, trembling with fear, expected every moment when the signal should be given for putting them to the sword, when through the door made for the actors, *Demetrius* came upon the stage, where in a short oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the same time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as d an instance of which he presented them with an hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and named such magistrates as were agreeable to the people. The *Athenians* immediately relapsed into their old strain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine speeches to celebrate the generosity, and extol the clemency, of this great prince, whose valour had acquired, whose abilities deserved, and whose gentleness adorned the diadem he wore. *Dromoclides*, one of the speakers on this occasion, did him a much more acceptable service than the rest; for he besides his compliments preferred a decree, whereby the haven of *Pyræum* and the castle of *Munichia* were given to the king, who was far from slighting so acceptable a present: he knew too well the fickleness of that people to trust them again, e without taking some security for their behaviour; in *Pyræum* and *Munichia* therefore he placed garrisons by virtue of the decree, and in the *Musæum*, because it was convenient and fit for his purpose; thenceforward the *Athenians* were exceedingly faithful, especially when *Demetrius* had possessed himself of the kingdom of *Macedon*; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into such circumstances that he did not presume to wear the habit of a king, the *Athenians* exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the priest of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old master getting together an army, came and besieged them, and reduced them to great streights; they had then recourse to *Crat* f *erus* the philosopher, who went out to *Demetrius*, interceded with him, and so fully persuaded him, that it would be more for his interest to pass over into *Asia*, that he left them in that liberty to which *Olympiodorus* had restored them [d].

Condition of Athens *till freed by* Aratus.

WHILE *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Sosthenes* held by turns the *Macedonian* kingdom, the *Athenians* remained free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus* threatened the destruction of the *Greeks* in general, the *Athenians* for a time exerted somewhat of their ancient magnanimity, and under their general *Calippus* did great things; for then the common danger uniting all the *Greeks*, and even the king of *Macedon* himself, they had nothing

[d] PLUT. in vit. Demet. DIOGEN. LAER. in vit. Theoph. Epicur. & Crat. ATHEN. in Deipnosoph.

a nothing to fear but the common enemy; but these dangers over, and the affairs of *Antigonus Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius* once in a prosperous way, the *Athenians* felt the weight of his power; for he, remembering how they had dealt with his father, resolved to punish them for their former behaviour; and to make sure of them for the future, he first wasted their territories, and afterwards closely besieged *Athens*; at last unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the best treaty with him they could, and in consequence thereof admitted a garrison, whereby, though they flattered themselves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his subjects, and after his death were left as such to his son *Demetrius*. About this time a spirit of liberty revived in *Greece*, and the *Achæans*, who were far from being a considerable
b people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their business to free others, in which they were exceedingly assisted by the mighty genius of *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, one of the ablest, and in all respects one of the honestest, men, that *Greece* or any other country produced; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the vast riches which the fame of his virtue procured him, in doing good to others, without having a view to any other reward than the satisfaction of doing good; this disposition of his, co-operating with the inclination of the *Achæans*, put him on two or three sudden expeditions in order to surprize *Athens*, not with any intent to seize and keep it, but to set the people free; all which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it so happened, that in the last of them, his forces being dispersed, he wandered about in
c the night, and with much ado got back to *Corinth*, while a report prevailed he was dead, upon which the *Athenians* in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became citizens to rejoice for the death of their best friends; sometime after, when *Aratus* was sick in his bed, the *Athenians* suddenly resolved they would be free, and, as if the greatest men, and even nature herself, must submit to their desires, sent for *Aratus* to come to their assistance; he thinking only of the merit of such an action, and forgetting their former ingratitude, caused himself to be carried thither in a litter; and having prevailed on *Diogenes* the *Macedonian* governor to give up the three fortresses, *Pyræum*, *Munichia*, and *Musæum*, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them out of his own pocket, and then left the *Athenians* absolutely free, having also the
d protection of the *Achæans* to guard their freedom. This happened in the beginning of the hundred and thirty-second olympiad, two thousand seven hundred and forty-seven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty-two years before Christ. Thus we have traced the history of the *Athenians* in a continued series from their becoming a free people to their junction with the *Achæans*, which hitherto hath not been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other [e].

[e] Plut. in vit. Arat. Athen. in Deipnosoph. Justin. lib. xxvi. c. 3.

CHAP. XIX.

The History of Sparta *from* Lycurgus, *to its being joined by* Philopœmen *to the* Achæans.

The scope of this chapter.

We are in this chapter to give the history of the *Lacedæmonians*, from the time of *Lycurgus* till they ceased to be an independent state; that is, for a long series of years, while they were the most considerable people in *Greece*, not from extent of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their situation, or in short from any other accidental or external cause, but from their wisdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their strict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various disguises. The stability, as well as glory, of the *Lacedæmonian* government was derived from the wise institutions of *Lycurgus*, the celebrated law-giver of *Sparta*, with whose administration we are to begin this chapter; but, previous thereto, it will be necessary to continue

tinue the list of the kings of *Sparta* begun in our former section relating to the *Lacedæmonian* affairs, that we may preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A Table of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings.

The *Agidæ*, or family of *Agis*.		
xviii	*Archelaus*	60
xix	*Teleclus*	40
xx	*Alcamenes*	37
xxi	*Polydorus*	
xxii	*Eurycrates*	
xxiii	*Anaxander*	
xxiv	*Eurycrates*	
xxv	*Leon*	
xxvi	*Anaxandrides*	
xxvii	*Cleomenes*	
xxviii	*Leonidas*	
xxix	*Pliſtarchus*	1
xxx	*Pliſtonax*	68
xxxi	*Pauſanias*	14
xxxii	*Ageſipolis*	14
xxxiii	*Cleombrotus*	9
xxxiv	*Ageſipolis*	1
xxxv	*Cleomenes*	61
xxxvi	*Areus*	44
xxxvii	*Acrotatus*	
xxxviii	*Areus*	8
xxxix	*Leonidas*	
xl	*Cleombrotus*	40
xli	*Cleomenes*	

The *Proclidæ*, or family of *Procles*.		
xviii	*Charilaus*	64
xix	*Nicander*	
xx	*Theopompus*	
xxi	*Zeuxidamus*	b
xxii	*Anaxidamus*	
xxiii	*Archidamus*	
xxiv	*Agaſicles*	
xxv	*Ariſto*	
xxvi	*Dæmaratus*	
xxvii	*Leotychides*	22
xxviii	*Archidamus*	42
xxix	*Agis*	42
xxx	*Ageſilaus*	41 c
xxxi	*Archidamus*	23
xxxii	*Argis*	9
xxxiii	*Eudamidas*	
xxxiv	*Archidamus*	
xxxv	*Eudamidas*	
xxxvi	*Agis*	
xxxvii	*Eurydamidas*	
xxxviii	*Epiclidas*	d

The noble conduct of Lycurgus, *protector of* Sparta.

Lycurgus at first held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his sister-in-law the relict of *Polydectes* was with child; *Lycurgus* then declared, that he acted only as his guardian or protector who should be born of the queen (in case she should be delivered of a son), which was a thing already common among the *Spartans*. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to *Lycurgus*, that she would make use of means to make herself miscarry, if he would promise to marry her. *Lycurgus* returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her proposal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any such violent method, assuring her, that for her sake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himself. The queen, amused by his fair speeches, reckoned on her project as already accomplished when she fell in labour, of which she immediately gave notice to *Lycurgus*, who sent some of his confidents to be present with instructions, if it was a son, to bring it to him, where-ever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at supper with some of the principal persons of the city. *Lycurgus*, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, *My Lords of* Sparta, said he, *here is a king born unto us*; then laying the child down on the chair of state, when he observed that all who were present were extremely overjoyed at the sight of so worthy and disinterested an action; he called the young prince *Charilaus*, i. e. *the joy of the people*. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exercised for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, so it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; insomuch, that they immediately began to calumniate *Lycurgus*, and to alledge, that notwithstanding all this fair shew, he intended nothing less than to resign the crown to his nephew; nay, *Leonidas*, the brother of the queen, had the assurance to tell him in a dispute which happened between them, *that he was confident it would not be long before he should see him king*. The queen likewise pretended much concern on the same account, and bewailed

a bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. *Lycurgus*, greatly alarmed at theſe practices, and deſiring to avoid not only evil, but the very ſuſpicion of evil, reſolved to ſtifle the voice of malice itſelf by going into a voluntary exile, which reſolution he carried into execution ſoon afterwards, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of the people.

THE injuries which he had received, and the baſe conſtructions which had been put on his beſt actions, did not hinder *Lycurgus* from applying himſelf, with the ſame diligence abroad, to the ſtudy of that ſcience which might render him uſeful to his country, that he was wont to practice while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot was careful, that neither time nor place ſhould alter b his attachment to his fellow citizens. Full of theſe noble conceptions he firſt viſited *Crete*, an iſland famous in the moſt ancient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been eſtabliſhed there in the moſt early ages. As far as can be gathered from *Plutarch*, it was at this time governed by ſeveral princes, or was at leaſt cantoned into various independent ſtates, through all which *Lycurgus* travelled, procuring to himſelf the acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge of their laws; ſome of which he greatly approved, others he ſlighted. Amongſt all the friendſhips which he contracted in *Crete*, that which ſtood him in moſt ſtead was his intimacy with *Thales* the *Lyric* poet, whom he perſuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return c with him to *Sparta*; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken ſongs, but one who made uſe of the ſweetneſs of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modeſty, obedience, and civil harmony, and whoſe ſongs paved the way to the admiſſion of *Lycurgus*'s laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous diſpoſition to which the *Lacedæmonians* had till then been addicted. From *Crete Lycurgus* paſſed over to the continent of *Aſia*, that he might philoſophize on the *Ionian* mode of life, which differed greatly from the *Cretan*. Here, as *Plutarch* conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of *Homer*, which he eagerly tranſcribed and brought over with him into *Greece*, whereas yet they had only ſcattered epiſodes of that famous author's poems, which were, however, highly eſteemed. d From *Ionia Lycurgus* went into *Egypt*, a place never forgot by ſuch as went in queſt of wiſdom, and there he met with that method of diſtinguiſhing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at *Sparta*. As to his voyages to *Spain*, *Afric*, and the *Indies*, *Plutarch* ſays, the credit of them reſts ſolely upon one author; at this diſtance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Inſtead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will paſs to the affairs of *Sparta* during his abſence [a].

THE inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, or treſpaſſing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, ſometimes joining with the prevailing faction, e practiſed a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to ſupport a legal authority; theſe confuſions were greater or leſs, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwiſe. At this ſame time neither of the kings had any ſhining genius, *Archelaus* had the moſt wit, but *Charilaus* was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people, however, regarded neither of them ſo much as they did *Lycurgus*; wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in ſhort the whole frame of the government was out of order ſince this great man's departure, they ſent embaſſadors to ſolicit him to return, which embaſſadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, ſhewed to be ſuch, yet as to royal qualities, and that diſpoſition of the mind f which deſerves to rule, they had obſerved nothing among them ſince his departure of that kind. We uſe the words of *Plutarch*, who obſerves farther, that though this language ſeemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averſe to his return, hoping, that his preſence would ſerve as a bulwark to ſcreen them from the growing inſolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, *Lycurgus* ſhaped his courſe homewards, in order to put in practice that wiſdom, which with ſo much induſtry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at *Sparta* he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durſt interpoſe between them.

He

[a] PLUT. in vit. Lycurg.

He acted in this case like a great physician; for knowing that palliatives would a
do little or nothing, he resolved to alter the whole political constitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties and no less dangers! To surmount these, and to avoid those, he endeavoured first to gain the confidence of the most eminent men of *Sparta*, by communicating to them his scheme, and shewing them the reasons upon which it was founded; and secondly, he sought to secure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the sanction of divinity, and ascribing all he did to the counsels of *Delphian Apollo*. Having made a journey to *Delphi*, and there offered sacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which stiled him, *Beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man*; *declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promised to* b
make the commonwealth, wherein they were observed, the most famous in the world. This divine manifesto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publish these laws, which that he might perform with security, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day armed in the market place; but of these twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of these preparations, *Charilaus*, who though honest was very timid, fled to the temple of *Minerva the protectress*, fearing that it was some conspiracy against his person; but when *Lycurgus* sent to inform him of his real design, the king not only quitted the sanctuary, but repaired to the market-place and entered into the confederacy. The first step taken was the establishing a senate consisting of twenty-eight persons, or of thirty including c
the two kings; this alone was of very great consequence, since it fixed the form of the government, which had hitherto fluctuated between *tyranny* and *democracy*; the senate poising the authority both of the kings and of the people, siding with the former, if the latter were seditious, and with the latter, if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worse than it was before, *Lycurgus* allowed them to meet in a general assembly, which was to be held *sub dio*, and wherein they were not allowed to *deliberate*, but had barely a power of *assenting* or *dissenting* to or from what the kings and senate proposed.

When *Lycurgus* by constituting a senate had secured to himself an accession of d
power, he proceeded intirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjust all things to the scheme he had formed, without any respect whatsoever to their former state and condition; a mighty project, which if we consider, and take at the same time a strict view of those laws which he introduced, we shall have a just idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the *Spartan* government, and of the means whereby a state, which was not considerable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itself so long in the sovereignty of *Greece*. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a distinct detail of the laws of *Lycurgus*, because hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the *Spartan* republic have been inserted in our histories of *Greece*, and even in books relating more strictly to politics; whereas we shall e
make it evident, that these superficial draughts of a constitution are by no means sufficient to give us a just idea of its force and effects. The laws of *Lycurgus* may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the subjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of these tables, we shall come at that perfect notion of *Lycurgus*'s scheme, which is absolutely necessary for the thorough understanding of the *Lacedæmonian* history.

In the first table we shall comprehend such of the *Spartan* laws as regarded religion. The statues of all the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people were represented armed, even to *Venus* herself; the reason of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the most noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, sloth and luxury to the gods. As to sacrifices, they consisted f
of things of very small value; for which *Lycurgus* himself gave this reason, that want might never hinder them from worshipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or rash prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to ask no more than that they might live honestly and discharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the custom of most of the *Greek* nations; nay, they buried close by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it such a dreadful thing as it was generally esteemed el ewhere; on the same account the touching of dead bodies, or assisting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was also ren-

dered

dered ſimple and unexpenſive by law, there was nothing thrown into the grave with
a the dead body, magnificent ſepulchres were forbidden, neither was there ſo much as an inſcription, however plain or modeſt, permitted. Tears, ſighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, becauſe they were thought diſhonourable in *Spartans*, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were ſtinted to eleven days, on the twelfth the mourner ſacrificed to *Ceres*, and threw aſide his or her weeds. In favour of ſuch as were ſlain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themſelves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules beforementioned, for ſuch had a ſhort and decent inſcription on their tombs. When a number of *Spartans* fell in battle at a diſtance from their country, many of them
b were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own ſtate, then their bodies were carefully carried back to *Sparta*, and interred in their family ſepulchres.

UNDER the ſecond table let us place the ſtatutes relating to the lands and to the city; *Lycurgus* divided all the country of *Laconia* into thirty thouſand equal ſhares; the city of *Sparta* he divided into nine thouſand, as ſome ſay, into ſix thouſand, as ſay others; and, as a third party will have it, into four thouſand five hundred. The intent of the legiſlator was, that property ſhould be equally divided amongſt his citizens, ſo that none might be powerful enough to oppreſs his fellows, or any be in ſuch neceſſity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption; with the ſame view he
c forbad the buying or ſelling of theſe poſſeſſions; if a ſtranger acquired a right to any of theſe ſhares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he ſubmitted to the laws of the republic. The city of *Sparta* was unwalled, *Lycurgus* truſting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of maſons. As to the houſes, they were very plain, for their cielings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the ſaw, and their utenſils were to be of a like ſtamp, that luxury might have no inſtruments amongſt them.

AS to the third table, it ſhall conſiſt of the laws regarding citizens. In the firſt place they were to be neither more nor leſs than the number of city-lots; and if at any time there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies: as to
d children, their laws were equally harſh and unreaſonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born ſon to a certain place, where the graveſt men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs ſtrait and thought it had a wholeſome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwiſe it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain *Taygetus*. This law ſeems to have had one very good effect, *viz.* making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exerciſing to exceſs; it made them alſo excellent nurſes, for which they were in mighty requeſt throughout *Greece*. Strangers were not allowed to reſide long in the city, that they might not corrupt the *Spartans* by teaching them new-fangled cuſtoms. Citizens were alſo forbid to travel for the
e ſame reaſon, unleſs the good of the ſtate required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, becauſe they held it unreaſonable, that one who had not ſubmitted to the laws in his youth ſhould receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any ſtranger to a public office, but if at any time they had occaſion for a perſon not born a *Spartan*, they firſt made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

THEIR laws relating to marriage ſhall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and puniſhed in a moſt extraordinary manner; for, in the firſt place, the old batchelor was conſtrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place: Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to ſing
f a ſong in diſparagement of himſelf; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwiſe belonged to old age, it being held unreaſonable, that the youth ſhould venerate him, who was reſolved to leave none of his progeny behind him to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was alſo fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were ſuch alſo as married above or below themſelves; ſuch as had three children had great immunities; ſuch as had four were free from all taxes whatſoever. Virgins were married without portions, becauſe neither want ſhould hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the huſband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy chil-

dren. Husbands went for a long time secretly, and by stealth, to the beds of their a
wives, that their love might not be quickly and easily extinguished. Husbands
were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings, however, were forbid to take this
liberty; some other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not necessary for
us to dwell on, because, as they were evidently against modesty, so they were far from
producing the ends for which *Lycurgus* designed them, since, though the men of *Sparta*
were generally remarkable for their virtue, the *Spartan* women were as generally de-
cried for their boldness and contempt of decency.

Under the fifth table shall stand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of *Ly-*
curgus, that from their very nonage and infancy the *Lacedæmonians* should be enured to
conquer their appetites; for this reason he directed, that nurses should accustom their b
children to spare meals, and now and then to fasting; that they should carry them when
twelve or thirteen years old to those who should examine their education, and who should
carefully observe, whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had
got over all other follies and weaknesses incident to children. He directed, that children
of all ranks should be brought up in the same way, and that none should be more
favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any
difference between poverty and riches, but consider each other as equals, and even as
brethren, to whom the same portions were assigned, and who through the course of
their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat flesh, older men eat
their black broth and pulse, the lads slept together in chambers, and after a manner c
somewhat resembling that still in use in *Turkey* for the *Janizaries*; their beds in the
summer were very hard, being composed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the
banks of the *Eurotas*; in winter their beds were softer, but by no means downy or fit
to indulge immoderate sleep. They eat altogether in public, and in case any absta-
ed from coming to the tables they were fined. *Xenophon* seems to have penetrated
farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had
better opportunity to do; for, whereas the rest say, that this was only intended to
repress luxury, he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind
of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former re-
lating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the d
growing generation therefrom to perform great things also. It was also strictly for-
bidden for any to eat or drink at home before they came to the common meal; even
then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done there with gravity
and decency; the black broth was the great rarity of the *Spartans*, which was com-
posed of salt, vinegar, blood, *&c.* so that in our times it would be esteemed a very
unsavory soop. If they were modest in their eating, they were so also in their drink-
ing; thirst was the sole measure thereof, and never any *Lacedæmonian* thought of
drinking for pleasure; as for drunkenness it was both infamous and severely punished;
and that young men might perceive with how great reason, slaves were compelled to
drink to excess, that the beastliness of the vice might appear. When they retired e
from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, because it was ex-
pected, that men, who were perfectly sober, should be able to find their way in the
dark; and besides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing won-
derfully useful to them in time of war.

The laws relating to their habit fall under the sixth table. As the poor eat
as well as the rich, so the rich could wear nothing better than the poor; they neither
changed their fashion, nor the materials, of their garments; they were made for
warmth and strength, not for gallantry and shew; and to this custom even their
kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were con-
tented that their virtue should distinguish them rather than robes. The young f
lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloke
given them, which was to serve them a year; and their cloathing was in general
so thin, that a *Lacedæmonian vest* became proverbial. Boys were always used to
go without shoes, but when they grew up they were indulged to them, if the manner
of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as
also to climb up and slip down steep places with bare feet, nay the very shoe they
used was of a particular form, plain and strong, and from the place of its invention
Laconic. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair, but when they grew up they
did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in use among the *Lacedæmonians*;
the river *Eurotas* supplied the former, and exercise the latter. In the field, however,
their

a their ſumptuary laws did not take place ſo ſtrictly as in the city; for when they went to war they wore purple habits; they put on crowns when they were about to engage the enemy; they had alſo rings, but they were of iron, which metal was moſt eſteemed by this nation. Young women wore their veſts or jerkins only to their knees, or, as ſome think, not quite ſo low, which beyond queſtion was indecent, and as ſuch it is cenſured both by *Greek* and *Roman* authors. Gold, precious ſtones, and other coſtly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permiſſion was the ſtrongeſt prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without vails, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked b on, but not the other; in certain exerciſes and ſhews both the young women and men were naked, a thing for which *Plutarch* endeavours to apologize, as if there could be no nakedneſs where the mind was in the habit of virtue; this is evidently playing with words, for without queſtion there never was a more immoral impudent practice than this; the truth is, *Lycurgus* had nothing in view but the rendering the commonwealth of *Sparta* powerful and laſting; and that he might do this, he ſought by all means to eradicate the ſeeds of civil diſſentions; hence the equal diviſion of eſtates; hence the baniſhment of wealth; and hence the accuſtoming men to bear with the wantonneſs of women; that birth, riches, jealouſy, which, in other countries and in other ſtates, produced ſuch ſtirs and tumults, might be able to effect little or no-
c thing in *Lacedæmon*.

Discipline and manners, that is the rules regarding theſe, ſhall fall under the ſeventh table. Though the *Spartans* were always free, yet it was with this reſtriction, that they were ſubſervient to their own laws, which bound them as ſtrictly in the city, as ſoldiers in other ſtates were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the firſt place, ſtrict obedience to their ſuperiors was the great thing required in *Sparta*; this they looked upon as the very baſis of government, without which neither laws nor magiſtrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in *Sparta*; to the old men the youth roſe up whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the ſtreets, and were ſilent whenever their elders d ſpoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the ſtate, ſo all the old men had the authority of parents, they reprehended whatever they ſaw amiſs, not only in their own, but in other people's, children, and by this method *Lycurgus* provided, that as youth are every-where apt to offend, ſo they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went ſtill further; if an old man was preſent where a young one committed a fault and did not reprove him, he was puniſhed equally with the delinquent. Amongſt the youths there was one of their own body, or at moſt two years older than the reſt, who was ſtiled *Iren*; he had authority to queſtion all their actions, to look ſtrictly to their behaviour, and to puniſh them if they did amiſs; neither were their puniſhments light, but on the contrary very ſevere, whereby the boys were t made hardy, and accuſtomed to bear ſtripes and hard uſage. Silence was a thing highly commended and greatly valued at *Sparta*, where modeſty was held to be a moſt becoming virtue in young people; nor was it reſtrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and geſtures, *Lycurgus* having particularly directed that they ſhould look forward, or on the ground, and that they ſhould always keep their hands within their robes. A ſtupid inconſiderate perſon, one who would not liſten to inſtruction, but was careleſs of whatever the world might ſay of him, the *Lacedæmonians* treated as a ſcandal to human nature; with ſuch an one they would not converſe, but threw him off as a rotten branch and worthleſs member of ſociety.

The ſtudies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. f The plainneſs of their manners, and their being ſo very much addicted to war, made the *Lacedæmonians* leſs fond of the ſciences than the reſt of the *Greeks*; they meaſured the worth of all things by their uſefulneſs, and therefore, if they wrote to be read, and ſpoke to be underſtood, it was all they ſought. For this the *Athenians*, who were exceſſively vain of their learning, mightily condemned them, inſomuch, that *Thucydides* himſelf, in drawing the character of *Braſidas*, ſays, he ſpoke well enough for a *Lacedæmonian*. Theſe, on the other hand, valued themſelves no leſs on their roughneſs and their ſteady adherence to the maxims of their anceſtors, as, amongſt other inſtances, appears from this anſwer of a *Spartan* to one of the learned *Athenians*, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: *All you ſay may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongſt the* Greeks *have learned no evil cuſtoms from you.*

you. Arts were in no greater credit with them than ſciences, a ſoldier was the only reputable profeſſion in *Sparta*, a mechanic or a huſbandman was thought a low fellow; the reaſon of this was, that they imagined profeſſions which required much labour, ſome conſtant poſture, being continually in the houſe, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depreſſed the mind; whereas a man free from theſe incumbrances was at liberty to attend the ſervice of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such profeſſions as were neceſſary the *Helotes* exerciſed, but for curious arts, and ſuch as ſerved only to luxury, they would not ſo much as ſuffer them to be practiſed in their city, in conſequence of which rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were ſhut out; neither tragedy nor comedy could obtrude itſelf on the *Spartans*, they would not bear the repreſentation of evil even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magiſtrates had the peruſal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of ſpeech, and accuſtomed their children from their very infancy never to expreſs themſelves in more words than were ſtrictly neceſſary, whence a conciſe and ſententious oratory is to this day ſtiled *Laconic*. In writing they uſed the ſame method, of which we have a ſignal inſtance in a letter of *Archidamus* to the *Eleans*, when he underſtood that they had ſome thoughts of aſſiſting the *Arcadians*; it ran thus: Archidamus *to the* Eleans. *It is good to be quiet.* And therefore *Epaminondas* had reaſon to glory in having forced the *Spartans* to abandon their monoſyllables and to lengthen their diſcourſes. We need not wonder, that people, ſo much removed from their neighbours in their cuſtoms and manners, ſhould not be deſirous of having the cuſtoms and laws of ſtrangers publiſhed or diſcourſed of in their city; this therefore was a law given by *Lycurgus*, and ſtrictly adhered to; but ſome, who have inferred from thence, that the *Lacedæmonians* were equally cautious to prevent ſtrangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and cuſtoms, are ſomewhat miſtaken; for in this point they were not ſo ſtrict. The greateſt part of their education conſiſted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things; the *Iren* or maſter propoſed queſtions, and either commended the anſwers that were made him, or reproved ſuch as anſwered childiſhly; theſe queſtions did not relate either to trivial or to abſtruſe matters, but to points of the higheſt importance in civil life; ſuch as, Who was the beſt man in the city, wherein lay the merit of ſuch an action, and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmleſs raillery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their ſhort manner of ſpeaking, rendered *Laconic* replies univerſally admired. Muſic was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their anceſtors; nay, they were ſo ſtrict therein, that they would not permit their ſlaves to learn either the tune or the words of their moſt admired odes, or, which is all one, they would not permit them to ſing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at *Sparta*, but it was a virtuous and modeſt affection, untinged with that ſenſuality which was ſo ſcandalous at *Athens*; female friendſhips were no leſs frequent, and no leſs warm; it is likely, that *Lycurgus* introduced theſe things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we conſider, that neither in one caſe, nor in the other, rivals were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other; but on the contrary, their love to the ſame perſon begat a ſecundary friendſhip among themſelves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the perſon beloved. There is but one thing more, in reſpect to their education, which deſerves mention, and it is this; That theft, if it was handſomely concealed, was not held ſcandalous amongſt them; a moſt abſurd inſtitution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to *Lycurgus*. When theft was diſcovered, however, it was ſeverely puniſhed, and what between this practice and the former the *Spartan* youth were ſo hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than ſuffer it to be known. It would be eaſy to alledge inſtances, but to what end? to prove, that in defence of vice men will dare to ſuffer pain? We ſee it every day, and therefore they are needleſs; it was an error in the *Lacedæmonian* policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuſe.

a b c d e f

The exerciſes inſtituted by law fall under the ninth table; in theſe all the *Greeks* were extremely careful, but the *Lacedæmonians* in a degree beyond the reſt; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for theſe exerciſes, he fell into public contempt at leaſt, if not baniſhment. Hunting was the uſual diverſion of

a of their children, nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to ſtrengthen the limbs, and to render thoſe who practiſed it ſupple and fleet; they likewiſe bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men; indeed in all their ſports girls were allowed to divert themſelves with the youths, inſomuch, that at darting, throwing the choit, pitching the bar, and ſuch-like robuſt diverſions, the women were as dextrous as the men; for the manifeſt oddity of this proceeding *Lycurgus* aſſigned no other reaſon, than that he ſought to render women as well as men ſtrong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be ſo too; violent exerciſes and a laborious kind of life were on-
b ly injoined to the youth; for when they were grown up to mens eſtate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themſelves wholly either in affairs of ſtate or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of *Diana*, and about her altar, which, however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was eſteemed a great honour for lads to ſuſtain theſe flagillations without weeping, groaning, or ſhewing any ſenſe of pain; and the thirſt of glory was ſo ſtrong in theſe young minds, that they very frequently ſuffered death without ſhedding a tear, or breathing a ſigh. A deſire of overcoming all the weakneſſes of human nature, and thereby rendering his *Spartans* not only ſuperior to their neighbours, but to their ſpecies,
c runs through many of the inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impoſſible to give any account of them at all.

THE tenth table ſhall comprehend their laws reſpecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and ſilver were by the conſtitutions of *Lycurgus* made of no value in *Sparta*; he was ſo well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very poſſeſſion of them penal; but as there was no living without ſome ſort of money, that is, ſome common meaſure or ſtandard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the *Spartans* were ſupplied with the uſeful money, and had at the ſame time no temptation to covetouſneſs afforded them; for a very ſmall ſum was
d ſufficient to load a couple of horſes, and a great one muſt have been kept in a barn or warehouſe; the coming in of all foreign money was alſo prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The moſt ancient method of dealing, *viz.* by barter or exchange of one commodity for another, was preſerved by law in *Sparta* long after it had been out of date every-where elſe. Intereſt was a thing forbid in the *Spartan* commonwealth, where they had alſo a law againſt the alienation of lands, accepting preſents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well ſeem to excuſe them; thus by all poſſible methods *Lycurgus* fought to
e ſhut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live ſimply and innocently; without admitting amongſt them thoſe ſeeds of luxury and diſſenſion, which he ſaw had produced ſuch fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

SUCH of the laws of *Sparta* as related to courts of juſtice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years muſt have paſſed over the head of him who had a right to concern himſelf in juridical proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondneſs for law-ſuits, or to be buſying himſelf at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by theſe rules *Lycurgus* thought to ſhut out litigiouſneſs, and to prevent that multiplicity of ſuits which is always ſcandalous in a ſtate. As young people were not permitted to inquire about the laws of other countries, and
f as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, ſo they were likewiſe forbidden to aſk any queſtions about, or to endeavour to diſcover the reaſons of, the laws by which themſelves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriouſly of ill fame, loſt all right of giving their votes in reſpect of public affairs, or of ſpeaking in public aſſemblies; for they would not believe, that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

THE military laws of *Sparta* ſhall compoſe the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of ſerving in the army, as the beſt authors agree, tho' ſome think, that the military age is not well aſcertained by antient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reaſon of which

law is very hard to be discovered, if indeed it had any reason at all, or was not a
rather founded in some superstitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture
than any other. They were likewise forbidden to fight often against the same enemy,
which was one of the wisest maxims in the political system of *Lycurgus*; and we shall
see, that *Agesilaus*, by offending against it, destroyed the power of his country, and
lost her that authority which for many ages she maintained over the rest of *Greece*;
for by continually warring against the *Thebans*, to whom he had an inveterate hatred,
he at last beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under
the command of *Epaminondas* to maintain for a time the principality of *Greece*. Ma-
ritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the necessity of things com-
pelled them in process of time to transgress this institution, and by degrees they trans- b
ferred to themselves as well the dominion at sea as land, as the reader has already
seen in the *Athenian* history; but after the *Peloponnesian* war they again neglected naval
affairs, from a persuasion that sailors and strangers corrupted those with whom they
conversed. As they never fortified *Sparta*, so they were not ready to undertake
sieges; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could over-
come their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at
home. In time of war they relaxed somewhat of their strict manner of living, in
which they were singular; the true reason for this was, in all probability, that war
might be less burdensome to them; for, as we have more than once observed,
a strong desire to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of their c
legislator. For they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as
well to hinder their being surprized, as that they might be more troublesome to their
enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They slept all night in their
armour, but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that being unprovided
of defence they might not dare to sleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful
in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the
soldiers sung together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the
king sacrificed to the muses, that by their assistance they might be enabled to per-
form deeds worthy of being recorded to latest times; then the army advanced in
order to the sound of flutes, which played the hymn of *Castor*; the king himself d
sung the pæan, which was the signal to charge; this was done with all the decorum
imaginable, and the soldiers were sure either to die or conquer; indeed they had
nothing else to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being slain,
even by their own mothers, for disgracing their families. History informs us, that
a *Spartan* lady, on the news of her son's having fled from a battle, wrote him this
short letter, *Fame speaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more.* In this consisted all the
excellency of the *Spartan* women, who, if it were possible, excelled in bravery their
men, never lamenting over husbands or sons, if they died honourably in the field,
but deploring the shame brought on their house, if either the one or the other escaped
by flight. The throwing away of a shield also induced infamy, and with respect to e
this, mothers, when they embraced their departing sons, were wont to caution them,
that they should either return armed as they were, or be brought back so, that is,
when they were dead; for, as we have before observed, such as were slain in battle
were nevertheless buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies
fly, they pursued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, because they would
seem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their ene-
mies to death. According to their antient rules of war, they were bound not to
spoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in process of time this, and indeed many
other of their most excellent regulations, fell into disuetude. He who overcame by
stratagem offered up an ox to *Mars*, whereas he who overcame by force offered f
up only a cock, the former being esteemed more manly than the latter. After forty
years service a man was discharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law
to go into the field, and consequently, that if the military age was thirty, the *Spar-
tans* were not held invalids, till they were seventy. Thus we have comprized the most
considerable of the *Spartan* laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted,
because we shall be obliged to speak of their being enacted elsewhere [b].

The Cryptia what, and how published.

Lycurgus did not put any of his laws into writing, because he would have them
written in the hearts of the people, and to impress them the more strongly there, he
took

[b] PLUT. in vit. Lycurg. & in Instit. Lacon. ARIST. Polit. PLAT. de Legib. & de Repub. XENOPH. Init. Lac. ÆLIAN. var. Hist. HERAC. PONT. in Fragm.

a took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by *Apollo*, wherefore he ſtiled them *Rhetræ*, i. e. *divinè ſanctions*. It is not clear, whether or not *Lycurgus* was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed amongſt his countrymen, for leſſening the number of their ſlaves whenever they grew dangerous to the ſtate, and which was ſtiled *Cryptia*, i. e. *the ambuſcade*. Such as had the care of educating the *Spartan* youth picked out the ſtouteſt of them, and, having armed them with daggers, ſent them out to deſtroy their unhappy ſlaves, which they did, either by ſurpriſing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended againſt them, and for no other reaſon than that the ſtate might be ſafe from their attempts by this reduction
b of their number. *Plato* greatly condemns this law, for which reaſon *Plutarch* denies that it was made by *Lycurgus*; but when, or however, it was made, it was indubitably againſt natural equity, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, againſt humanity; a cruel and unneceſſary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people [c] (A).

Sedition in Sparta. Lycurgus *wounded in the eye.*

It is not to be conceived, that ſuch mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any oppoſition, neither indeed were they; for when he proceeded to the diviſion of property, a great ſedition aroſe, wherein at laſt the people proceeded to blows, and *Lycurgus* found himſelf obliged to quit the aſſembly in order to fly to a ſanctuary; ſome of them, however, cloſely purſued him, and amongſt the reſt one *Alcander*, a young nobleman of a generous, but too haſty, diſpoſition, who, on *Ly-*
c *curgus*'s looking back, ſtruck him on the eye, and, as ſome ſay, beat it out; the legiſlator then ſtopped, and ſhewing his face all covered with blood, the people were ſo

[c] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. Plato de Legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the *Lacedæmonians* towards their ſlaves, or *Helotes*, is frequently ſpoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though *Plutarch*, who was a great admirer of the *Spartans*, endeavours every-where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a diſtinct account of this matter, we muſt firſt acquaint him who theſe *Helotes* are: *Helos* was an antient city in *Laconia*, againſt which on ſome pretence or other the *Lacedæmonians* made war, and having ſubdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent diſtrict, ſlaves (1). And in proceſs of time, when they had enlarged the number of perſons in this unhappy condition by ſubjugating other places, they ſtill kept up the old name, and called them all *Helotes*, which, ceaſing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this ſtate of ſervitude. As to the terms of it, they were theſe: Firſt, their lords could not ſet them free; and ſecondly they had no power to ſell them, ſo as that they might be tranſported out of the *Lacedæmonian* dominions (2). Hence it came to paſs, that they were prodigiouſly numerous, which ſometimes alarmed the *Spartans*, and made them deviſe the law above recited to keep them under. *Ariſtotle* expreſly affirms, that it was deviſed by *Lycurgus* (3). *Plutarch* would gladly have this diſbelieved, merely becauſe he thinks it injurious to that legiſlator; for he offers no other reaſon for it whatſoever, and at the ſame time owns, that *Plato* himſelf had been diſpleaſed with *Lycurgus* for the cruelty and injuſtice of this law (4). *Plutarch* elſewhere informs us, that the *Helotes* were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a ſmall ſettled rent, which their lords could not raiſe without incurring public cenſure (5). This is *Plutarch*'s account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that theſe *Helotes* were a kind of bailiffs, ſtewards, or lower ſort of farmers. But other authors ſpeak quite a different language, they tell us, that liberty and ſlavery were in their extremes at *Sparta*, that none were ſo perfectly free as the citizens of *Lacedæmon*, nor any ſuch deſpicable ſlaves as theſe *Helotes*; they were diſtinguiſhed, that is, marked out for ſlaves in their dreſs, their geſture, and in ſhort in every thing; they wore dog-ſkin bonnets, ſheep-ſkin-veſts; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their maſters; when their lords were ſo diſpoſed, theſe poor men were obliged to drink themſelves drunk, that the free-born *Spartans* might ſee the beaſtlineſs of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of ſtripes, for fear they ſhould forget they were ſlaves; and to crown all they were liable to this *Cryptia*, which was ſure to be executed on all ſuch as ſpoke, looked, or walked like freemen (6). To take off ſomewhat from the horror and ſcandal of ſuch a practice, the ephori, after they were inſtituted, at their coming into office declared war againſt them (7); againſt whom? why againſt poor naked ſlaves, who tilled their lands, dreſſed their food, and did all thoſe offices for them which they were too proud to do for themſelves. *Plutarch*, according to cuſtom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of *Lycurgus*, and alledges, that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the *Meſſenians* after a great earthquake, whereby a great part of *Lacedæmon* was overthrown (8); but *Ælian* tells us expreſly, that it was the common opinion in *Greece*, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the *Spartans* for treating theſe *Helotes* with ſuch inhumanity (9). *Thucydides* gives a glaring inſtance of the jealouſy of the *Lacedæmonians* on account of theſe poor men; he ſays, that about two thouſand of them, being manumitted by law for their great ſervice in the *Peloponneſian* war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with ſhews; after all which they diſappeared on a ſudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(1) *Homer. Iliad. B.* ν, 585, *Strabo Geogr. lib.* viii. *p.* 363. *Pauſan, Laconic.* 201. (2) *Strabo, lib.* vii. *Plutarch. lib.* 3. *c.* 8. 3, *Polit. lib.* ii. (4) *In vit. Lycurg.* (5) *Inſtit. Lacedæm.* (6) *Ælian. Var. hiſt. lib.* xiv. (7) *Arigt. Polit. lib.* ii. (8) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (9) *Hiſt. Var. lib.* iii. (10) *Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib.* iv. *vide etiam Ubb. Emm. de Reſub. Lac. Grag. de Reſub. Lac. lib.* i. *c.* 11. *Meurſ. Miſc. Lacon. lib.* ii. *c.* 6.

ſo ſtruck thereat, that they immediately aſked his pardon, and delivered up a *Alcander* into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. *Lycurgus* accepted the propoſal, and carried *Alcander* home with him, where, inſtead of puniſhing, or even reproving him harſhly, he received him as his attendant, cauſed him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his perſon; this mildneſs was of great ſervice to them both, for *Alcander* perceiving that *Lycurgus* was not, as he had ſuppoſed him, a man of a harſh and moroſe diſpoſition, but of a moſt ſweet and affable temper, he became from his fierceſt enemy his greateſt admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the inſtructions of *Lycurgus*. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatſoever, no not b ſo much as a ſtaff, was brought into their aſſemblies or public councils [d].

Method taken by this legiſlator to ſettle his laws.

When *Lycurgus* had fully perfected his deſign, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the conſideration of the nature of men and of the different effects of various governments upon them, he thought moſt eligible; his next care was to render this fixed and ſtable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that ſtructure which he had raiſed, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After ſome time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: He called a general aſſembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be ſettled, which was indeed of the higheſt importance, and what he c could not acquaint them with, till he had conſulted the oracle at *Delphi*; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themſelves to obſerve his rhetræ inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily aſſented, and to bind their aſſent, *Lycurgus* took an oath upon the ſpot from the two kings, the ſenate, and the commons; after which he departed, as he had propoſed, and went to *Delphi*. There he propoſed this queſtion to the oracle; *Shall the laws eſtabliſhed in* Sparta *make that city virtuous and happy?* The reſponſe was, *The laws given to* Sparta *are excellent, and the city ſhall continue in the higheſt renown, while it obſerves the polity of* Lycurgus. This he took in writing and ſent to *Sparta*, after which he ſacrificed a ſecond time to *Apollo*, and having ſolemnly taken leave of his friends d and of his ſon, he determined with himſelf to put an end to his life by faſting, that the *Lacedæmonians* might never have it in their power to free themſelves from the oath which he had taken from them. *Plutarch* expreſſes himſelf in very high terms in reſpect to the death of *Lycurgus*, he commends it as one of the nobleſt inſtances of patriotiſm, which is to be met with in antient hiſtory; becauſe, ſays he, the legiſlator ſecured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a moſt honourable end to a virtuous and well-ſpent life, and he affixed his death as a ſeal to his laws, which he left as his laſt will and teſtament to his country. He tells us likewiſe, that his bones were carried home to *Sparta*, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he ſays, was afterwards blaſted with lightning, an accident e peculiar to *Lycurgus* and *Euripides* the poet. The *Spartans*, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and ſacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account, *Plutarch* himſelf acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how, or where, this great man died; ſome ſay, he ended his days at *Cirrha*, *Apollothemis* affirmed, that he died at *Elis*, *Timæus* and *Ariſtoxenus* agree, that he finiſhed his days in *Crete*, the latter ſays the inhabitants ſhewed his tomb. *Ariſtocrates* the ſon of *Hipparchus* wrote likewiſe that he died in *Crete*, but he added, that by the direction of *Lycurgus* the perſons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and ſcattered the aſhes thereof in the air, and on the ſea, that they might never be tranſported to *Lacedæmon*, to prevent the people apprehending themſelves releaſed from their oath. He left behind him one ſon, whoſe name was *Antiorus*, who dying without iſſue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of the deceaſed, and that they might therein diſcourſe, and exhort each other to the imitation, of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legiſlator ſtiled *Lycurgides* [e] (B).

From

[d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

[e] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

(B) The life of *Lycurgus* was the firſt which *Plutarch* publiſhed, as he himſelf obſerves (11). He ſeems to have had a mighty liking to the Spartans and their cuſtoms; for, beſides this life and those of ſeveral

(11) *In vit. Theſei.*

The reigns of Charilaus *and* Teleclus. *Year after the flood* 2095. *before Chriſt* 904.

a FROM the death of *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* hiſtory is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials from whence it may be collected, than ſcattered paſſages of antient authors, which, as well as we are able, we ſhall put together. *Charilaus* made war on the *Argives*, but with little ſucceſs; afterwards he fell on the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*; but in this war alſo he had very bad fortune, for he was taken priſoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and to purchaſe his liberty, he was conſtrained to take a ſolemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more, which oath, however, he kept very indifferently [f]. He then turned his arms againſt the *Achæans*, who had
b taken from the *Lacedæmonians* ſeveral frontier towns, which he and his collegue *Teleclus* recovered. Among theſe were *Amyclæ*, *Pharis*, and *Geronthra*; the firſt they raſed, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of *Peloponneſus*; ſuch were the military exploits of *Charilaus* or *Charillus*; he retained always a great reſpect for his tutor *Lycurgus*, as appears from ſeveral of his ſayings which have reached our times: for being once aſked, why *Lycurgus* had made ſo few laws, he anſwered, *Men of few words need but few laws*; and it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be moſt complete, *That*, ſaid he, *wherein moſt of the citizens contend in virtue without diſturbing each other* [g]. His collegue of the other regal houſe was *Teleclus*, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he ſucceeded to the crown, by ſome who ſought to flatter him,

[f] PAUSAN. in Arcad. [g] PLUT. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

ſeveral other *Spartan* chieftains, we have a treatiſe of his on the laws and cuſtoms of the *Lacedæmonians*, and another of *Laconic* apophthegms; he owns notwithſtanding, that with reſpect to the family and the time of the birth of this legiſlator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things a perfect hero, and alledges his behaviour as a proof that the wiſe man ſo often deſcribed, and ſo much commended by philoſophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the ſalutation of the propheteſs at *Delphi*, which, he ſays, run in theſe words: *Welcome, beloved of* God, *and rather* God *than man* (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in *Greece*, and generally ſpeaking believed, otherwiſe *Socrates* would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or *Plutarch* have ſo often urged it as a full anſwer to all the calumnies raiſed againſt his hero. Yet ſomething may be ſaid, not greatly to the reputation either of the oracle or *Lycurgus*, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about what could otherwiſe never have been brought about, the impoſing his harſh laws upon the *Spartans*. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of *Minos* the *Cretan* law-giver, who aſcribed all his laws to *Jupiter*; but from whomſoever he took it, an ancient author of great note affirms, that the reſponſes of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has ſeen in the *Athenian* hiſtory many inſtances of a like nature, and we ſhall hereafter ſhew, that *Lyſander* knew how to make *Apollo* ſpeak kindly in his favour, as well as *Lycurgus*. It is clear, that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his inſtitutions to be divine; for this cauſe he would never ſuffer his laws to be put into writing, but truſted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impreſſion, and give the government greater power. *Plutarch* affords us an inſtance of this; he ſays, that by a *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus* the people had power to aſſent or diſſent from what was propoſed to them by the kings and ſenate; but when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloſs upon the laws, to aſſent to one part of them and to diſſent from another, the kings and ſenate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clauſe to the *Rhetra* to this purpoſe, that if the people ſhould offer any croſs propoſal, then the ſenate and kings might reject it. Which clauſe, by dint of a little of their legiſlator's art, they impoſed as a genuine injunction, and thereby ſtrengthened their own authority at the expence of the people's (15). Moſt politicians have held *Lycurgus*'s invention of a ſenate to have been a moſt excellent contrivance: *Plato* was ſo much charmed with it, that from thence he ſtiles its author a divine ſpirit reſiding in a human nature (16): yet *Ariſtotle*, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that inſtitution; he thought it unreaſonable, that ſenators ſhould be made for life, becauſe frequently mens abilities decay, ſo that inſtead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to tranſact thoſe of their own family. He was likewiſe offended, that they were left without controul, for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, ſo all men ought to be accountable for them, eſpecially if their errors might any way affect the ſtate (17). The laſt act of *Lycurgus*, of which we have any certainty, is his ſending the oracle from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, ſignifying the approbation given by *Apollo* to all his laws; that he ſtarved himſelf there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country ſeems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought ſomewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour, and his life could never have been cloſed by any act more ſhining than this of quitting ſupreme power, when his countrymen unanimouſly deſired that he ſhould retain it. This ſhewed, that he was truly diſintereſted, and did not ſeek any other reward for the ſervices he rendered *Sparta*, than the glory of having ſerved her. *Solon*, though a perſon of a different temper, was as diſintereſted as he; he ſettled the *Athenian* commonwealth, refuſed the ſovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, oppoſed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his oppoſition vain went into voluntary exile. *Lycurgus* and *Solon* were both great men, but the former had the ſtronger, the latter the milder, genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

(12) *Plut. in vit. Lycurg.* (13) *Xenophon. de Reb. Memor.* (14) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *c.* 16.
(15) *Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg.* (16) *Plato de Legib. lib.* iii. (17) *Ariſt. lib.* ii. *& lib.* vi.

him, that his father had ſpoke ſlightingly of him, he anſwered, *That he was ſorry for it, becauſe he would not have done it, if himſelf had not deſerved it* [h]. His death gave occaſion to the *Meſſenian* war, but after what manner cannot eaſily be determined. There was, it ſeems, a temple of *Diana* ſeated on the marches between *Laconia* and *Meſſenia*, to which the inhabitants of both regions reſorted; ſome *Spartan* virgins repairing thither were violated by the *Meſſenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was ſlain; the women alſo famiſhed themſelves to death. This is the *Spartan* ſide of the ſtory; the *Meſſenians* reported it thus: That *Teleclus*, intending to ſurprize ſome of the principal perſons of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with poignards under their cloaths, and that, a fray happening, *Teleclus* and ſome of his aſſociates were ſlain. But there wanted not other cauſes of ill-will among theſe people, for the *Spartans* entertained an opinion, that their kings *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* were cheated by their uncle *Creſphontes* in the aſſignment of their territories, the moſt barren being given to them, and the beſt reſerved to himſelf. While things were in this ſituation, an injury done to a private perſon kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* intruſted *Euephnus* a *Lacedæmonian* with ſome cows, on condition that he ſhould have a moiety of the profit ariſing from their milk. The *Spartan* ſold theſe cows to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdſmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force; as ſoon as this was done, *Euephnus* went to *Polychares*, and told him a melancholy ſtory of certain robbers who had ſtolen the cattle and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midſt of his tale, came one or two of his herdſmen, who had made their eſcape, and falſified all he ſaid; upon this the *Lacedæmonian* confeſſed the truth, and told *Polychares*, that if he would ſend his ſon home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the *Meſſenian* readily agreed. But when they were come to *Sparta*, *Euephnus* moſt perfidiouſly murdered the lad, and *Polychares*, coming ſeveral times to *Sparta* to demand juſtice, was forced to retire unredreſſed and unheeded. He, being exceedingly provoked with ſuch barbarous uſage, reſolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and, in conſequence of this reſolution, killed as many of the *Lacedæmonians* as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly reſented by that people [i]. Theſe tranſactions we have thrown together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, becauſe we were willing to place all the cauſes or ſuppoſed cauſes of the *Meſſenian* war in the reader's view at once; we will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preſerve in its juſt order the ſucceſſion of the *Spartan* kings.

The reigns of Nicander *and* Alcamenes.

To *Charilaus* ſucceeded his ſon *Nicander*, who reigned thirty-nine years, and in the thirty-fourth year of whoſe reign was celebrated the firſt olympiad; he is ſaid to have carried on the war with the *Argives*, and to have done them a great deal of miſchief; but for other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. *Teleclus* had for his ſucceſſor his ſon *Alcamenes*, who, with his collegue before-mentioned, ſent to the *Meſſenians* to demand juſtice againſt *Polychares*, and that he ſhould be delivered up; the *Meſſenians* were at that time governed by *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, brothers; the former was much againſt yielding on any terms to the requeſt of the *Lacedæmonians*, alledging, that they were the aggreſſors, and therefore ought to do juſtice firſt; the latter was againſt hazarding the public ſafety on account of a private perſon, and therefore declared that he would give up *Polychares* rather than break with the *Spartans*; the diſputes on this occaſion roſe ſo high, that from words they came to blows, wherein *Androcles* was ſlain. *Antiochus*, now reigning alone, ſent immediately embaſſadors to *Sparta*, beſeeching the king and ſenate to conſider, that they were originally of the ſame ſtock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the preſent caſe to leave the deciſion of this matter either to the *Argives*, who were their common allies, to the *Amphictyonian* council, or to the ſenate of *Areopagus* at *Athens*. The *Spartans* gave no anſwer to theſe deputies, and while things were in this ſituation, *Antiochus* died, and was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon *Euphaes*; to him the *Lacedæmonians* made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correſpondence with the *Meſſenians*, yet were they all this time providing ſecretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the leaſt notice. Before they

[h] Plut. ubi ſupra. [i] Pausan. in Meſſen. Strab. lib. vii, viii. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

a they proceeded to hoſtilities, the kings and ſenate called a general aſſembly, in which the troops appointed for the war took a ſolemn oath never to return home till they had intirely conquered *Meſſenia*, which ſhewed, that this was a war of ambition rather than juſtice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours [k].

Alcamenes king of *Sparta*, at the head of a complete army, entered the *Meſſenian* territory ſuddenly and by night, in conſequence of which he eaſily ſurprized the city of *Amphea*, the gates of which were open as uſual, the inhabitants not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards happened. The *Spartans* behaved on this occaſion very cruelly, they ſlew without diſtinction all who came in their way, nor b did even temples or altars afford a ſanctuary to ſuch as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the *Lacedæmonians* knew would ſerve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability engaged them to treat the people thus harſhly, that they might make themſelves abſolutely maſters of it and its diſtricts. *Euphaes* the *Meſſenian* king, on the firſt news of this extraordinary ſtroke, aſſembled his people, and encouraged them to keep up their ſpirits, and not to believe that all was loſt, becauſe *Amphea* was in the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*; he likewiſe gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might beſt carry it on; he obſerved to them that c the *Lacedæmonians* were not only brave, but were alſo bred up to war as to a trade, nay, were indeed bred up to nothing elſe; whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with ſuch an enemy. Wherefore his counſel was, that they ſhould carry on a defenſive war in the beſt manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the *Spartans* upon equal terms. The *Meſſenians*, following his advice, maintained a defenſive war for three years, in which they ſuffered the *Spartans* to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year *Euphaes* ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumſpection, for, having intrenched his beſt troops, he drew out his horſe and light-armed forces ſkirmiſhing with theſe; and when the *Spartans* drew d nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his retrenchments; and as the *Spartans* had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were conſtrained to retire, and ſhortly after returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced *Meſſenia* [l]. A very ſhort time after this both the kings died. As to *Nicander*, we find little of him in antient authors more than has been already mentioned; with reſpect to *Alcamenes*, *Plutarch* hath preſerved ſome paſſages of his life, which ſhew that he was a wiſe and prudent prince [m]. Being once aſked how a prince might beſt ſecure his government, he anſwered, *By deſpiſing gain.* When the e *Meſſenians* ſought by preſents to have gained him to their intereſt, he refuſed them; and the reaſon of this being demanded, he readily anſwered; *If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed.* He inherited, it ſeems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and increaſed it by his own management, living ſtill in a plain parſimonious manner; for which being reproached, he ſaid; *Is it not a mark of virtue and good ſenſe, when he who has abundance chuſes to live, rather according to reaſon than appetite?* It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before mentioned copied theſe ſayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuſe us, if, finding little to ſay of their deeds, we entertain him ſometimes with the ſayings of thoſe *Spartan* kings.

The *Meſſenian* war commences. Year after the flood 2256. Before Chriſt 743.

f *Polydorus* ſucceeded his father *Alcamenes* in the kingdom, and *Theopompus* his father *Nicander*. With theſe princes the *Spartans* intruſted a new army, with expreſs inſtructions not to act as their predeceſſors had done, but to put their country in poſſeſſion of a prize which ſhe had ſo long deſired. The *Meſſenians*, under the command of *Euphaes* their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont; but prepared to give them battle, as ſoon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occaſion to make trial of each other's valour; the *Lacedæmonians* then marched towards the enemy in battalia, *Theopompus* commanding the right wing, and *Polydorus* the left; the *Meſſenians* diſpoſed their army ſo as beſt to oppoſe

Polydorus *and* Theopompus *ſucceed in the* Spartan *kingdom.*

[k] Pausan. & Justin. ubi ſupra. [l] Pausan. in Meſſen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 4. [m] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

oppoſe the *Spartans*, *Antander* and their king *Euphaes* commanding their left, and a
Pytharatas their right; the engagement was very obſtinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the *Spartan* army was routed by *Euphaes*, as was the right wing of the *Meſſenian* army by *Polydorus*, *Pytharatas* their general being ſlain. Theſe advantages, however, were ſo inconſiderable, that neither party durſt purſue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both ſides might have leiſure to withdraw and bury their dead; after which the *Spartans*, notwithſtanding the inſtructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conqueſt of *Meſſenia* appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the preſent [n]. The reader will obſerve, that we have aſcribed this war to motives of intereſt, which at firſt ſight may ſeem to claſh with what the hiſtorians, whom we have mentioned, have ſaid about it; b
but that the fact was ſo, putting all circumſtances together, is indubitably true; nay, *Polydorus* the *Spartan* king openly profeſſed as much when he went to this war; for ſome of the *Meſſenians* having demanded of him, *If he would fight againſt his brethren*, alluding to their and the *Lacedæmonians* deſcent from the ſame parents, the king readily anſwered, *No, but I will put in my claim to an eſtate, to which as yet no body has any good title* [o]. The great reſiſtance the *Meſſenians* made on this ſecond invaſion determined the *Spartans* not to carry on the war any longer in the ſame manner, but to content themſelves with haraſſing and plundering the country, whereby the ſpirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the *Meſſenians* worn out and deſtroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the *Spartans*, that war was their buſineſs, in c
which if they were not engaged they were idle, whereas the *Meſſenians*, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and deſtroyed by being thus obliged to keep many gariſons, beſides a ſtanding body of troops in the field. To add to theſe misfortunes, which were already almoſt inſupportable, a diſtemper raged in *Meſſenia*, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not ſweep off ſuch numbers. Theſe misfortunes produced a long and ſerious conſultation among the chief perſons in the kingdom, who at length came to a reſolution to abandon ſuch villages and little towns as were leaſt capable of defence, and to fortify a city which ſtood on the top of the mountain *Ithome*, to which the inhabitants of the demoliſhed places might repair: from this they promiſed themſelves two things; firſt, that they d
ſhould be releaſed from the expence of gariſons; ſecondly, that in time of diſtreſs this might be made a place of certain ſafety [p].

The Argive *or* Thyrean *war.*

The *Spartans* were about this time called off from the *Meſſenian* war to engage with the *Argives*; the diſpute was about the city *Thyrea* and its diſtrict, which, lying on the borders of *Argolis* and *Laconia*, had been an old bone of contention between thoſe ſtates [q]. To avoid a great effuſion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred *Argives* and as many *Lacedæmonians* ſhould decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both ſides retireing. In conſequence of this agreement, theſe ſix hundred men engaged, and fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that when night came on, there were but two *Argives*, *viz. Alcinor* and *Chromius*, and one e
Spartan, whoſe name was *Othryades*, left alive. The *Argives* ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. *Othryades* remained in the field of battle and erected a trophy; hence a new diſpute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the *Argives*, becauſe two of their men were left; the *Spartans*, becauſe the *Argives* fled and left *Othryades* in poſſeſſion of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of *Polydorus*, and that of the *Argives*, with a mighty ſlaughter of the latter. Some would have perſuaded the *Spartan* king to have purſued this victory, and to have attacked *Argos* itſelf; but he anſwered with a generoſity becoming his character, that the *Spartans* ſent him to aſſert their rights, f
and not to rob others [r]. Thus ended the *Argive* war, ſome circumſtances of which are variouſly reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the *Meſſenians* after their fortifying *Ithome*.

The

[n] Pausan. ubi ſupra. [o] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. [p] Pausan. ubi ſupra. [q] Herod. lib. i. Pausan. in Argol. [r] Suidas in voce Οθρυάδης. Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

(C) In the leſſer treatiſe of parallels between the *Greeks* and *Romans*, generally aſcribed to *Plutarch*, the abovementioned fact ſtands thus: "The *Argives* "and *Lacedæmonians* being engaged in a diſpute "about the city and diſtrict of *Thyrea*, the *Amphictyons* decreed, that it ſhould be decided by "combat. The *Lacedæmonians* choſe for their champion *Othryades*; the *Argives Therſander*; the battle "being

THE desire of freeing themselves from this grievous war with *Sparta* engaged them to send a person to consult the oracle at *Delphi*; the name of this man was *Tisis*, who in his return was attacked by some of the *Lacedæmonian* garrison in *Amphea*, from whom, however, he escaped, though grievously wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the oracle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unless a virgin of the house of the *Æpytidæ*, that is, the royal family, was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation; this oracle, when reported, struck the *Messenians*, and especially the royal family, with the utmost terror. Lots, however, were cast, and the daughter of *Lysiscus* taken; but when she should have been sacrificed, *Epebolus* the soothsayer declared, that she
b was not *Lysiscus*'s daughter, but imposed upon him by his wife, who thereby sought to escape the imputation of barrenness. While the soothsayer was setting forth this matter to the people, *Lysiscus* withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to *Sparta*. Upon this *Aristodemus*, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter; a young man, who was present, alledged, that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her, which plea being over-ruled, he set up another, that he had consummated his marriage, and that she was actually with child by him; *Aristodemus*, conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, slew his daughter instantly with his own hand, after which opening her womb, he shewed it to the people. The soothsayer insisted that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of
c *Aristodemus* having rather died by the passion of her father, than as a victim; but all the family of the *Æpytidæ* joined with the king, who persuaded the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of *Aristodemus*'s daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the *Messenians* concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed they would be victors [s].

The measures taken in this space by the Messenians.

SIX years after the flight of *Lysiscus*, and eight from the fortifying of *Ithome*, the *Lacedæmonians* entered *Messenia* again with a great army. The *Messenians* might undoubtedly have received great assistance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defensively; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which, suiting the *Spartan* method of making war,
d quickly fell out; this battle, like the former, though obstinately fought, was not decisive, the night parting them; *Euphaes*, however, venturing too far against *Theopompus* the *Spartan* king, was mortally wounded, and fell down; this, far from checking the spirit of the *Messenians*, made them the more eager, insomuch, that a warm contest began about carrying off the dying king, in which the *Messenians* prevailed, though with the loss of *Antander*, one of their best captains; *Euphaes*, being carried back to *Ithome*, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual scene of war and confusion. *Euphaes* leaving no issue
e behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon *Cleomis*, *Damis*, and *Aristodemus* put in their claims; the people elected the last, notwithstanding the soothsayers alledging he was incapable on account of his having slain his daughter. This new monarch was no sooner seated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, in order to draw them to his assistance against the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein he was very successful, almost all the *Peloponnesians* beginning to be apprehensive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the same time *Aristodemus* laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which so nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether for the future they should be freemen or slaves; with this view he showered his favours upon all, he raised his competitors to the chief dignities in

The Spartans *renew the war with the* Messenians.

[s] PAUSAN. in Messen.

" over, there remained only two *Argives*, whose " names were *Agenor* and *Cromius*, who ran strait " to the city to carry the news of their victory. " In the mean time, while all was quiet, *Othryades*, " who was not quite dead, rose from the ground, " and having propped himself up with two pieces " of broken launces, he drew together as many " shields as lay within his reach, and piling them up, " wrote on the uppermost with his own blood these " words: *To Jupiter the conqueror, guardian of* " *trophies.* This creating a new dispute, which " was again brought before the *Amphictyons*, they " went to take a view of the place, and having " thoroughly examined all things, decreed in favour " of the *Spartans*. This is recorded by *Chrysermus* " in the third book of his *Peloponnesian* history (18).

(18) Plutarch. *in Paral. p.* 606.

in the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and distributed a money amongst the people. Such was the beginning of *Aristodemus*'s reign, who was an avowed and most dangerous enemy to the *Spartans* [t].

The ephori created at Sparta.

About this time, as the best authors agree, a great change was made in the *Spartan* republic, which is ascribed to *Theopompus*, who seeing the necessity of leaving magistrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the ephori, who afterwards made so great a figure in the *Spartan* state [u]. Some think, that they were at first the king's friends to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they soon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, chosen by the people out of their own body, sometimes out of the very dregs of it; b for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was most likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the senate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite; as to their authority, it was in a manner boundless, they presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that should be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state; they likewise held a court of justice, enquired into the behaviour of all magistrates, inspected into the deportment and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and in short by c degrees drew the whole administration into their own hands. This *Theopompus*'s queen is said to have conjectured on their first appointment, which made her reproach her husband with suffering the regal dignity to descend to his children mutilated, and in a worse condition than he received it from his ancestors. *Theopompus* answered her with great prudence, that, far from having lessened or injured the regal authority, he had strengthened and secured it, because the people, being satisfied by this institution, would have less inclination to run into tumults and seditions, in which princes are never safe [h]. One great priviledge of the ephori was, that they did not rise up at the presence of the kings, as all other magistrates did [y]; another, that from the first elected of these magistrates the year was denominated, as at *Athens* from the first of d the archons [z]; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended against the laws, or were guilty of any sort of excess, the ephori took cognizance thereof, and punished them [a]. Some disputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be discussed in the notes, but it is now time to resume the thread of the history (D).

The

[t] Pausan. in Lacon. & Messen. [u] Arist. Polit. lib. v. c. 11. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Valer. M. lib. iv. [x] Arist. Polit. ii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. Plat. de legib. lib. iii. Polyb. lib. iv. [y] Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm. [z] Pausan. Lacon. [a] Plut. Instit. Lacedæm.

(D) We have in the text placed the institution of the ephori under the reign of *Theopompus*, though it must be owned, that not only *Herodotus* in his history (19), but *Xenophon* also, treating expressly of the republic of *Lacedæmon*, ascribes the settling of the ephori to *Lycurgus* (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our Reasons why we have rejected these authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other case, and have placed the ephori a hundred and thirty years lower than *Lycurgus*. First then, we think, that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legislator's scheme of government, since he seems to have sought, as far as in him lay, to support the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwise, why did he institute the senate? or why did he leave to the people in their general assembly nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that these arguments would be of no weight at all against such authorities as *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, if there had not been writers of no less character on the other side. For, secondly, *Aristotle* is express in placing their institution lower (21); *Plutarch* in his life of *Cleomenes* introduces that prince, assigning them the same institution which we have done; besides *Theopompus*'s answer to his queen is recorded by authors of the best credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reigns of *Theopompus* and his collegue, rather than under that of *Charilaus*. Undoubtedly their power grew by very slow degrees, and that at their first institution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exercised with so high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at first appointed by the kings at their pleasure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, those who have this notion have assigned the time, *viz.* in the fifty-fifth olympiad, when *Chilo* was the first of the ephori, that is the *Epynomos*, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any antient author offered in support of this notion, and as it is founded only on the supposed sense of a passage in *Diogenes Laertius*, it is sufficient that we have mentioned it, nor are we bound

(19) *Herod. lib.* i. (20) *Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm.* (21) *Arist. Polit. lib.* v. (22) *Arist. ubi supra. Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib.* iv.

The Spartans again invade Messenia. Year after the flood 2276. Before Christ 728.

a THE adminiſtration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the *Spartan* kings renewed the *Meſſenian* war, and having engaged the *Corinthians* to lend them ſome aſſiſtance, they marched with a great army towards *Ithome*. *Ariſtodemus*, like a great captain, diſpoſed his own forces and thoſe of his confederates in the beſt manner poſſible; himſelf and *Cleonnis* commanded the heavy-armed forces, thoſe who were light-armed being committed to the care of *Damis*; the *Argives* and *Sicyonians* he oppoſed to the *Corinthians*; and the choiceſt of the *Arcadian* troops, with the flower of the *Meſſenian* infantry, he ranged againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; the light armed ſoldiers were poſted behind the hill, and all things thus diſpoſed, the battle began with great vigour on both ſides; the *Lacedæmonians*, though hard preſſed, ſtood b firmly in their poſts, and the *Corinthians* behaved very bravely for a long time, but when, on a ſignal given, the light-armed forces commanded by *Damis* took them in flank, and by a ſhower of miſſive weapons deſtroyed a great many men; they were at laſt conſtrained to betake themſelves to flight with very conſiderable loſs, tho' the number be not aſcertained. The *Spartans* were exceedingly afflicted at this miſcarriage, and the *Corinthians* were ſadly diſtreſſed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every ſide an enemy's country to paſs through before they could reach home [b]. The *Lacedæmonians* continued the war, and ſent deputies to conſult the oracle at *Delphi* on its event; the *Meſſenians* did ſo too, to the former the oracle anſwered to this purpoſe, *By fraud* (i. e. *of* Creſphontes) Meſſenia *was obtained, and* c *by fraud it muſt be ſubdued.* To the latter the oracle alſo gave an anſwer, but ſo perplexed and obſcure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the *Spartans*, in purſuance of their reſponſe, contrived many ſtratagems, and at laſt fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treaſon, ſecretly inſtructing them to fly to *Ithome* as ſuppliants, from whence they might eaſily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's councils; in this they followed the example of *Ulyſſes*, but not with the like ſucceſs, for *Ariſtodemus*, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deſerters to return home, and directed them to tell the *Spartans, that though their injuſtice was new, yet their trick was ſtale* [c]. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at *Ithome*, *Ariſtodemus* himſelf d had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him and upbraided him with her death. They had recourſe to the old remedy, ſending deputies to *Delphi*, and theſe deputies brought them advice, that whoever firſt dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Ithome* ſhould remain maſters of the place. This raiſed the ſpirits of the *Meſſenians* again, who, having no money to make the tripods of braſs, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being ſent from *Delphi* to *Sparta*, one *Oebalus*, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, diſguiſing himſelf like a fowler, got into *Ithome*, and having placed them in the temple of *Jupiter* eſcaped. The *Meſſenians* at this were again ſtruck with deſpair, eſpecially when they found the city inveſted by a great army from *Sparta*; e *Ariſtodemus* encouraged them awhile, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in ſpight of all his care would at laſt fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himſelf into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himſelf [d]. On his demiſe the *Meſſenians* did not elect any other king, but choſe *Damis* their chief by the title of general only. He did for them all

[b] PAUSAN. Meſſen. [c] PAUSAN. Lacon. [d] PAUSAN. Meſſen. & Lacon.

bound to refute it. It is true, that *Cleomenes*, in his ſpeech recorded by *Plutarch*, alledges the ſame thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not aſſign the time when their election was veſted in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known; the truth ſeems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king *Theopompus* firſt deviſed this expedient of creating ephori for the preſervation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what *Cleomenes* ſays as the opinion of *Plutarch*, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumſtances; for he delivered this diſcourſe to the people after he had taken away the ephori, and therefore it is to be preſumed he would ſay any thing that might ſerve to colour his deſigns; but we find it elſewhere recorded by the ſame author, that the ephori gave this account of the inſtitution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their diſputes were likely to prove fatal to the ſtate (23). We ſhall hereafter have occaſion frequently to mention the conduct of theſe magiſtrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at preſent we have done all that was neceſſary, in producing the reaſons which have engaged us to believe, that the ephori were ſet up under the reign of *Theopompus*, but were always elected by the people.

(23) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as had any hopes of a good reception fled into the adjacent countries; the reſt, together with the city of *Ithome*, were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Spartans*, who treated them with great rigour. *Polyænus* indeed tells us, that *Ithome* was taken by the following ſtratagem: *Theopompus* with part of the army pretended to deſert his collegue, actually removing from the camp and pitching behind the city; the *Meſſenians* greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on *Polydorus*, with whom they were no ſooner thoroughly engaged, than *Theopompus* with his forces attacked the city and took it by ſtorm. However this matter happened, *Ithome* was certainly raſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Meſſenians*, who remained in their own country, were tied to theſe conditions; firſt, that they ſhould cultivate their lands with all diligence b and render half their fruits to the *Spartans*; and ſecondly, when any of the nobles of *Sparta*, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral proceſſion in their weeds, on pain of ſuffering the higheſt penalties if they neglected. Beſides, the *Spartans* gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the ſea to the *Aſinei*, and another part to the deſcendants of *Androcles* [f]; this was the end of the famous *Meſſenian* war, which makes ſuch a figure in the *Greek* hiſtorians; that is to ſay at this time; for we ſhall ſee it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the *Spartans*.

Sparta *loſes both her kings after the* Meſſenian *war.*

Some time after this war was over the *Spartans* loſt both their kings, whoſe c characters therefore we ſhall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. *Theopompus* was a wiſe and gentle prince, as in a great meaſure appears from an anſwer he made to the following queſtion; *By what means a monarch might live with the greateſt ſafety? Let him* (anſwered the king) *permit his friends to adviſe him freely, and be himſelf always ready to puniſh the wicked ſtrictly, and with a good will* [g]. He loſt his ſon *Archidamus* a little before the *Argive* war, which was the reaſon that the conduct thereof was committed to his collegue. It is very probable, that there were great ſtirs in *Sparta* during their reigns, for beſides eſtabliſhing the ephori, theſe kings had recourſe to the contrivance before-mentioned, of ſubſtituting a new clauſe in the *Rhetra* concerning laws, whereby they reſtrained the power of the people [h]. The *Pillians*, having received great favours from this d prince, were inclined to pay him exceſſive honours, which he declined by this ſhort meſſage; *Moderate honours time increaſes, but takes the immoderate away.* He died in peace a natural death, after a long and glorious reign [i]. *Polydorus* was a prince of the moſt amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and juſt in both; he was prodigiouſly beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one *Polemarchus*, a *Spartan* of a conſiderable family and who was himſelf eminent in the ſtate, killed him, for what reaſon is unknown [k]. The *Lacedæmonians*, as a grateful teſtimony of their juſt ſenſe of his merit, honoured his memory with a ſtatue, and, which ſurpaſſed the uſual meaſure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the ſeal which their public magiſtrates were to make e uſe of for the future, as if they were deſirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble inſtance ſurely of their gratitude, and his virtues [l].

Eurycrates *and* Zeuxidamus. *Year after the flood*, 2290. *Year before Chriſt* 709.

Eurycrates ſucceeded his father *Polydorus*, and *Zeuxidamus* the ſon of *Archidamus* his grandfather *Theopompus*, theſe princes reigned with great tranquility, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the *Meſſenians* nor the *Argives* having yet recovered ſpirit enough to begin any new diſturbances; at home, however, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the ſtate. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it ſeems reaſonable, that the relation of *Ephorus* the hiſtorian ſhould be preferred [m]. The *Spartans*, when f they were engaged in the *Meſſenian* war, having been ten years abſent from the city, becauſe of the oath they had made not to return till they had entirely ſubdued that country; the women ſent to them to put them in mind, that while they were ſo careful to ſubdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that ſuch young men amongſt them as came out of *Sparta* under age, and ſo were not obliged by the oath, ſhould return, and aſſociating themſelves promiſcuouſly with

[c] Strateg. lib. i. c. 15. [f] Pausan. Lacon. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. & Inſt. Lacon. [h] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. [i] Pausan. Lacon. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Pausan. in Lacon. Herodot. hiſt. lib. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. [m] Apud Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

a with the unmarried women, preſerve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, ſuch as were born of theſe young women were ſtiled *Partheniæ*, i. e. *ſons of virgins*. When the *Lacedæmonians* returned after the reduction of *Meſſenia*, they viſibly neglected theſe young men, who at the ſame time found themſelves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritances to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the *Helotes*, who were as unhappy as they could be, determining to fall upon the citizens at a general aſſembly, and to open to themſelves a path of riches and honours with their ſwords. They went ſo far as to appoint the ſignal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but ſome of the *Helotes* dreading the conſequences diſcovered the
b whole matter, and when the time was come for the aſſembly, in which the conſpiracy was to be executed, the cryer by command of the ephori made proclamation, that no man ſhould throw up his cap, whereby the *Partheniæ* underſtood that their deſign was diſcovered; the *Lacedæmonians* did not, however, treat them harſhly, but weighing the hardſhips they were under, and conſidering at the ſame time their numbers and their intrigues with the *Helotes*, they wiſely agreed to paſs the matter by, and by public decree permitted *Phalantus*, who had been the ringleader in this buſineſs, to ſail with them over into *Italy*, where they ſettled themſelves in *Tarentum* [n]. Such was the iſſue of a very dangerous buſineſs, and which fully proves the ſhallowneſs of human policy, which in this caſe was driven to undo what it had before
c brought to paſs, and which when it was brought to paſs, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary ſtroke of wiſdom. Farther particulars of theſe kings we have none, except a few ſayings of *Zeuxidamus*, which are of no great importance [o].

Anaxander ſucceeded his father *Eurycrates*, as *Anaxidamus* did his father *Zeuxidamus*; in their reign the ſecond *Meſſenian* war began, for theſe poor people, having for a long time born the cruel treatment of their inſulting lords, became at laſt unable to ſuſtain it longer. *Ariſtomenes* the ſon of *Nicomedes* of *Andania*, deſcended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid, a man of ſtrong judgment, ſtrict honour, and enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty and his country. He perceived, that the *Argives* and *Arcadians* were friends only by force
d to the *Spartans*, wanting and wiſhing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To theſe *Ariſtomenes* applied, and receiving an anſwer more conformable to his wiſhes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimouſly to take up arms thirty-nine years after the taking of *Ithome*, as *Pauſanias* relates, though *Juſtin* and *Euſebius* allow an interval of eighty years between the firſt and ſecond *Meſſenian* war [p], which is far from being probable, though, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the *Spartans* and *Meſſenians* met at a village called *Deræ*, where an obſtinate engagement enſued; *Ariſtomenes* behaved himſelf ſo well therein, that he
e brought victory to his ſide, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal atchievements; in gratitude therefore, reſpect being alſo had to his deſcent from *Epytus*, his countrymen unanimouſly ſaluted him king, which title he modeſtly waved, alledging, that he took arms to ſet them free, and not to make himſelf great: He conſented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatſoever he thought requiſite for the ſervice of the public. Knowing well the ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived, he reſolved to intimidate the *Spartans*, by ſhewing them what he was ſure they would take for an ill omen. Diſguiſing himſelf therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a ſhield on the wall of the temple of *Minerva*, with this inſcription; Ariſtomenes *dedicates*
f *this of the ſpoils of the* Spartans *to the goddeſs*. It was eaſily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody; the *Lacedæmonians* therefore ſent deputies to *Delphi* to inquire of the oracle concerning its event; the anſwer they brought was, *That it behoved the* Spartans *to ſeek a leader from* Athens. The *Athenians*, naturally envious of the *Spartans*, granted their requeſt indeed, but in ſuch a manner as manifeſted their ſpight, for they ſent them for a general *Tyrtæus* a ſchool-maſter and poet, lame of one foot, and who was ſuſpected to be a little out of his wits. But here their ſkill failed them, for this captain, notwithſtanding his deſpicable appearance,

Anaxander and Anaxidamus.
Year after the Flood, 1314.
Year before Chriſt, 685.

[n] Strabo ubi ſupra. Heracl. de Polit. Euseb. in Chron. Can. [o] Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. [p] Pausan. in Meſſen. Justin. lib. iii. Euseb. in Chron. Can.

ance, proved of mighty consequence to *Sparta*, teaching them how to use good for- a
tune, and how to to bear up under ill [q]. In the mean time *Aristomenes* had drawn toge-
ther a mighty army, the *Eleans*, *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Arcadians*, having sent
troops to his assistance, the *Spartans* in this as in the former war having no ally but
Corinth. The *Spartan* kings, according to the custom of their city, no sooner took
the field, than, notwithstanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy
battle, which *Aristomenes* readily accepted; it was long, obstinate, and bloody, but
in the end the *Messenians* were victorious, and the *Lacedæmonians* put to flight with
a great slaughter; *Aristomenes* pursued them, notwithstanding *Theotles* the soothsayer
called him back, perceiving *Castor* and *Pollux* in a tree, by which there was a neces-
sity of passing in the pursuit, which he continuing notwithstanding, when he came to b
that tree, lost his shield, which gave the *Lacedæmonians* an opportunity of with-
drawing without further loss. It is scarce to be conceived how much the *Spartans*
were struck with this defeat; they grew weary of the war, dissatisfied with their
kings, diffident of their own power, and, in a word, sunk into a state of general unea-
siness and want of spirit. It was now that the *Athenian* general convinced them,
that he was capable of fulfilling all the promises of the oracle; he encouraged them
by his poems, he directed them by his counsels, and recruited their broken armies
with chosen men from among the *Helotes*; he shewed them the folly of diffidence, and
roused them to the practice of those virtues for which *Sparta* had been famous.
Aristomenes, on the other hand, acted with no less prudence and vigour, he thought it c
not enough to restore the reputation of the *Messenians*, if he did not also restore their
wealth and power; he therefore taught them to act offensively against their enemies,
and entering the territories of *Sparta* he took and plundered *Pharæ*, a considerable
borough in *Laconia*, putting all such as made any resistance to the sword, carrying
off at the same time an immense booty; this, however, was an injury which the
Spartans could not brook with patience, they therefore sent immediately a body
of forces to overtake the *Messenians*, which accordingly they did, but little to their
profit; for *Aristomenes* routed these pursuers, and continued to make a mighty
slaughter of them, till such time as he was disabled by having a spear thrust through
his thigh, which occasioned his being carried out of the battle [r]; his cure, which d
took up some time, being finished, he resolved to carry the war to the very gates of
Sparta, and to that purpose raised a very great army; but whether he found his design
impracticable, or was really diverted by some dream, he gave out, that *Castor* and
Pollux with their sister *Helena* had appeared to him, and commanded him to desist [s].
A short time after this retreat, going with a small party to make an incursion, and
attempting to take prisoners some women, who were celebrating religious rites near
Egila a village in *Laconia*, those zealous matrons fell upon him and his soldiers with
such fury, that they put them to flight and took him prisoner; however, he soon after-
wards made his escape and rejoined his forces [t]. In the third year of the war the
Spartans with a great force entered *Messenia*, whither *Aristocrates* king of *Arcadia* was e
come with a great body of troops to the assistance of his allies; *Aristomenes* there-
fore made no difficulty of fighting when the *Spartans* approached, but they enter-
ing privately into a negotiation with *Aristocrates*, engaged him with bribes and
promises to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful
Arcadian represented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were
in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in case
the battle should be lost; he then pretended, that the sacrifices were ominous, and
having terrified his *Arcadians* into that disposition of mind fittest to serve his pur-
pose, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced thro'
the *Messenian* ranks and put them too in confusion. *Aristomenes* and his troops, how- f
ever, drew themselves into close order, that they might defend themselves the best
they could, and indeed they had need of all their valour and skill, for the *Lacedæ-
monians*, who expected this event, immediately attacked and surrounded them on all
sides Fortune was on this occasion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct
of the *Messenians*, so that notwithstanding their utmost efforts, most of their army
were cut to pieces, and amongst them the chief of their nobility. *Aristomenes*, with
the poor remains of his shattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving
that it was now impossible to maintain the war against the *Lacedæmonians* upon
equal

[q] STRAB. Geogr. lib. viii. [r] PAUSAN. Messen. POLYÆN. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. [s] Id. ibid.

a equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount *Era*, and to make the beſt diſpoſitions poſſible for a long defence; he likewiſe placed gariſons in *Pylus* and *Methone* on the ſea-coaſts, and to theſe three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the reſt of *Meſſenia* to the mercy of the *Spartans*. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finiſhed, for which reaſon they divided the lands amongſt their citizens, and cauſed them to be carefully cultivated, while they beſieged *Era*; but *Ariſtomenes* quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He choſe out of all the *Meſſenians* three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when *Meſſenia* would no longer ſupply the wants of his gariſon, he penetrated into *La-*
b *conia*, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of his countrymen ſhut up in *Era*; ſo that at laſt the *Spartans* were conſtrained to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation not only of the *Meſſenian* territory in their hands, but alſo of *Laconia* in its vicinity, whereby they diſtreſſed themſelves more than their enemies, inducing at laſt a famine in *Sparta* itſelf, which brought with it its uſual attendant ſedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wiſdom of the poet *Tyrtæus* had not ſupported the *Spartan* courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of *Era*, and to maintain a flying camp for the ſecurity of the country [t].

Ariſtomenes, in ſpight of all theſe precautions, committed terrible depredations
c with his ſmall corps of three hundred men. Amongſt other places which he plundered, the city of *Amyclæ* was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but alſo many carriages laden with proviſions. The kings of *Sparta* lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as ſoon as they heard of this expedition, marched after *Ariſtomenes* with the utmoſt diligence, and as the *Meſſenians* were encumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach *Era*. In this ſituation of things, *Ariſtomenes*, prompted rather by deſpair than prudence, diſpoſed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithſtanding they were ſo few, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance againſt the whole *Lacedæmonian* army. At length, however, numbers prevailed, the greateſt part of the *Meſſenians* were
d ſlain on the ſpot, and *Ariſtomenes* and about fifty of his men, who ſurvived the ſlaughter, were taken priſoners, that chieftain having received ſo many wounds, that he was ſenſeleſs when they carried him away. The *Lacedæmonians* expreſſed the loudeſt joy at the ſight of this illuſtrious captive, who for ſo many years by his ſingle abilities had enabled his exhauſted country to defend itſelf againſt the whole force of *Sparta*. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow priſoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common puniſhment of the loweſt kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmoſt ſeverity, excepting that *Ariſtomenes* had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this diſmal place, lying upon and covered over with
e dead bodies; the third day he was almoſt famiſhed through want of food, and almoſt poiſoned with the ſtench of corrupted carcaſſes, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him, upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox juſt by him, he with one hand ſeized it's hind-leg, and with the other defended his face by catching hold of the foxe's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his ſtraggling guide, the fox at laſt thruſt his head into a little hole, and *Ariſtomenes* then letting go his leg, he ſoon forced his way through, and opened a paſſage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble *Meſſenian* had been ſo long debarred. Feeble as he was, *Ariſtomenes* wrought himſelf an outlet with his nails, and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could,
f at length arrived ſafe at *Era*, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was firſt blazed abroad, the *Spartans* would have had it paſs for a fiction, but *Ariſtomenes* ſoon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the poſts of the *Corinthians*, who, as the allies of the *Spartans* had a conſiderable body of troops before *Era*. Moſt of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he ſlew, pillaged their camp, and in ſhort did ſo much miſchief, that the *Spartans*, under a pretence of an approaching feſtival, agreed to a ceſſation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occaſion *Ariſtomenes* for the ſecond time celebrated the *Hecatomphonia*, or the ſacrifice appointed for thoſe who

The Meſſenian *war continued with the utmoſt vigour.*

[t] Pausan. in Meſſen.

who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands; he had performed a
the same before after his second battle when he lost his shield; and he lived to do it
a third time, which must appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that,
notwithstanding this truce, certain *Cretan* archers in the service of the *Spartans* seized
Aristomenes, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away prisoner[u].
There were nine of them in all, two immediately ran away with the news to *Sparta*,
and seven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lone
cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It so fell out, that the
young woman dreamt the night before, that she saw a lion without claws, bound and
dragged along by wolves, and that she having loosed his bonds and given him claws,
he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As soon as *Aristomenes* came into the cottage, b
and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, she instantly
concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore plied the *Cretans* with drink,
and when they were asleep took a poignard from one of them, cut the thongs with
which *Aristomenes* was bound, and then put it into his hands; he presently verified
her vision by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to
Era, where, as a reward for her service, he married the young woman to his son *Gorgus*,
then about eighteen years of age. When *Era* had held out near eleven years, it fell into
the hands of *Sparta* by an accident; the servant of one *Empiramus* a *Spartan* com-
mander, driving his master's cattle to drink at the river *Neda*, met frequently with the
wife of a *Messenian*, whom he engaged in an amour; this woman gave him notice that c
her husband's house was without the wall, so that he could come to it without
danger when the good man was abroad, and she likewise gave him intelligence when
her husband was upon duty in the garison. The *Spartan* failed not to come at the
time appointed, but they had not been long in bed before the husband returned, which
put the house into great confusion; the woman, however, secured her gallant, and
then let in the good man, whom she received with the perfidious flattery peculiar to
her sex, inquiring again and again by what excess of good fortune she was blessed
with his return; the innocent *Messenian* told her, that *Aristomenes* being detained in
his bed by a wound, and the soldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, d
had a grant to retire to their houses to avoid the bitter inclemency of the season.
The *Spartan* no sooner this heard than he crept softly out of doors, and ran post-
haste to carry the news to his master; it so fell out, that the kings were at this time ab-
sent from the camp, and *Empiramus* had the chief command of the army; as soon
as he received this information, he ordered the army to begin its march, though it
rained excessively and there was no moon-light; the fellow guided them to the
fort, and managed matters so well, that they seized all the *Messenian* posts; yet
after all they were afraid to engage, darkness, a high wind, heavy rain, together
with the dread of *Aristomenes*, kept them quiet on the places they had seized. As soon
as it was light the attack began, and *Era* had been quickly taken, if only the men e
had defended it; but the women fought with such fury, and, by their mingling in
the fray, brought such an accession of numbers, as made the business doubtful;
three days and two nights this desperate engagement lasted; at last all hopes of pre-
serving the city being lost, *Aristomenes* drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth
morning he disposed the women and children in the centre, the *Messenian* youth in
the front and rear, the less able men in the main body, himself commanded the
van; the rear-guard was brought up by *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, the former the son
of *Aristomenes*, the latter of *Theocles* a *Messenian* of great merit, who had fallen
with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cause of his country. When
all things were ready, *Aristomenes* caused the last barrier to be thrown open, and f
brandishing his spear marched directly towards the *Spartan* troops in order to force
a passage. *Empiramus*, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right
and left, and fairly gave them a passage, so that *Aristomenes* marched off, in triumph
as it were, to *Arcadia*. It should seem that writing, as we do, the history of the
Lacedæmonians, we should here have done with the *Messenian* captain, the war being
now at an end; but it falls out otherwise, there is no keeping to the story of *Sparta*
without following this man to his last hour[x].

The

[u] Pausan. in Messen. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. sect. 2. Stephan. in voce Ἀβαντία.
[x] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. c. 5.

The end of the ſecond Meſſenian *war. Year after the flood* 2331. *Before Chriſt* 668.

THE *Arcadians*, when they heard that *Era* was taken, were very deſirous of ſuccouring their old confederates in this deep diſtreſs: they therefore intreated their king *Ariſtocrates* to lead them into *Meſſenia*; but he, corrupted by the *Lacedæmonians*, perſuaded them that it was too late, that the *Meſſenians* were all cut off, and that ſuch a ſtep would only expoſe them to the fury of the conquerors; when the thing appeared to be otherwiſe, and it was known that *Ariſtomenes* was on the frontiers of *Arcadia*, they went in crouds to carry him proviſions, and to teſtify their readineſs to afford him and thoſe under his command all the aſſiſtance in their power. *Ariſtomenes* deſired to be heard before a general aſſembly, which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldeſt and beſt-laid ſchemes recorded in hiſtory; he ſaid, that he had yet five hundred undaunted ſoldiers, who at his command would undertake any thing; that it was very probable moſt of the *Spartans* were employed in pillaging *Era*; and that therefore he was determined to march and ſurprize *Sparta*, which appeared ſo feaſible, that all the aſſembly loudly commended his great capacity and unſhaken courage; *Ariſtocrates*, however, took care to betray him, having by various pretences retarded the execution of the project. The *Arcadians*, who began to ſuſpect him, waited for and ſurprized his meſſengers as they came back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the aſſembly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindneſs both now and in the battle, and promiſed that the *Lacedæmonians* would be grateful; as ſoon as the letters were read, the *Arcadians* fell to ſtoning their king, frequently calling upon the *Meſſenians* to aſſiſt them, which, however, they did not, waiting for *Ariſtomenes*'s orders, who, far from triumphing in this ſpectacle, ſtood ſtill with his eyes fixed on the ground which he wet with his tears, his ſoul pierced with ſorrow to ſee a crowned head ſo ſhamefully and ſo deſervedly put to death [y]. The *Arcadians* afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inſcription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the *Meſſenians* under the command of *Gorgus* and *Manticlus*, they paſſed over into *Sicily*, where they founded the city of *Meſſene*, one of the moſt famous in the iſland. *Ariſtomenes* remained, however, in *Greece*, where he married all his daughters, except the youngeſt, to perſons of great rank. A prince of *Rhodes* inquiring of the oracle at *Delphi* whom he ſhould eſpouſe, that his ſubjects might be happy under his poſterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the moſt worthy of the *Greeks*, which anſwer was immediately underſtood to point at the virgin daughter of *Ariſtomenes*; her therefore he demanded and received, *Ariſtomenes* accompanying him back to his dominions, where he formed a ſcheme of uniting the *Lydians* and *Medes* againſt the *Spartans*, reſolving with this view to go himſelf to *Media* and to the court of *Sardis*; but while he meditated theſe great things, death ſurprized him, and thereby freed *Lacedæmon* from the moſt inveterate enemy ſhe ever had. His ſon-in-law honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent tomb, and as for his fame, all hiſtorians have ſhewn the utmoſt regard in conſerving it (E).

Meſſenia

[y] PAUSAN. in Meſſen,. POLYB. lib. iv. p. 301.

(E) The ſtory of *Ariſtomenes*, as we have related it from the beſt authorities among the *Greeks*, tho' it contains a great many wonderful circumſtances, hath not in it, however, any thing abſurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that ſuch as prefer the marvellous to conſiſtent hiſtory have laid hold of this great man's character to give colour to ſome of their ſtrange ſtories. *Pliny* has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend antient or modern; he ſays, that, when he was a third time taken, they were reſolved to ſee wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive, that, after ſo many accidents had befallen him, he could poſſibly keep up his ſpirits by the ordinary ſupplies of nature; they therefore cut open his boſom, and thereby diſcovered, as they conceived, the cauſe of his extraordinary courage; and what ſhould this be, but that his heart was hairy, a mighty probable cauſe truly (20)! In the beginning of the laſt *Meſſenian* war, or rather when *Era* was firſt beſieged, perſons were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi* concerning the event; the anſwer was very diſagreeable, being to this purpoſe:

> Thy fate *Meſſene*, now is near at hand;
> Nor can I longer the decree withſtand,
> Than till the he-goat from its banks ſhall try
> To taſte of *Neda*'s ſtreams which ſwiftly fly.

In the *Greek* the word tranſlated *he-goat* is *Tragos*, and from hence it came to paſs, that the *Meſſenians* were ſcrupulouſly careful that no he-goat ſhould come near the river; but when the fate of *Era* really approached, it appeared, that the oracle had been quite miſunderſtood; for *Theocles*, the ſooth-ſayer obſerving certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's ſide, no longer ſhoot their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected, that though the other *Greeks* called this tree *Olynthos*, yet the *Meſſenians* called it *Tragos*; he therefore gave notice of this to *Ariſtomenes*, and told him plainly, that he apprehended

(20) *Plin. hiſt. natur. lib.* xi. *c.* 37. *Stephan. Byzan. in voce* Ἀνδανία.

Messenia *divided by the* Lacedæmonians.

Messenia once more reduced, the *Spartans* treated the remaining inhabitants with a severity that became proverbial, making them all slaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the district of *Methone* which they gave to the *Argives*, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the sovereignty of *Greece*. We find nothing farther which deserves notice recorded of either of the *Lacedæmonian* kings, unless it be a saying of *Anaxander*; of whom it being demanded, *Why the* Lacedæmonians *kept no money in their exchequer*, he answered, *That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves* [z].

The reigns of Eurycrates *and* Archidamus.

Eurycrates succeeded his father *Anaxander*, as *Archidamus* did his father *Anaxidamus*; of their reigns we know nothing more than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for though various authors have recorded the names of these princes, remembrance of their actions we find none [a], unless it be the following wise saying of *Eurycrates*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Eucratides*; who, when it was asked him, *Why the ephori sate every day to determine causes about contracts*, answered, *That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies* [b]. *Archidamus* was also called *Agasicles*, which is the reason that *Herodotus*, making use of the *Ionic* dialect, writes his name *Hegisicles*.

The reigns of Leo *and* Arisio.

Eurycrates was succeeded by his son *Leo*, and *Archidamus* by his son *Aristo*, princes concerning whom historians are not so silent. *Leo* was a man of great capacity, and very solicitous for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, *Under what government a man might live safest*, he answered immediately, *Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none.* At the olympic games, when every body commended the victors, *How much better*, said he, *would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift in learning to be honest* [c]! *Aristo* his collegue is remarkable in history for some extrordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was so unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend *Agetus*, the most beautiful woman in *Sparta*. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: He took his friend *Agetus* one day in a gay humour, and having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and when *Agetus* had chosen, the king in consequence of that oath demanded his wife. *Agetus* protested, that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but *Aristo* insisted, that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it took it; *Agetus* submitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he sate with the ephori hearing causes, a servant came in great haste to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and called him *Damaratus* [d]. During the reigns of *Leo* and *Aristo* the *Lacedæmonians* were engaged in a war with the *Tegeatæ*, wherein they were successful, as it should seem from *Pausanias*'s account of the matter, though *Herodotus* tells it otherwise [e].

Anaxandrides *succeeds his father* Leo.

Anaxandrides succeeded his father *Leo* during the life-time of his collegue *Aristo*; in his time the body of *Orestes*, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported also to have had two wives, which was a singular thing in *Sparta*, for whom he built separate houses; the reason of it was, that the ephori commanded him to divorce his first wife, because she bore him no children; but he, not being able to

[z] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. Pausan. in Lacon. [a] Herodot. lib. i. Pausan. ubi supra. [b] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon, & in Apoph. Reg. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [d] Pausan in Lacon. Herodot. lib. vi. Plut. ubi supra. [e] lib. i.

hended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon *Arstomenes* took a certain sacred depositum, which *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* had foretold should be preserved till the *Messenians* were totally destroyed; this he interred in the most private part of the mountain *Ithome*, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of *Era* (21). There is nothing farther which deserves to be added to this note, unless it be the explanation we promised of the different dates assigned to the last *Messenian* war, which, is, however purely conjectural. It is this, that *Eusebius* did not say that the second *Messenian* war began eighty years after the first, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the first disturbances on account of the death of *Teleclus* (22).

(21) *Pausan. in Messen.* (22) *Justin. lib.* iii. *c.* 4. *Euseb. Chron. Canon.*

a to bring himſelf up to this, contented himſelf with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had *Cleomenes*; his firſt wife then alſo conceived and brought him a child, who was called *Dorieus*; the ephori pretending to make ſome ſcruple whether this was really her child or no, the buſineſs was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing *Leonidas* and *Cleomenes* [f]. This king *Anaxandrides* was certainly a very wiſe man, and had very juſt notions of government, as, amongſt others of his ſayings recorded by *Plutarch*, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, *Why the* Spartans *were ſo cautious in paſſing capital judgments, and why, notwithſtanding his acquittal, they ſtill demanded a recognizance of a perſon accuſed*; he anſwered, *Becauſe in capital caſes*
b *execution can never be recalled*; *and in the other caſe they kept that recognizance, that if it ſo fell out, that the guilt of the perſon acquitted ſhould afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juſter judgment* [g]. *Ariſto* was alſo a prince of great worth and probity, and in conſequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of theſe princes, *Cræſus* king of *Lydia* was vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, and an end put to his kingdom by *Cyrus*; he was during his proſperity a great lover of the *Greeks*, and particularly of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom he had frequent intercourſe, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himſelf to the chief among the *Greeks*, which he immediately underſtood of the *Spartans* [h].

c *Anaxandrides* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cleomenes*, as *Ariſto* was by his ſon *Damaratus*. It was ſtrict regard to hereditary right which induced the *Lacedæmonians* to place *Cleomenes* on the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his ſenſes, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of meaſure; whereas his brother *Dorieus* was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleneſs of his temper, and his ſkill in the art of war; he was ſo much diſguſted, however, at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuſe for quitting his country [i]. In the very beginning of his reign *Cleomenes* engaged in a war with the *Argives*, whom he beat, and having driven a conſiderable body of them into a wood, he cauſed the *Helotes* to
d ſet that wood on fire whereby numbers of them were deſtroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he ſought only victory, without inquiring whether the means by which he ſought to obtain it were juſt or not; yet he had ſometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to ſay, that Homer *was the poet of the* Lacedæmonians, Heſiod *of the* Helotes, becauſe the former made war his ſubject, and the latter treated of huſbandry [k]. He was early ſuſpected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the ſtate; for at his return from the war with the *Argives*, he was accuſed of having let ſlip manifeſt opportunities of taking *Argos* itſelf; but the anſwers he gave, when the
e matter came to be heard before the ephori, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to *Cliſthenes* the *Athenian* and his party, at whoſe requeſt he drove the *Piſiſtratidæ* out of *Athens*; afterwards he joined with *Iſagoras*, whom the *Athenians* had baniſhed, and endeavoured all he could to veſt in him the ſovereignty of that city, whereby he created great miſchiefs to the *Greeks*. The *Corinthians*, who, as we have elſewhere ſeen, were the faſt friends and ſteady allies of the *Lacedæmonians*, diſguſted at the haughty behaviour of *Cleomenes*, and at his waſting the territory of *Eleuſina*, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deſerted them; *Damaratus* his collegue alſo, who was a very worthy and excellent perſon, oppoſed him; and while he was gone into *Ægina*, where he pretended to ſeize the principal
f perſons in the iſland, under colour that they were in the *Perſian* intereſt; *Damaratus* accuſed him to the ephori and the ſenate of being an enemy to peace, a diſturber of *Greece*, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring ſtates to look with an evil eye on *Sparta* [l]. Theſe diſcourſes had at firſt their effect; but when *Cleomenes* returned, he found means not only to get himſelf acquitted, but to get his collegue depoſed, which he wrought after the following manner: He ſuggeſted, that *Damaratus*'s birth was liable to great ſuſpicions, alledging the expreſſion of his father beforementioned; the *Spartans* ſent to the oracle at *Delphi*, in order to have this

The reigns of Cleomenes *and* Damaratus.

[f] Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. lib. v. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [h] Herod. lib. i. [i] Herod. lib. v. Pausan. ubi ſupra. [k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [l] Herod. lib. v. Pausan. Lacon.

this intricate queſtion decided; *Cleomenes* foreſaw this, and therefore took care to a
corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies
with the reſponſe, *Damaratus* was depoſed, and *Leotycides* his couſin, the eighth in
deſcent from *Theopompus*, was raiſed to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation
of the depoſed king, that, inſtead of quitting his country, he ſtill endeavoured to
render it all the ſervice he could, being content to execute inferior magiſtracies.
But the intemperance of his ſucceſſor vanquiſhed at length his patience; for *Leoty-*
chides being one day informed, that *Damaratus* was ſetting as inſpector in the place of
public exerciſes, ſent a ſervant to inſult him, by aſking him this queſtion, *How he*
liked his preſent office after executing that of king. To which *Damaratus* fiercely an- b
ſwered, *That himſelf knew the weight of both, which he who ſent him did not; but that*
this queſtion ſhould either prove the cauſe of great miſery, or of great felicity, to Sparta.
Then covering his head he retired to his own houſe, where having firſt ſacrificed to
Jupiter, he then ſent for his mother, and earneſtly intreated her to tell him the truth
as to his birth, whether, as he was reputed, he was the ſon of king *Ariſto*, or whe-
ther, as his enemies ſuggeſted, *Agetus* was his father. She having in the moſt ſolemn
terms aſſured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to *Delphi*, but
indeed reſolved to quit *Sparta* for ever, and to retire where he might be abſolutely ſafe;
with this view he went firſt to *Elis*, from thence to *Zacynthus*, and at length into
Perſia, where he was received by king *Darius* with the utmoſt civility, had large
revenues aſſigned him, and was in every reſpect uſed as a prince [m]. In his exile he c
behaved in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, and without ſhewing any rancour againſt
his country; as an inſtance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the *Per-*
ſian monarch would have puniſhed a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards at
Damaratus's perſuaſion ſubmitted himſelf to the king, the *Spartan* generouſly inter-
poſed, addreſſing the *Perſian* king in theſe words; *It is diſhonourable, O king, not*
to have had it in thy power to puniſh him when he was a rebel, and as diſhonourable to
exert a power of puniſhing now he is become thy friend [n]. With reſpect to the latter,
when he found that the *Perſian* was determined to make war on *Greece*, we are told,
he ſent the firſt advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax.
He was the only king of *Sparta* who was victor in the olympic games. In a word, d
he was a perſon of ſuch merit, that none of the *Perſians* envied the honours and
revenues which he acquired in their country, where his poſterity flouriſhed many ages
after [o].

Leotychides *ſucceeds* Damaratus.

Leotychides, as he was raiſed to the kingdom by the craft of *Cleomenes*, ſo he was
intirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to *Ægina*, from
whence they brought away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners, and left them
with the *Athenians* their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards ſuffered, though
he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of *Cleomenes*. As for that
prince, he continued to act as inconſiſtently as formerly, that is, ſometimes with c
extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the leaſt regard to juſtice. When
Ariſtagoras the *Mileſian* tyrant came to *Sparta* with an intent to perſuade *Cleomenes*
to make war upon the *Perſian* king, he heard his propoſals both as to the method
of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himſelf; but he adviſed
his country againſt the former, and abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with
the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity, for the ſame
prince prevailing with the *Athenians* thereby induced that war, which had well-nigh
brought on the total deſtruction of *Greece*. He likewiſe reſiſted all the ſolicitations
of *Mæander* the tyrant of *Samos*, who alſo would have tempted him with money;
and not only ſo, but complained of him to the ephori, telling them, that if they did
not baniſh this man out of their territories, he would teach the *Lacedæmonians* to be
knaves. When by degrees his contrivances againſt *Damaratus* came to light, and the
Spartans began to ſhew ſome inclination to examine ſtrictly into that matter, he
thought it beſt to fly firſt into *Theſſaly*, and then into *Arcadia*, where he immediately
excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of *Arcadians*, and endeavour-
ing by a ſolemn oath to bind them to his ſervice. The *Spartans*, knowing well his en-
terprizing genius, and being afraid leſt he ſhould excite the *Arcadians* to invade them,
recalled him, and reſtored him to his dignity; but a ſhort time after he returned,
he fell mad, running people in the face with his ſceptre as he met them in the ſtreets;
upon

[m] Herod. lib. xvii. Pausan. Lacon. [n] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [o] Herodot. lib. vii. Pausan Lacon.

upon which they were conſtrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood [p]. In this condition he was attended by a *Helot* who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a ſword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himſelf up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the *Spartans* imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of *Delphi*, and thereby procuring the depoſition of *Damaratus*; the *Athenians* attributed it to his ſacrilege at *Eleuſina*; the *Argives* were as poſitive that it befel him for burning their ſacred grove (F). As for thoſe who were for aſcribing his end to natural cauſes, they alledged, that drinking immoderately with the *Scythian* embaſſadors, his drunkenneſs iſſued in madneſs [q]. He left behind him a daughter named *Gorgo*; one of the moſt celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of *Ægina* upon his death applied themſelves to the *Spartans*, complaining loudly againſt *Leotychides*, for that he in conjunction with *Cleomenes* had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their iſland, and putting them into the hands of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans*, who, as a nation, piqued themſelves much upon their juſtice, diſclaimed the whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of *Ægina* to deliver up *Leotychides* into their hands; but the deputies of that iſland wiſely declined carrying the king of *Sparta* away; they contented themſelves therefore with deſiring he might go with them to *Athens*, there to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to rectify the miſchief he had done them by procuring their hoſtages to be delivered up, which accordingly he did; but his and their applications being fruitleſs, they ſuffered him to return again to *Sparta*, where he ſtill retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their

[p] Pausan. Lacon. Herod. lib. vi.

[q] Pausan. ubi ſupra. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(F) There is no part of *Cleomenes*'s character more unjuſtifiable than that which regards the *Argives*, againſt whom he made a war, without obſerving any laws of honour or juſtice. The accounts we have of his exploits againſt this nation are ſo diſſonant, and the circumſtances contained in them ſo incompatible, that it is far from being eaſy to judge, whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the ſame war, or in ſeveral; and if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice inquiry into theſe particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of *Cleomenes*. He is ſaid to have been promiſed by an oracle, that he ſhould take *Argos*; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but between him and it lay a conſiderable army of the *Argives*, who prepared to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they might, though under great diſcouragements from certain reſponſes which they had received, which gave them to apprehend, that they ſhould be overcome by fraud. In order to guard againſt this in the moſt probable manner they could deviſe, they determined to govern their motions by the enemies ſignals, which they eſteemed a certain preſervative againſt being ſurprized (24). But this precaution ſerved only to ruin them; for *Cleomenes*, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the *Argives*, when the ſignal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of *Argos* was entirely defeated; for they, beholding the *Spartan* ſignal for dinner, went immediately to refreſh themſelves, but before they were well ſettled at their meal, the *Spartans* fell upon them, and ſlaughtered them almoſt without reſiſtance. Their only refuge in this diſtreſs was a thick wood in their rear, into which they retired with all the expedition poſſible. *Cleomenes* inſtantly deviſed a new ſtratagem for deſtroying them there. He cauſed ſome who were well acquainted with the *Argives* to call them by name, and promiſe them quarter; yet as faſt they came out he ordered them to be ſlain. Thus he cut off fifty, thoſe in the grove, becauſe of the thickneſs of the trees, perceiving nothing of what paſſed without. At length an *Argive*, getting upon an high tree, diſcovered from thence what was doing. The *Lacedæmonians* then called in vain, no more of the *Argives* ventured out, which put *Cleomenes* on a more cruel expedition; he cauſed his *Helotes* to ſurround the grove with bruſh-wood and other combuſtible matter; and then, ſetting it on fire, burned all the hapleſs wretches. He then enquired to whom the grove was dedicated? *To Argos*, replied a prieſt. Alas! cried *Cleomenes*, *This oracle has deceived me, this is all the* Argos *I ſhall take*. He afterwards ſacrificed by force on the altar of *Diana*, and cauſed the prieſt who would have hindred him to be chaſtiſed. The ſacrifices, as ſome ſay, proving unlucky, he deſiſted, and was accuſed at his return for not taking *Argos*, but on hearing his defence acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his collegue *Damaratus*, but was conſtrained to retire by the following means: There was in that city a lady named *Teliſſilla*, who, being of a very weak conſtitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herſelf to the muſes. In conſequence of this reſponſe, ſhe ſtudied poetry with ſuch ſucceſs, that though on the approach of the *Lacedæmonians* there were none but women in the city, ſhe inſpired them with ſuch reſolution, that they ſhut the gates, took arms, and forced *Damaratus*, who was already in the ſuburbs, to retire; as alſo *Cleomenes* himſelf and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event an anniverſary ſolemnity grew into uſe at *Argos*, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the antient writers, that *Cleomenes* laughed at and deſpiſed oracles; the reaſon is clear, becauſe he had corrupted them (27).

(23) *Herodot. Hiſt. lib.* vi. *Pauſan. Argol. Lacon.* (24) *Herodot. ubi ſupra.* (25) *Plut. Apophtheg.* (26) *Herodot. ubi ſupra. Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* viii. 33. *Plut. de virtut. Mulier.* (27) *Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.*

their cuſtom, regretted their abſent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the conſequences of all this we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to explain; let us in the mean time paſs to the ſtory of his collegue [r]. a

Leonidas *ſucceeds* Cleomenes.

Leonidas the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, half-brother to *Cleomenes*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter *Gorgo*; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour ſuperior to moſt men of his age; ſome of the *Spartans*, however, who diſliked his family, could not help ſpeaking diſreſpectfully to him; one of them particularly told him to his face, *That, except being a king, he was no better than they*; to which *Leonidas*, ſmiling, anſwered, *If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king*. When *Miltiades* the *Athenian* fought the famous battle of *Marathon*, the *Spartans* had promiſed an army, but had ſent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the ſpot where it was fought, where having conſidered attentively the prodigious difficulties the *Athenians* had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to *Sparta*. When, as the wiſeſt of the *Greeks* had foreſeen, this battle at *Marathon* only excited the *Perſian* to attempt again the conqueſt of *Greece*; the *Spartans*, with a reſolution worthy of the diſciples of *Lycurgus*, determined to oppoſe them; *Damaratus* their king was conſtrained to accompany *Xerxes* in this expedition, though in reſpect to his country he had ſent early notice thereof to *Gorgo*, the wife of *Leonidas*, and the daughter of his greateſt enemy. When it was apparent, that *Xerxes* would enter *Greece* in perſon with a prodigious army, a general aſſembly was held at the iſthmus, the reſolutions of which were theſe: *That the ſtates of* Greece *ſhould unanimouſly join in defending its liberty againſt the* Perſians; *that for the preſent all their quarrels amongſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpended*; *that the tenth of the ſpoil ſhould be dedicated to* Apollo; *and that of thoſe who deſerted the common cauſe a decimation ſhould be made, that is, a tenth part ſhould be put to death without mercy* [t]. Warm and generous reſolutions, if the ſame ſpirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates the *Spartans* and *Athenians* only ſeemed ready to do any thing. The *Theſſalians* were the firſt who were to feel the weight of *Xerxes* and his myriads; they therefore ſent to the *Greeks* to beſeech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they ſubmitted to an enemy they could not reſiſt. Upon this ten thouſand men were ſent by ſea to *Theſſaly* under the command of *Evenetus* a *Spartan* and *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*; but when they came thither, they were convinced, that this meaſure would prove ineffectual; for in a plain country, as *Theſſaly* is, there could be no hopes of oppoſing ſuch multitudes of men with a few, eſpecially when it was known, that many of the *Theſſalian* princes could not be depended on, and that many of the paſſages into *Theſſaly* were in the power of *Alexander* king of *Macedon*; the army therefore returned without doing any thing. At the next general council, however, it was reſolved to defend the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, in purſuance of which reſolution ſix thouſand foot were appointed for that ſervice, and the command of them given to *Leonidas* [u]. Of theſe three hundred only were *Spartans*, according to the direction of the king; and when ſome principal perſons demanded of him whether he had not a ſecret deſign in his head, he anſwered frankly, *I pretend to defend the ſtreights of* Thermopylæ, *but in truth I go to die for my country*; and when they ſtill wondered at the ſmall number of men he took with him, he, turning to thoſe to whom he had communicated his ſecret, ſaid, *There are enow, conſidering the deſign we go upon.* When he took his leave of his wife, ſhe aſked him if he had nothing particular to ſay to her (G); *Marry ſome brave man*, ſaid he, *and bring* b c d e

[r] Pausan. & Herodot. ubi ſupra. [s] Plut. in Apoph. [t] Herodot. lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. [u] Pausan. in Lacon. Herod. Hiſt. lib. vii.

(G) The character of *Gorgo*, the daughter of *Cleomene* and wife of *Leonidas*, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. *Plutarch*, who was ſo fond of the *Lacedæmonians*, that beſides his inſtitutes he wrote a book of their wiſe ſayings, wrote alſo a particular treatiſe of the women, which was indeed extraordinary; and the reaſon of it was, becauſe the *Spartan* dames were of a very maſculine diſpoſition, and ſpoke and acted with a freedom denied to their ſex every-where elſe. *Gorgo*, who is to be the ſubject of this note, makes a very conſiderable figure in that treatiſe; but before we proceed to acquaint the reader with what *Plutarch* ſays of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable ſtory recorded of her by *Herodotus*. That noble hiſtorian tells us, that when *Ariſta eras*, tyrant of *Miletus*, attempted to engage *Cleomenes* in a deſign not only of freeing *Ionia*, but even of ſubverting the *Perſian* empire; he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down on braſs; after having ſhewn *Cleomenes* on this the ſituation of *Ionia*, and expatiated with great warmth on the glory

a *bring him brave children* [x]. When *Xerxes* came with his mighty army, he ſent a ſpy to bring him advice of the poſture in which *Leonidas* and his troops were; this ſpy reported, that he found them exerciſing themſelves in their uſual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate ſome feſtival; the *Perſian* thereupon aſked *Damaratus* the meaning of it, *Theſe men, Sir*, ſaid he, *have devoted themſelves to death for the ſervice of their country*; at which *Xerxes* laughed, conceiving, that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himſelf doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were ſome among the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. Theſe
b repreſented to *Leonidas*, *That a diſcharge of the* Perſian *arrows would take away the light of the ſun*; *Very well*, replied he, *then we ſhall fight in the ſhade*. When they approached, the ſame perſons came to him again; *The* Perſians, *Sir*, ſaid they, *draw near*; *What of that*, ſaid he, *Shall not we then be near them?* When *Xerxes* ſaw that he was miſtaken, and that *Leonidas* really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the great ſuperiority of his army might excuſe his not oppoſing him, and that, if he would embrace his intereſt, he ſhould be lord of all *Greece*. To which *Leonidas* with great moderation anſwered, *If you know wherein the happineſs of life conſiſted, you would not covet what belongs to others*; *for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of* Greece, *than command over it*. *Xerxes* then ordered
c the *Medes*, who led the van in his army, to fall upon the *Greeks*, which they did with very great reſolution, but were notwithſtanding repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter;

[x] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

glory of an enterprize undertaken for the relief of the *Ionians*, pointing to his plate, he proceeded thus: "Next theſe the *Lydians* inhabit a fertil country "abounding in ſilver: And on the confines of "*Lydia*, theſe *Phrygians* are placed to the eaſtward, "more rich in cattle, and living in greater affluence "than any other people I know. Adjoining to "theſe are the *Cappadocians*, by us called *Syrians*, "and beyond them the *Cilicians*, whoſe country "extends to that ſea in which the iſland of *Cyprus* "is ſituate, and pays an annual tribute of five hun-"dred talents to the king. Next to the *Cilicians* "are theſe *Armenians*, who poſſeſs great numbers "of cattle; and after them the *Matianians*, beyond "whoſe territories lies this province of *Ciſſia*, in "which *Suſa* is built upon the river *Choaſpes*. In "this place the great king reſides, and his vaſt trea-"ſures are here depoſited. If you take this city, "you may boldly contend with *Jupiter* in wealth. "You will not find your account in fighting battles "to gain a country of ſmall extent, narrow limits, "and indifferent ſoil, from the *Meſſenians* who are "your equals in war, or from the *Arcadians* and "*Argians*: For none of theſe nations have either "gold or ſilver, the deſire of which induces ſo "many men to hazard their lives. But when an "opportunity is offered to conquer all *Aſia* with "facility, can you wiſh for any thing more"? To this diſcourſe of *Ariſtagoras Cleomenes* anſwered, "*Mileſian* friend, I defer to let you know my re-"ſolution till three days are paſſed". When that time was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, *Cleomenes* asked *Ariſtagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coaſt of *Ionia* to the place where the king was. But though *Ariſtagoras* was in other things a man of art, and much ſuperior in ability to *Cleomenes*, yet he made a ſlip in this. For, deſigning to draw the *Spartans* into *Aſia*, he ought to have abated ſomething of the account: Whereas he told him plainly 'twas a journey of three months: Which *Cleomenes* no ſooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his diſcourſe concerning the way, he ſaid, "*Mileſian* "gueſt, depart out of *Sparta* before the ſetting of "the ſun: For you have propoſed nothing to the "advantage of the *Spartans* in adviſing us to take "a march into *Aſia*, not to be performed in leſs "than three months after our landing". When he had ſpoken theſe words, he withdrew; and *Ariſtagoras*, taking an olive branch in his hand, after the manner of a ſuppliant, went after *Cleomenes*, beſeeching him to hear; and at the ſame time deſired him to ſend away his little daughter *Gorgo*, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But *Cleomenes* bid him ſay what he would, and not refrain for the ſake of a child. So *Ariſtagoras* began with the promiſe of ten talents, in caſe *Cleomenes* would do as he deſired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the ſum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried, "Father this "ſtranger will corrupt you unleſs you go away "preſently". *Cleomenes*, pleaſed with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment: And *Ariſtagoras* was conſtrained to depart immediately from *Sparta*, without obtaining leave to inform him farther concerning the way to the place of the king's reſidence (28). When the ſame young lady ſaw *Ariſtagoras* ſuffer his man to put on his ſhoes, ſhe cried out in amazement, *Father! Father! ſee this ſtranger, has he no hands?* At another time when a ſoft and delicate ſtranger was about to have paid his compliments to her, ſhe put him away with her hand, adding, *Stand by, poor creature; thou haſt not as much of a man in thee as a woman* (29). As the laſt and moſt noble commendation recorded of her; let us remark, that *Damaratus*, though ſhe was the daughter of his deadly enemy, truſted her rather than any of the *Greeks* with the intelligence he ſent concerning the motion of the *Barbarians*; or, if we take this as *Herodotus* does, it may be placed in a ſtronger light; for he ſays, that a ſlave from *Damaratus* brought a waxen tablet to *Sparta* with nothing written on it, and when the *Spartans* knew not what to make of this, *Gorgo* immediately bid them ſcrape off the wax, whereupon they found *Damaratus*'s letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(28) *Herodot. lib.* vi. (29) *Plut. in Apophtheg. Mulier. Lacon.* (29) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

ſlaughter ; he then commanded a choice corps of *Perſians* to diſlodge them, but it a
was in vain ; the *Greeks* were not only ſuperior in valour, but they better under-
ſtood the art of war ; they had alſo great advantage from the ſituation of the place,
ſo that, after numbers were ſlain, the *Perſians* were conſtrained to retreat [y]. *Xerxes*
now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reaſon ; for the dead bodies
having ſtreightened the paſſages ſtill more, it ſeemed doubtful whether the weight
of numbers would force the paſs or no. At length one *Ephialtes* a *Trachinian* offered
to ſhew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the *Grecians*
in the rear ; *Xerxes* thereupon detached *Hydarnes* with a great body of choſen troops,
with directions to follow *Ephialtes* ; they paſſed the river *Aſopus* in the night, and,
having forced the *Phocian* guard, advanced apace towards *Leonidas* and his troops ; b
that great commander, who is ſaid to have been informed that the ſenate had
received an oracle, purporting, that either one of their kings, or the city itſelf muſt
fall, as ſoon as he was informed of what happened, gave leave to all the confe-
derates to withdraw, that they might reſerve themſelves, as he phraſed it, for better
times, excepting only the *Theſpians* and the *Thebans*, who with his *Spartans* made in
all not above fourteen hundred men ; with theſe he purpoſed not to wait the attack
of the *Perſians*, but to go and find them out, yet looking on his *Spartans*, and ob-
ſerving ſome ſtripplings who had ſcarce attained the age of men, his heart relented ;
calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to ſend by each of them
a billet to the ephori ; he would have afterwards done the ſame thing in favour c
of ſome perſons of extraordinary merit ; but they, penetrating his deſign, refuſed to
obey him, one of them anſwering, *Sir, I came to ſerve you as a ſoldier, not as a
courier.* Another, *Let us fight, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle.*
Having made the proper diſpoſitions he paſſed the ſtreights, and fell upon the
enemy ; he and all his *Spartans* were ſlain together with the *Theſpians*, but the *Thebans*
holding up their targets cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and
they were ſtigmatized. This victory, if we muſt call it ſo, coſt the *Perſians* twenty
thouſand men. The body of *Leonidas* being found, *Xerxes* ordered it to be nailed
to a croſs, an action which reflected diſhonour upon himſelf, and could do no hurt
to a dead body ; as to the fame of *Leonidas*, it was out of the reach of *Xerxes*, and d
hath remained ſtill freſh three thouſand years after his deceaſe (H). The *Perſian*
after

[y] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. Lacon, Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Justin. lib. ii.

(H) The action at *Thermopylæ* makes ſo great a figure in hiſtory, and ſo juſtly, at the ſame time that it ſo nearly concerns the *Lacedæmonian* hiſtory, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give ſuch particulars thereof as may ſerve to ſet it in the cleareſt light, and do honour to that nation of whoſe affairs we are treating. In the firſt place let us remark, that *Leonidas* acted all along with great equality of mind, a philoſophic courage, and the true ſpirit of a patriot. He went in the common cauſe of *Greece* to give a check to the *Perſians* at their firſt entrance, that thereby the numerous army of *Xerxes* might receive a taſte of the oppoſition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headſtrong and irreprehenſible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the ſtrength of *Aſia* waſted to no purpoſe. In fighting at *Thermopylæ Leonidas* made uſe at firſt of all the advantages of ground afforded him, by his own ſituation and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narroweſt part of the paſſage, and when he retired from the field of battle, he diſpoſed his battalions in ſuch a manner that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to haraſs them, in ſuch a manner, that there were more ſlain in the retreat than in the fight ; if *Ephialtes* had not led the *Barbarians* round the mountains, *Leonidas* would have carried his firſt point, that is, he would have conſtrained *Xerxes* to retire (31). But when the augur *Megiſtias*, upon inſpecting the ſacrifices, declared, that all the *Grecians* were threatned with death ; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence that the enemy were actually paſſing the mountains, *Leonidas* put in practice his ſecond reſolution, which was the devoting of his *Spartans* and himſelf to death for the ſafety of *Greece* in general, and of *Sparta* in particular (32). This reſolution was founded upon two reaſons ; the firſt, that the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* ought not abſolutely to be abandoned, but ſold to the enemy as dear as might be ; the ſecond reſted it upon this oracle which the *Lacedæmonians* had received.

> Thy plains, O *Sparta*, *Perſian* rage ſhall feel,
> Thy ſons ſhall ſlaughter'd fall by foreign ſteel,
> Unleſs a king of the *Herculean* race,
> In war, to ſave the reſt, ſhall death embrace.

This prompted *Leonidas* to receive that death, which he knew muſt ſome time or other happen him, when it might avert evil from his country ; it was to prevent an unneceſſary carnage, that *Leonidas* diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, *viz.* three hundred *Spartans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and four hundred *Thebans* ; he then advanced without the narrow paſſage, becauſe he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might moſt injure the enemy ; and in that deſperate attack he

(31) *Polyæn. Strateg. lib.* i. *c.* 32. *lib.* vii. *c.* 15. (32) *Juſtin. lib.* ii. c. 11.

a after this conſulted *Damaratus* again, adjuring him by the kindneſs he had ſhewn him to give his ſentiments ſincerely as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The *Spartan* thereupon propoſed to him ſeizing the iſle of *Cythera*, which lay over-againſt *Laconia*, and from whence he might have made the *Spartans* ſo uneaſy as would infallibly hinder their ſending aſſiſtance to the *Athenians*, or impeding him in his deſign of penetrating into *Greece*; but *Achæmenes* the king's brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land-army both might be ruined. *Xerxes* preferred his counſel, and thereby failed in his deſign [z]. The *Grecian* fleet in the mean time lay at *Artemiſium* under the command of *Eurybiades* a *Spartan*, a man of great perſonal courage, but timorous
b as a commander, and unexperienced in ſea affairs. The *Perſians*, hoping to ſurprize and ſurround them, detached two hundred ſhips with orders to ſail round *Eubœa*, and fall on the rear of the *Grecian* navy; but this being betrayed to the *Greeks*, they weighed anchor in the night, and ſtood directly to ſea to meet theſe two hundred ſail, ſo that inſtead of ſurprizing others, they were themſelves ſurprized; thirty of them ſunk, and the reſt forced to betake themſelves to flight, wherein they were no leſs unfortunate; for a ſtorm ariſing, moſt of them were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt. The *Grecian* fleet ſome-time after ſailed to the coaſt of *Attica*, and at the deſire of the *Athenians* anchored near *Salamis*. *Eurybiades* had ſtill the command, though of three hundred and fifty-eight ſhips, of which the fleet conſiſted, a hundred and eighty
c belonged to the *Athenians*. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our *Athenian* hiſtory, and therefore ſhall not trouble the reader with needleſs repetitions here [a]. The firſt ſtep that was taken afterwards, was, to prepare a great fleet to proſecute this victory, the command of which was given to *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*; but it ſoon after appeared, that the *Perſians* had not totally abandoned their deſign, *Mardonius* remaining in *Greece* at the head of a very conſiderable army, with which he threatened in the ſpring to reviſit *Attica*; the *Greeks* therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing a land-army alſo.

Pauſanias the ſon of *Cleombrotus* took upon him the character of tutor or protector
d to *Pliſtarchus* the ſon of *Leonidas*, and in right thereof was the firſt magiſtrate in *Sparta*, the other king, as we have ſaid, being abſent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this ſituation of things, the dilatorineſs of popular councils eminently appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the *Athenian* embaſſadors found the *Lacedæmonians* celebrating the *Hyacinthia*; in vain theſe miniſters repreſented, that the common cauſe was neglected, and that the *Athenians* had reaſon to expect better things, ſince they had hazarded all for the ſervice of *Greece*; the ephori and ſenate, confiding mightily in the ſtrong wall which by this time was erected croſs the iſthmus, thought but little of raiſing troops, till *Chileus* a *Tegeatæan*, who had a great reputation amongſt them, ſhewed them how fooliſh and diſhonourable this conduct of theirs was, ſince it was plain, if the *Athenians* were ruined through

Mardonius *attempts the conqueſt of* Greece.

[z] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Pausan. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Themiſt. [a] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 547.

he fell. *Xerxes* loſt two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raiſed, one to perpetuate the memory of ſuch of the troops as were ſlain before the confederates were diſmiſſed, with this inſcription:

Four thouſand here, from various nations brought,
For *Greece* againſt the *Medes* three millions fought.

The ſecond was for the *Lacedæmonians* only, with this diſtich upon it:

Go, friend, and to our brother *Spartans* tell,
With what applauſe we in their ſervice fell.

The third was for the augur *Megiſtias*, who, though preſſed by *Leonidas* to retire, refuſed, contenting himſelf with ſending away his only ſon:

Divine *Megiſtias* lies beneath this ſtone,
Who met without concern ill fortune's frown;
Nor would to ſave his life conſent to fly,
When the brave *Spartans* had reſolv'd to die.

It is alledged, that *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus*, two of the three hundred *Spartans*, being ill of ſore eyes, retired to *Alpeni* with the permiſſion of *Leonidas*, and were there in the time of the laſt battle, on the news of which *Eurytus* cauſed his armour to be put on, and ordered his ſervant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midſt of the enemy, he was ſuddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but *Ariſtodemus* returned to *Sparta*, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions; to aggravate their ill uſage, they ſurnamed him the *Fugitive*; he redeemed his credit, however, at the battle of *Platæa*, where, having devoted himſelf to death, he performed ſuch actions as are ſcarce credible (33).

(33) *Herodot. lib.* vii. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xi. *Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. & in vit, Ariſtid.*

through their delay, the *Perſians*, being maſters at ſea, might land what forces they would in *Laconia*, and bring the war home to their doors; the wall croſs the iſthmus being in ſuch a caſe uſeleſs [b]. Rouſed by this repreſentation, they ſent five thouſand *Spartans*, and, which was an unuſual thing with them, gave arms to ſeven thouſand of their *Helotes*, *Pauſanias* commanding in chief. This, however, did not hinder *Mardonius* from taking *Athens*, or from ſeeking the *Greek* army and offering battle. *Pauſanias* had the command in chief of the whole *Grecian* forces, which were not leſs than one hundred thouſand men. The *Perſians* were certainly double their number, nay, according to *Diodorus*'s account, *Mardonius*'s army conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of *Platæa*, an engagement happened between a great body of *Perſian* horſe, commanded by *Maſiſtius*, and a corps of *Greeks*, wherein, after a great effuſion of blood, the *Perſians* were routed and their commander killed [c]. A general battle being delayed, the *Greek* army ſuffered much by deſertion, as on the other hand did the *Perſians* for want of proviſions. *Pauſanias* at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army freſh and more advantageous quarters, in which, however, he was oppoſed by *Amompharetus* an old *Spartan* commander, who inſiſted, that it was derogatory to the *Spartan* honour to retire in ſight of an enemy. *Pauſanias*, like a wiſe man and a great captain, anſwered, That marching this way or that was not diſhonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that *Amompharetus* would not be perſuaded, he gave the ſignal, and immediately the *Lacedæmonian* and *Tegeatæan* foot began to move. *Amompharetus*, who was hitherto of opinion that *Pauſanias* would not deſert him, when he ſaw him actually on his march, ordered his ſtandards to be taken up and moved ſlowly after him. *Pauſanias* kept the high ground, the *Athenians*, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the reſt of the confederates withdrew to the temple of *Juno*, where they were out of reach of the *Perſian* cavalry. At the temple of *Ceres*, which was on the brow of the hill, *Pauſanias* halted with all his forces to give *Amompharetus* and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the *Perſian* horſe attacked them with great vigour [d]. *Mardonius* looked upon this decampment of the *Greek* troops in the ſame light that *Amompharetus* did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerneſs, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of his misfortune; for his *Perſians* marching haſtily and without order, the reſt of the corps of which his numerous army was compoſed did the like, which gave the *Greeks* great advantage. The troops under *Pauſanias* did not much exceed 50,000 men, and on this account it was that he ſent to haſten the *Athenians* in their march. The *Athenians*, who on this occaſion acted with the utmoſt generoſity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily ſtopped ſhort by the *Bœotians* and other *Greeks* in the ſervice of the *Perſian*, who on this occaſion behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeatæans* were forced to engage *Mardonius*'s army without aſſiſtance. It is univerſally acknowledged, that the *Perſians* behaved very well on this occaſion; but, being neither ſo well armed nor ſo well diſciplined as the *Greeks*, their valour was of no uſe but to bring them to ſlaughter; for, as *Herodotus* rightly obſerves, it was all the ſame, whether one or ten *Perſians* broke into the *Grecian* ranks, ſince the next line was ready to receive them without confuſion or diſorder, ſo that they were preſently ſlain without effecting any thing, becauſe they charged tumultuouſly; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as *Mardonius* lived, who, mounted on a white horſe, and fighting at the head of a thouſand men, gave ſignal demonſtrations of a courage deſerving a better fate; but when he was ſlain, the *Perſians* began to break and to give way, which diſpirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their ſwords. The *Athenians* alſo defeated the *Greeks* who ſided with and fought for the *Perſians*, ſo that *Artabazus*, who was next in command to *Mardonius*, and againſt whoſe advice theſe meaſures were taken, judging all to be loſt, retired with forty thouſand,

[b] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. in Lacon. [c] Herod. lib. ix. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pausan. ubi ſupra. [d] Herodot. lib. ix. Plut. in vit. Themiſt. & Ariſt. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. Justin. lib. ii. c. 14. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan.

a sand, and marched with all the expedition he was able back to *Thrace*; the reſt of the *Perſian* army withdrew as ſpeedily as they could into their camp, where they ſtrengthened the works formerly thrown up, and reſolved to defend to the utmoſt of their power theſe poſts againſt the victorious *Greeks*. *Pauſanias*, coming up with his *Lacedæmonians*, attacked the camp without heſitation, but at the ſame time with little ſucc-ſs; for the *Perſians*, fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; beſides, they had the ſame advantage over the *Lacedæmonians* here, which the *Lacedæmonians* had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore obſerved, the *Spartans* were unaccuſtomed to ſuch attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of *Lycurgus*, all ſieges as much as in them lay; yet this ſtate
b of things laſted but for a ſmall time; for when the *Athenians* came up, who of all the *Greeks* beſt underſtood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a paſſage to the *Lacedæmonians*, and when that was once done, a mercileſs ſlaughter enſued, ſince of three hundred thouſand men, whom *Mardonius* brought into the field, ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped [e]; of the *Greeks*, however, it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe *Herodotus*, there died of the *Spartans* ninety-one; of the *Tegeatæans* ſixteen; and of the *Athenians* fifty-two [f]. *Plutarch* owns one thouſand three hundred and ſixty to have fallen [g]; but *Diodorus Siculus* is poſitive, that there were very few leſs than ten thouſand [h]. When this bloody engagement was over, the reſt of the allies came up to be witneſſes rather than
c aſſiſtants in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themſelves contempt and ſcorn. *Lampon* of *Ægina* propoſed to *Pauſanias*, that the body of *Mardonius* ſhould be carefully ſearched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle *Leonidas* by the command of *Xerxes* might be revenged thereon. To which *Pauſanias* anſwered, "Friend of *Ægina*, I very kindly accept of your good intention, and "the reſpect you expreſs for me and my family; but I cannot help telling you, "that your zeal hath drawn you to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; "for whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the courage of my countrymen, "and the action we have this day atchieved, you throw all this down again by "importuning me to inſult the dead, and perſuading me that I ſhall heighten my
d "glory, if I do that which is fitter for *Barbarians* to do, nay, which we have not "ſpared to reproach even in them; I cannot therefore aſſent to theſe notions of "the men of *Ægina*, nor to thoſe of any other nation, who delight in ſuch actions, "being content to be commended by the *Spartans*, for neither doing, nor ſpeaking "an unbecoming thing. As for *Leonidas*, whoſe death you would have revenged, "I am of opinion, that the innumerable multitude we have ſlain have ſufficiently "repaired the loſs of him and thoſe that fell with him at *Thermopylæ*. Come no "more therefore to me with ſuch diſcourſes; offer me no more ſuch counſels, but "look upon it as a very great favour that you have eſcaped even now unpuniſhed."
When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to
e *Mardonius*, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him ſuch a ſupper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he ordered ſome of his own ſervants to dreſs a *Spartan* meal; which being alſo done, he ſent for the principal officers among the *Greeks*; thus pointing to both the ſuppers, he ſaid with a ſmile, *See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the* Medes, *who, living in this ſumptuous manner at home, would needs come ſo far to ſpoil us who fare ſo hardly*. Part of the prodigious ſpoils that were taken in the *Perſian* camp, the *Helotes*, who were intruſted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all ſorts was given to *Pauſanias*, and the reſt diſtributed among the *Greeks*. Having thus put an end to the war, *Pau-*
f *ſanias* thought next of puniſhing ſuch as had betrayed the common cauſe of *Greece*; with this view he marched immediately to *Thebes*, the citizens of which at firſt attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the *Median* faction which were in their hands; they vainly fancied, that they might redeem themſelves with money, but in this they were greatly miſtaken; for *Pauſanias*, diſdaining their propoſal, hurried them away to *Corinth*, and cauſed them there to be put to death [i].

THE ſame day that the battle of *Platæa* was fought, *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, with *Xanthippus* the *Athenian*, gained a glorious victory at *Mycale*, where the laſt remains of the *Perſian* fleet and of the *Perſian* armies, which had been drawn together

The Greeks victorious at Mycale.

[e] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. [f] ubi ſupra. [g] ubi ſupra. [h] ubi ſupra. [i] HERODOT. ubi ſupra, PLUT. ubi ſupra, CORN. NEPOS, ubi ſupra.

together for the deſtruction of *Greece*, were utterly defeated; the commanders of the *Perſian* fleet greatly diſcouraged their men by the puſillanimity of their conduct; for notwithſtanding they had a great number of ſhips, they ran them all on ſhore, and ſought to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of an army of ſixty thouſand men, which under the command of *Tigranes* had been left to defend *Ionia*. The *Greeks* ſeeing this determined to attack them on ſhore, and *Leotychides*, ſtanding in towards the coaſts, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the *Greek* tongue, in theſe words: "Men of *Ionia*, ſuch "among you as my voice reaches hearken with attention to what I ſay, the rather "becauſe the *Perſians* cannot underſtand me; when the battle begins, every one "of you ought in the firſt place to remember liberty, and in the next, that the "word in our army is *Hebe*; let ſuch as hear me inform thoſe who hear me not." This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*, and it ſo frighted the *Perſians*, that they knew not whom to truſt (I). The *Perſians*, before the battle began, diſarmed the *Samians*, having ſome intelligence that they had been intriguing with the *Greeks*; but confiding greatly in the *Mileſians*, they intruſted them with the cuſtody of the paſſages through the mountains behind them; theſe diſpoſitions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the beſt they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the *Greeks* landing, the *Athenians* marched ſtrait forward along the ſhore, the *Lacedæmonians* took a compaſs by the hills. The former after an obſtinate reſiſtance forced the *Perſian* camp, about the ſame time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the *Samians*, in the midſt of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the *Perſians* in their very camp, and the *Mileſians*, who were to have guarded the paſſes, as ſoon as the *Perſians* fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them priſoners [k]. A very odd circumſtance, which according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times paſſed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this; about the time the battle began a rumour was ſpread throughout the army, that the *Barbarians* were beaten at *Platæa*, though, as we have obſerved, that engagement happened in the morning of that day in the evening of which this happened at *Mycale*; but of this ſtrange buſineſs, which ſome modern writers have treated very obſcurely, the reader hath received a ſatisfactory account in the note I [l].

Pauſanias *intrigues with* Artabazus. *Year after the flood* 2508. *Before Chriſt* 491.

Pauſanias was afterwards ſent to take the command of the fleet, with ſtrict orders to free the *Grecian* cities from the *Perſian* gariſons; on this deſign he ſailed with a great fleet to *Cyprus*, thence to *Byzantium*, which according to his inſtructions he ſet at liberty, and this ſeems to have been the laſt of his exploits; for immediately upon

[k] Herodot. [l] Wanley's Hiſtory of Man. Beaugamp's Eſſays, c. 1. ſect. vi.

(I) *Herodotus* is no mighty admirer of *Leotychides* king of *Sparta*, for he expreſly gives the preference to the *Athenians*, after them to the *Corinthians*, the *Træzenians*, and the *Sicyonians* (34); yet the truth ſeems to be, that *Leotychides* behaved with great prudence upon this occaſion, as we have ſaid above in the text; and there is one inſtance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as ſome called it, of the victory won at *Platæa*, not in conſequence of any intelligence, for that was impoſſible, but believing it the beſt way to incline the *Ionians* to favour the *Greeks*; he induſtriouſly ſpread the pretended news, and at the ſame time openly invited the *Ionians* to throw off the yoke, and aſſert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great meaſure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcilable to one of his ſayings recorded by *Plutarch*: A *Spartan* in good circumſtances aſked one day this prince, *How he might beſt preſerve his happineſs?* Leotychides anſwered, *By not truſting all to fortune* (36). It is certain, that *Leotychides* was not a very adventurous admiral, but abſolutely refuſed to accompany *Xanthippus* when he found the bridges removed which *Xerxes* had thrown croſs the *Helleſpont*; but this may be eaſily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of *Sparta*; the *Athenians*, by nature and by the conſtitution of their ſtate, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the ſea, of which as yet *Sparta* had little ambition, though ſhe poſſeſſed it; for, as *Herodotus* plainly ſays, the command was given her by the allies, who refuſed to follow any other than a *Spartan* admiral (37). *Leotychides* therefore did all in his power to ſerve the common cauſe, while the united fleet continued together in the *Helleſpont*; but when ſlight deſcents were propoſed, and the pillaging of the enemy's coaſts and ſhips, he, whoſe particular ſquadron was of no ſtrength, did not think fit to remain long at ſea, becauſe in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the *Spartan* name and glory.

(34) *Herodot. Hiſt. lib.* ix. (35) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 33. *lib.* viii. *c.* 45. *Frontin. Stratagem. lib.* i. *c.* 2. (36) *Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon.* (37) *Herodot. lib.* vii.

a upon this he fell into a ſcandalous treaty with the *Perſians*, affecting by the aſſiſtance of the great king to make himſelf ſovereign of *Greece*; that at this time he firſt entered into theſe practices appears from hence, he ſent ſuch *Perſians* of great quality as he took in *Byzantium* to *Gongylus* of *Eretria*, telling the *Grecian* chiefs that he reſerved them for puniſhment, whereas he had privately given directions that they ſhould be ſent back in ſafety to *Xerxes* [m]. As ſoon as he had conceived theſe ſtrange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the *Perſians*, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain cuſtoms of his country, of which he had formerly been ſo fond; another action happened at *Byzantium* extreamly prejudicial to his character, and which ſome ſay diſturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love
b with a young lady named *Cleonice*, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but ſhe in great modeſty deſiring that the lights might be put out, when ſhe came into his chamber, unfortunately ſtumbled on an extinguiſhed lamp, whereupon he, awakening, and fearing that ſome aſſaſſin had broke into his room, catched up his ſword and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almoſt beſide himſelf [n]; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately ſent to accuſe him at *Sparta*; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even beſieged him in *Byzantium* [o]; eſcaping, however, from thence, he fled to *Heraclea*, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in uſe, to pacify the ghoſt of *Cleonice*. In this place he met with
c certain perſons who had, or pretended to have, the power of raiſing the ſpirits of perſons deceaſed, and who at his intreaty brought up that of his miſtreſs, who to all his queſtions gave him this ſhort anſwer: *When you come to* Sparta, *you will find an end to all your misfortunes* [p]. Accordingly when he came home, the ephori cauſed him to be ſeized; but having no ſufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour againſt ſo eminent a perſon on bare ſuſpicions, he was for a time enlarged. Theſe warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. *Artabazus* was the perſon he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule; that whoever brought any of *Pauſanias*'s epiſtles ſhould immediately be put to death, that there might be no poſſibility of producing witneſſes againſt
d him [q]. But growing impatient, and finding that *Themiſtocles*, notwithſtanding the injuries done him by the *Athenians*, would not enter into his meaſures, *Pauſanias* wrote in peremptory terms to *Artabazus*, and confided his letters to *Argilius* his particular favourite, and as ſome ſay, catamite. This man, conſidering with himſelf that none of *Pauſanias*'s meſſengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predeceſſors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who diſcovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict *Pauſanias*; but *Argilius* ſoon helped this out, for retiring to *Tænarus*, and pretending there to pay his devotions to *Neptune*, he ſet up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain *Spartans*, and
e in the other he entertained *Pauſanias*, who came to expoſtulate with him for not carrying his letters; by theſe expoſtulations, thoſe who overheard them became direct witneſſes againſt him, ſo that, at his return to *Sparta*, the ephori determined to impriſon him, of which having ſome intelligence, he retired to the temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, and there took ſanctuary, which gave occaſion to one of the moſt extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in hiſtory; for the *Lacedæmonians*, not caring to invade the ſanctuary, were at a loſs what to do, till the mother of *Pauſanias* taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without ſpeaking a word, ſhe retired to her own houſe; the *Spartans*, having conſidered her conduct, following her example blocked up the gate, and, thus
f preventing his going out, reduced him to the neceſſity of ſtarving in the temple. When they were ſure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body delivered it to his relations [r]. About this time *Leotychides*, being ſent with a great army to chaſtiſe the *Theſſalians*, who had ſhewn themſelves no friends to *Greece* in general, and expreſſed a particular enmity towards *Sparta*, inſtead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory and reduced the enemy into very bad circumſtances,

[m] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pausan. [n] Plut. in vit. Cymonis. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Pauſan. [p] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. ii. c. 15. [r] Plut. in Parallel. x. in vit. Themiſt. in Apophth, Mulier. Lacon. Thucyd. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. Polyæn. Strategm. lib. viii. 51. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra.

cumſtances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in againſt him, he was ſurprized in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to *Sparta*, and finding that his citizens were in no humour to diſpenſe with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to *Tegea*, and died there in exile, having ſurvived his ſon *Zeuxidamus*, in whom he placed all his hopes [s].

The reigns of Pliſtarchus, Pliſtoanax, *and of* Archidamus.

Pliſtarchus the ſon of *Leonidas*, to whom *Pauſanias* was tutor did not live long; he was ſucceeded by *Pliſtoanax* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, the next legal heir of the royal family, as *Leotychides* was by his grandſon *Archidamus*; as for *Pliſtoanax*, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable diſpoſition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the *Athenians*, acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himſelf the more neceſſary to them [t]. *Archidamus* was of a like diſpoſition, and it may be truly ſaid, that under the reigns of theſe princes the *Spartans* felt no miſchiefs but what they brought upon themſelves, and had no good luck but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonage of *Pliſtoanax Nicomedes* the ſon of *Cleombrotus* acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVII olympiad a moſt dreadful earthquake happened at *Sparta*: *Diodorus* ſays, that twenty thouſand perſons loſt their lives, and *Plutarch* affirms, that only five houſes in the city eſcaped ruin; in the midſt of this general confuſion, *Archidamus* gave ſuch an inſtance of his wiſdom and firmneſs, as muſt render him everlaſtingly admired; conſidering with himſelf that his citizens were of far greater value than even their moſt valuable effects, and yet ſeeing that to ſave theſe they were ready to riſque themſelves, he cauſed an alarm to be ſounded, as if an enemy had been juſt at hand, whereupon in haſte they armed themſelves and repaired into the field, which wrought them double ſafety; for the *Helotes*, now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel maſters, unanimouſly took up arms, and marched boldly to *Sparta*, expecting they ſhould find none to withſtand them; but they were greatly miſtaken, for *Archidamus*, with his citizens compleatly armed, made ſuch a ſtand, that they were conſtrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had ſo ill treated in the time of their diſtreſs, they determined with themſelves to perſiſt in their revolt, and to truſt for a pacification to their ſwords, rather than to their intreaties [u]. Many reaſons contributed to ſtrengthen the *Helotes* in this determination; the *Spartans* were already embroiled with the *Athenians*, who were inclined to diſpute with them the ſovereignty of *Greece*; the *Meſſenians* began to ſhew evident marks of their reſentment of the indignities and oppreſſions which were thrown upon them; the reſt of the *Peloponneſian* ſtates were not a little diſſatisfied, ſo that never were the *Lacedæmonians* leſs able to act vigorouſly againſt their rebellious ſubjects than at preſent. The firſt ſtep they took, after throwing off the yoke, was ſeizing a port in *Meſſenia*, from whence they made continual inroads into *Laconia*, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to; the *Spartans* in this diſtreſs applied themſelves to *Athens* for aſſiſtance, which after ſome oppoſition was granted them, and ſent under the command of *Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades*; they likewiſe ſollicited their other allies, who, ſeeing the readineſs of the *Athenians*, and conſidering the great ſervices which all *Greece* had received from *Sparta*, likewiſe ſent their quotas, which enabled *Archidamus* to take the field, notwithſtanding the *Meſſenians* had joined with the *Helotes* and fortified *Ithome* [x]. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle or not; but however it was, the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians* thought it better to retire to *Ithome*, than to abide the *Spartan* army in the field, whereby the latter, much againſt their wills, were conſtrained to make the ſiege of this city; for, as we have more than once obſerved, this was a part of the military ſcience, in which the *Lacedæmonians* were but indifferently ſkilled; it was chiefly on this account that they beſought the aid of the *Athenians*, and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themſelves more actively than the *Spartans* themſelves, they grew jealous of them, and being fearful leſt the ſtrangers in their army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the *Athenians*, go over to the enemy; they diſmiſſed the latter, telling them they had no farther occaſion for their ſervice, which exceedingly incenſed the people of *Athens*, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the *Spartan* greatneſs, than

[s] Herod. lib. vi. Pausan. Lacon. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pausan in Meſſen. Justin ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Cimon. [x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

than hitherto they had been [y]. While things were in this situation, the *Phocians* made war upon the *Dorians* who inhabited mount *Parnaſſus*, and took from them ſeveral cities, and amongſt the reſt their capital. Theſe *Dorians* being originally *Lacedæmonians*, the *Spartans* diſpatched an army under the command of *Nicomedes*; he quickly reduced the *Phocians* to reaſon, and ſet all things right; but returning with his army, the *Athenians*, joining the *Argives* and *Theſſalian*, ſhut up the paſſages into *Peloponneſus*: *Nicomedes* upon this retired towards *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, whither the *Athenians* followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein, the *Theſſalians* deſerting them, they had much the worſt [z]; the next year the *Lacedæmonians* aſſiſted the *Thebans* againſt the *Athenians*, but were therein ſo unfortunate as to be totally routed at *Tanagra* with great loſs. The *Meſſenian* war was ſtill carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, *Ithome* being naturally a ſtrong place, and the oracle at *Delphi* having threatened the *Spartans*, if they injured the ſuppliants of *Jupiter Ithome*, wherefore they were forced to turn their ſiege into a blockade, and at laſt hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the *Meſſenians* ſhould depart *Peloponneſus*, never to return, on pain of becoming ſlaves if they did [a]; theſe poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the *Athenians*, rather out of ſpleen to *Sparta*, than any great deſire to render ſervice to the diſtreſſed. They granted them *Naupactus* for their reſidence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which in the courſe of the *Peloponneſian* war they diſpoſſeſſed the *Lacedæmonians* [b]. The next war the *Lacedæmonians* undertook was that ſtiled *the ſacred*, by ſome *the Phocian war*; the end of it was to put the temple at *Delphi* into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the *Phocians*, which the *Spartans* effected, and for which the *Delphians* by a decree conferred on the *Lacedæmonians* a right of firſt conſulting the oracle, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf conſecrated in the temple; the *Athenians* ſoon after reſtored the temple to the *Phocians*, and from them obtained the ſame privilege which the *Delphians* had granted to the *Spartans*, and this decree they cauſed to be engraven on the right ſide of the wolf; the *Lacedæmonians* [c] having induced the *Bœotians* to revolt from the *Athenians*, and *Tolmides*, who attempted to reduce them, being ſlain, and *Eubœa* at the ſame time revolting, they held this a fit ſeaſon for giving a mortal blow to *Athens*; for which cauſe *Pliſtoanax* was ordered to invade the *Athenian* territories with; a great army, with him; being but young, *Cleondrides* was ſent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for, being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from *Pericles*, and perſuaded the king to return home without effecting any thing, for which the *Spartans* puniſhed him with death, and drove their king into baniſhment; not long after a peace was made between this nation and the *Athenians*, which though it laſted for ſome time, yet was it far from extinguiſhing that hatred which for ſome time had burnt in the boſoms of both [d]. At firſt the *Athenians* had the ſtronger party among the *Greeks*, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* had behaved with haughtineſs while they held the ſovereignty; but the *Athenians* gaining power, and making as bad uſe of it, or worſe, almoſt all *Greece*, except the ſtates immediately under her juriſdiction, and even ſome of them alſo hated her, and applied themſelves to the *Spartans*: In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have laſted thirty, a great aſſembly of deputies from the ſtates of *Peloponneſus* and other parts of *Greece* was held at *Lacedæmon*, where they unanimouſly accuſed the *Athenians* of tyranny, oppreſſion, injuſtice, plundering them of vaſt ſums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beſeeching the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtir in the common cauſe of *Greece*, and not ſuffer the *Athenians* to effect what the *Perſian* king with all his power was not able to perform. Some embaſſadors of *Athens*, who were by chance in the city, defended the cauſe of their country ſtoutly. The *Spartans*, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war againſt the *Athenians* [e]. But *Archidamus*, like a wiſe and good prince, interpoſed, and adviſed them to weigh well the ſtep they were about to take; he ſhewed them, that, comparing their own ſtate with that of *Athens*, not only the aid of the *Greeks*, but of the *Barbarians* alſo, was neceſſary.

He

[y] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Thucyd. lib. i. [z] Diod. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [a] Pausan. Meſſen. [b] Thucyd. lib. iv. [c] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [d] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. lib. i. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Justin. lib. iii. c. 7.

He demonſtrated, that the invaſion of *Attica* would ſignify little, that if they went a
ſlowly into this buſineſs, the *Athenians* might probably return to a proper temper,
and make ſatisfaction to their allies, that at leaſt they would preſerve their own re-
putation, and would enable themſelves to carry on the war with effect. But *Sthe-*
nelaides, one of the ephori, declared himſelf of a different ſentiment; he alledged,
that it was a great happineſs for *Sparta*, that other ſtates had taken umbrage at her
rival, that if ſhe was not quickly pulled down, their united ſtrength would be too
little, and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their
power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which
deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, whence they received a reſponſe
ſuited to their wiſhes: Embaſſadors were likewiſe ſent to all the allies to deſire them b
to prepare their quotas, and alſo to *Athens* to offer peace upon certain conditions,
which at the motion of *Pericles* were rejected [f].

The commencement of the Peloponneſian *war.*

The firſt action of the *Peloponneſian* war was the attempt made upon *Platæa*
by the *Thebans*; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the *Peloponneſians*, except the *Argives* and *Achæans*, ſided with *Sparta*; without *Peloponneſus* the
Megareans, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*;
the *Corinthians*, *Megareans*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*
furniſhed ſhips, the *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians* ſent cavalry, the reſt of the ſtates
furniſhed their reſpective quotas in foot. *Archidamus*, at the head of a mighty army,
marched to the frontiers of *Attica*, from whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to c
Athens, being very deſirous even to the laſt of avoiding if poſſible this war; but the
meſſenger was ſent back unheard, and the enemies of *Archidamus* beginning to inſi-
nuate, that, out of friendſhip to the *Athenians*, he betrayed the common cauſe, he
marched into *Attica*, and penetrated within a few miles of *Athens* itſelf, deſtroying
the country, and waſting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned
through *Bœotia* into *Peloponneſus* [g]; in the mean time the *Athenian* fleet infeſted the
coaſt of *Laconia*, and the troops on board it landing beſieged *Methone*, to the re-
lief of which *Braſidas* the *Spartan* haſted with a hundred men, and breaking with
much ado through the enemy, got ſafe into the town, where he made ſo vigorous
a reſiſtance, that the *Athenians* were forced to retire; the ſame year the inhabitants d
of *Ægina*, being expelled by the *Athenians*, fled into *Peloponneſus*, and had the diſtrict
of *Thyræa* aſſigned them by the *Spartans*. In the ſpring of the ſecond year *Archi-*
damus entered *Attica* again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that
Pericles with a great many waſted *Peloponneſus*, he returned to aſſiſt his countrymen,
the rather becauſe the plague raged violently in *Attica* [h]. In the third year *Archi-*
damus beſieged *Platæa*, which making an obſtinate defence, he was conſtrained to
turn his ſiege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered *Attica* the third time,
and waſted all the ripe corn, whereby the *Athenians* were greatly diſtreſſed; the ſame
year the *Mitylenians* revolted from the *Athenians*, and in the winter of that year e
Platæa was reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that part of its garriſon forced their way
through the *Peloponneſian* guards, and eſcaped to *Athens*; the reſt were in the begin-
ning of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being
razed to the ground, notwithſtanding the generous zeal ſhe had expreſſed in the cauſe
of *Greece*, in the memorable battle fought on her territories [i]; this year alſo *Archi-*
damus died in a good old age and after a very long reign; he was one of the beſt
kings that *Sparta* ever had, and this will in ſome meaſure appear from the following
ſaying of his, being aſked, *Who were governors at* Sparta, he anſwered, *The laws, and*
the magiſtrates according to thoſe laws; he left behind him two ſons *Agis* and *Ageſilaus*,
the eldeſt of which ſucceeded him [k].

The reign of Agis. *Year after the flood*, 2331. *Before Chriſt*, 668.

In the ſpring after his father's death *Agis* invaded *Attica*, and while he was em- f
ployed there the *Athenians* ſeized *Pylus*, whither he was forced to haſten, but to little
purpoſe, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of *Sparta* being taken and ſent pri-
ſoners to *Athens*; not long after the *Athenians* ſeized the iſland of *Cythera*, and filled
it with a colony of *Meſſenians*, who proved the bittereſt enemies, as indeed they might
well, to the *Lacedæmonians* [l]. *Thyrea* was alſo taken, and the poor inhabitants of
Ægina who had ſettled there were maſſacred. To remove the war to a greater
diſtance,

[f] Thucyd. lib. i. [g] Diodor. Thucyd. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [h] Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xii. Justin. lib. iv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cimon. Plut. in vit. Periclis. [i] Thucyd. lib. iii. Plut. ubi ſupra. [k] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [l] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii.

a distance, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Brasidas* their famous general into *Thrace*, where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the *Athenians*. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by the command of the ephori, that such of the *Helotes* as were willing to enlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty, but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they having pointed out to their jealous masters, who amongst them were most warlike, they were immediately dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining *Helotes* were, together with a thousand mercenary *Peloponnesians*, sent with *Brasidas* [m]. *Thucydides* b the historian commanded the *Athenian* forces at that time in *Thrace*, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man and an experienced commander; but the fortune of *Brasidas*, the valour of his forces, and the proneness of the people of the country to side with him against the *Athenians*, gave such high advantages to the *Lacedæmonians* and their allies, that *Amphipolis* and several other cities were taken. The use made of this at *Sparta* was to set new negotiations on foot, partly because the war was very burthensome, and partly because *Brasidas* was greatly envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which *Brasidas* fell upon *Cleon*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces in the neighbourhood of *Amphipolis*, and gained a great victory, *Cleon* himself with six hundred *Athenians* c being slain, with the loss only of seven *Spartans*; and yet this victory was too dear, *Brasidas* being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest, and one of the modestest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the same time he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at *Sparta*; he exactly made good the letter he sent the ephori, when he first arrived in *Thrace*, and which was conceived in these words; *What is for the honour of the state I will perform, or die* [n]. *Plutarch* has preserved a saying of his, which both its good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking one day among some dried figs, he catched a mouse, which immediately turned and bit his fingers, whereupon he let it go; *You see*, said he to some who stood d near him, *That creatures that have but little strength can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have* [o]. The great mischiefs which this captain had wrought the *Athenians*, and the mighty loss which the *Spartans* conceived they had sustained by his death, determined both states to put an end to the war; *Pistoanax* laboured all he could to promote this disposition, persuading himself, that in a time of peace he should be better able to deal with his mutinous subjects, than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach against him. We have seen on what account he was banished, and we are assured, that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a response from *Delphi*, concerning which the *Spartans* affected afterwards to have many e doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from some of *Pistoanax*'s agents [p]. The king, however, getting the ephori for the time present to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made before new intrigues were set on foot in *Peloponnesus*; the *Corinthians*, and in general the allies of *Sparta*, were greatly offended with the peace, because it did not exactly answer their private purposes; besides they were apprehensive lest *Sparta* and *Athens* should enter into a close union, whereby the dominion of *Peloponnesus* might be left to the former, and the sovereignty of the islands with the *Grecian* colonies in *Asia* transferred to the latter. To defeat this scheme, if any such there was or should be, several of the *Peloponnesian* states leagued themselves with f *Argos*, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendship for *Sparta*, and which at this time seemed to threaten her; this league made the *Lacedæmonians* very uneasy, and the more, when they found that the *Argives*, and those who were allied with them, were negotiating at *Athens*. Thither therefore the *Lacedæmonians* sent their embassadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they had depended upon *Nicias* their old and constant friend; but suffering themselves to be deceived by the artifices of *Alcibiades*, who, acting on his uncle *Pericles*'s maxims, sought to revive the war, they themselves were drawn to give the *Athenians* great

[m] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. [n] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [o] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. [p] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Nic.

great ſuſpicion [q]. The next year the new ephori grew likewiſe fond of war, and a
though *Nicias* ſtrongly laboured to compoſe all differences, yet all he could obtain
was no more than the ſwearing to the peace anew, which he well enough under-
ſtood would not content his citizens [r]. In the ſummer when the XCth olympiad
was celebrated, the *Lacedæmonians* received an high affront. The *Eleans* refuſed
to let them ſacrifice, or in any manner partake of the ſacred rites, placing a ſtrong
guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reaſon aſſigned for this was, that
the *Lacedæmonians*, while former olympics were held, had ſeized the caſtle of *Phoricus*,
for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ, which fine they not having paid,
they inſiſted on excluding them. The *Lacedæmonians* would have excuſed themſelves b
by their embaſſadors, but their excuſes were not accepted, and ſo they were forced
to ſacrifice at home, which highly incenſed them [s] (K). A quarrel happened in the
winter between the *Heracleans* of *Trachinia* and the *Theſſalians*, wherein *Penares*
a *Lacedæmonian* general was ſlain; however, the *Corinthians* were with-held from
joining with the *Argives*, which gave ſome hopes that the power of that republic
might be weakened [t]. The next year the *Argives* attempted to ſurprize *Epidaurus*,
in hopes of ſecuring themſelves on that ſide againſt the *Corinthians*, and alſo open an
eaſy paſſage to their allies the *Athenians*; in the winter the *Lacedæmonians* put a
garriſon of three hundred men into *Epidaurus*. The next ſummer *Sparta* reſolved to
exert herſelf, and to cruſh at once the *Argives* and their allies. With this view the c
ephori and ſenate ſent to exhort all their confederates to be in readineſs to take the
field early, as they themſelves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king *Agis*
at the head of the *Spartans*, *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*,
Phliaſians and *Megareans*, entered the territory of *Argos* with ſuch an army as had not
been ſeen ſince the beginning of the *Peloponeſian* war. The *Argives* were very ill
prepared, the ſuccours they expected from *Athens* not being arrived; however, they
reſolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very inſtant the engagement
ſhould have begun, two of the *Argive* captains cried out to king *Agis*, that their
citizens were willing to do whatever was juſt, and to make peace with the *Lacede-*
monians; which made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, who was a prince of a mild
and benevolent diſpoſition, that he immediately conſented to a truce of four months; d
which exceedingly provoked the allies of *Sparta*, who could not bear after all their
prepa-

[q] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Nic. [s] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Eleis. [t] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

(K) Of the *Olympic* games we have elſewhere ſpoken ſomewhat, but not enough to make either this and many other paſſages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of ſupplying theſe deficiencies here (38). The olympiads were not, as ſome imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, ſtrictly ſpeaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the ſecond month of the fifth year, or, if it be poſſible to expreſs it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and laſted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the inſtitutions of theſe games, but the moſt ſatisfactory is that given by *Strabo*, who in his deſcription of *Elis* ſays, that an *Ætolian* colony, together with ſome of *Hercules*'s poſterity, after having ſubdued many of the *Piſæan* towns, and amongſt them *Olympia*, there inſtituted theſe ſolemnities (40). The care and management of theſe games belonged originally to the *Piſæans*, but afterwards to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Piſæans* were deſtroyed and their very name extinguiſhed; for the moſt part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the *Greeks*, out of a religious reſpect to their ſuperintendency of theſe games, not ſuffering the ſound of war to be heard amongſt them; which will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider, that during the celebration of theſe games there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of *Greece* might be at liberty to aſſiſt at them; and in conſequence of a breach of this truce the *Eleans* proceeded in the manner above deſcribed againſt the *Spartans* (41). The ſecurity, which for the generality theſe people enjoyed, made them addict themſelves more to huſbandry than any other people of *Greece*, becauſe they were under no ſort of reſtraint nor apprehenſion in their fields, but were conſidered as ſervants of the *Olympian Jupiter*. At firſt they appointed one judge only: At the fifteenth olympiad they aſſigned two, and by degrees theſe ſwelled to no leſs than twelve, one being choſen out of each of the *Elean* tribes (42). When the *Arcadians* became too powerful for the *Eleans*, the number decreaſed again; yet even in the reign of the *Roman* emperor *Adrian* there were no fewer of them than ten. All the perſons who ſought to contend in theſe games were obliged to appear ten months before at *Elis*, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reſide, and to prepare themſelves after a certain ſettled method for their exerciſes. At the ſolemnity the *Hellanodicæ*, that is, the *Elean* judges, ſat naked, having the *victorial crown* before them, which, when the games were over, they preſented to him whoſe due they conceived it to be (43).

(38) *Univerſal Hiſtory Vol. II. p.* 487. (39) *Johan. Tzetz. Chiliad.* 1. *Hiſt.* 21 (40) *Geogr. lib.* viii, (41) *Diod. Sicul. lib.* xi. (42) *Pauſan. in Eliac.* (43) *Caelius Rhodiginus lect. lib.* xxii. *c.* 17. *Alex. ab Alexand. Genial. Dier. lib.* v. *c.* 8.

a preparations to see nothing effected. On the return therefore of *Agis* to *Sparta*, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have razed his house, if he had not promised them to redeem his honour by some great exploit when he should be next employed, with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified; but what seems more extraordinary is, that the *Argives* were so unreasonable as to punish their captains for having preserved them from ruin, nay they carried their rage so far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with stones, if they had not retired into sanctuary [u]. The true reason why the *Argives* were so warm was, because the *Athenians* had sent them a supply of one thousand foot and three hundred horse under the command of *Alcibiades*, at whose instigation they solemnly renounced
b the truce made with *Agis*. When the *Spartans* were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intrust their king with the command of the army, without assigning him ten counsellors or field-deputies, without whose approbation he was to attempt nothing. At *Mantinæa* the armies fronted each other, being the greatest that the *Greeks* had ever brought into the field against each other; but the *Argives* and their allies were more numerous than the *Spartans*; some therefore advised king *Agis* not to fight, to which he answered coolly, *If we would rule many, we must fight many* [x]. He disposed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions suitable to the occasion; but the generals under him did not behave so well, so that, while the right wing which was under his command carried all before
c it, the left was routed, which when *Agis* beheld, he notwithstanding continued his pursuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned short, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obstinate resistance defeated them also, and gained a complete victory. King *Pistoanax* with a body of reserve which had been left at *Sparta*, hearing of the great assistance which the *Argives* had received, marched to the reinforcement of *Agis* and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, so that, his presence being no longer necessary, he returned presently after with his troops to *Lacedæmon*. The *Argives* and their allies lost eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred *Spartans*; as for the allies of *Sparta*, as they did little, so they suffered little [y]. After this things
d continued in *Greece* in great confusion, the faction in *Argos* who were for oligarchy siding with *Sparta*, those who affected democracy with the *Athenians*, great stirs there were, and little peace; the *Athenians* at last ventured to break the league by attacking the isle of *Melos*, of which, however, the *Spartans* would take no notice, only they caused proclamation to be made, that, since the *Athenians* prey'd upon their subjects without regard to laws, their subjects might if they pleased prey upon the *Athenians*. The miseries which her ambition had brought upon her were so evident in this state, that she began now to act with more wisdom and mildness than hitherto she had done; the *Helotes* were treated with lenity, a thousand of them were actually set at liberty for the service they had performed under *Brasidas*; their allies were
e used with mildness and respect, and the consequences of these measures were, that matters began to take another aspect; the *Athenians*, grasping too many things and acting haughtily, were despised, while *Sparta* gained the command and the hearts of most of the *Peloponnesians* [z]. In the last year of the XCIId olympiad *Pistoanax* died; the last act of his life which was memorable was resettling the affairs of the *Parrhasians*, who were torn with intestine wars; during the time of his exile his son *Pausanias* had the regal title, his uncle *Cleomenes* acting as his tutor; but when *Pistoanax* was recalled, he again assumed the regal dignity, in which the same *Pausanias* succeeded him at his death [a].

f *Agis* king of *Sparta* was sent with an army against the *Eleans*, to revenge the dishonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be present at the *Olympian* games. This war was of some continuance, the first year the king penetrated as far almost as the mount *Olympus*; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year *Agis* invaded *Elis* again and did a great deal of mischief; whereupon *Xenias* an *Elean* put himself at the head of a party and declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, seeking in truth to establish an oligarchy; but *Thrasydrus*, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city; the third year *Agis* entered *Elis* again, and after remaining

Agis *enters the territories of* Elis. *Year after the flood* 2276. *Before Christ* 723.

[u] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [x] Plut. Apoththegm. Lacon. [y] Thucyd. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [z] Pausan. Lacon. Thucyd. ubi supra. [a] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

remaining there ſome time, he left a part of his army under the command of *Lyſiſtratus* a *Spartan*, with orders to ſupport *Xenias* and his friends. *Thraſydrus*, ſeeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a compoſition with *Xenias*, and by this means treated with the *Spartans*, whereupon a peace enſued [b]. The *Peloponneſian* war now broke out again: The *Athenians* had ſent a great army into *Sicily*, the conſequence of which being conſidered, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent *Gylippus* to aſſiſt the *Syracuſians* with a ſmall force, but with promiſe of farther ſupply, which was likewiſe performed [c]. About the ſame time *Alcibiades* repaired to *Sparta*, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the *Spartan* manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promiſed, that he would put them in a ſhort train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to thoſe of *Sparta*. *Agis* was at firſt ſo charmed with him, that he took him home to his houſe; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promiſes he had made the ſenate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with *Agis* to invade *Attica*, he adviſed him to fortify the caſtle of *Decelea*, which had never been thought of before, and which proved ſuch a thorn to the *Athenians*, as diſtreſſed them more than all that happened to them beſides; for now the *Spartans* did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually, ſo that either they could not plough or ſow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop [d]. The *Spartans* were ſo well pleaſed at this counſel of *Alcibiades*, that they cried him up as a captain far ſuperior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealouſy of *Agis* made him glad to quit *Laconia*, to ſeek among the *Barbarians* a place of ſafety. *Timæa* the wife of *Agis* brought forth about this time a ſon, who was called *Leotychides*, concerning whom *Agis* ſaid publickly, that *Alcibiades* was his father; *Timæa* increaſed the ſuſpicion as to her ſon's birth by her own fooliſh behaviour, for ſhe was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be *Alcibiades* inſtead of *Leotychides*; and thus, while the child's birth was canvaſſed at home, *Alcibiades* confirmed all the ſuſpicions abroad, by ſaying, openly, that he did not debauch *Timæa* out of luſt, but from the ambition he had of having ſome of his poſterity reign over the *Spartans* [e]; but his folly defeated his wickedneſs, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and deprived the unhappy *Leotychides* of his ſucceſſion. *Gylippus* all this while managed their affairs in *Sicily* with great reputation; at firſt he was little ſet by, even among the *Syracuſians* whom he came to aſſiſt, becauſe of the plainneſs of his garb and of his ſpeech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they ſaw that the ſoldiers confided in him, and that great ſuccours were ſent him from *Peloponneſus*, they treated him with greater reſpect, and at laſt run into the other extreme, aud would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill uſe of his power, he knew he was ſent to relieve the *Sicilians*, and not to oppreſs them; he was, however, covetous, and we ſhall ſee hereafter how that vice not only tarniſhed all his good qualities, but deſtroyed his fortune and ruined his reputation [f]. The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* filled the *Spartans* with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means, that could be thought of, either to depreſs their rival's affairs, or to raiſe their own; *Aſtyochus* was ſent to command the foreign troops which were raiſed with *Perſian* money: King *Agis* managed the war in the heart of *Attica*, where he had all the ſummer a good army, beſides the garriſon in *Decelea* [g]. *Lyſander* was now employed in maritime affairs, and as he proved the great hero of *Sparta*, and the finiſher of the *Peloponneſian* war; it is fit, that we ſhould in this place give the reader his character. *Plutarch* ſays, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the *Herculean* race. His education was truly *Spartan*, that is, he paſſed his younger years under all the reſtrictions of the *Lycurgic* inſtitutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, and an extenſive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modeſt, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with theſe great qualities he had ſome mean

[b] Pausan. in Eleis. [c] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Justin. l. iv. [d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. & Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. Justin. lib. v. c 2. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit Nic. Justin. iv. 4. [g] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii.

a mean ones, he could to ſerve his own purpoſes be very ſupple and complaiſant, which was highly repugnant to the *Spartan* cuſtoms; he was not much affected with the love of *Greece*, but converſed freely with all ſorts of people, and ſought above all things to raiſe his own credit and authority; the worſt of all was, that he was abſolutely diſhoneſt, and, which is not a little ſtrange, ſought not to conceal it, it being a common ſaying of his, *That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oaths*; for which reaſon he never denied his when it made for his intereſt, or ſtuck at breaking it when to keep it would ſerve his purpoſes no longer. He found the *Athenians* greatly ſuperior at ſea when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all [h]. The firſt thing of
b importance that he did was reſtoring the ſtate of affairs at *Epheſus*; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to ſide with *Sparta*, and above all things to attach themſelves to him; he ſhewed them how conveniently they were ſeated for trade, he brought his ſhips to be refitted in their port, and when once he had gained the confidence of the *Epheſians*, he took equal care to promote their intereſts, and to make theirs ſubſervient to his. *Aſtyochus* having managed fooliſhly, and given *Alcibiades* an opportunity of inſtilling into *Tiſſaphernes* notions prejudicial to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Lyſander*, who ſaw clearly that without the *Barbarian* gold *Sparta* could not carry on the war, determined with himſelf to counterplot both *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades*, by applying himſelf to *Cyrus*, who then reſi-
c ded at *Sardis*; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant; *Cyrus* readily heard him and by degrees the *Spartan* won ſo much upon him, that he made him a promiſe in few words to grant him whatever he ſhould requeſt; *Lyſander* modeſtly required, that a ſmall addition might be made to the ſoldiers pay, which diſintereſtedneſs ſo much charmed *Cyrus*, that he gave him ten thouſand pieces of ſilver, which he made uſe of to ſupport his ſoldiers and refit his fleet. *Agis*, in the mean time being informed of great ſtirs in *Athens*, attempted to ſurprize it, but without effect; for the citizens on his approach united among themſelves, and ſallied with ſuch unexpected fury, that they killed a conſiderable number of his men [i]. They afterwards offered to make peace,
d but the *Spartans*, conſidering the unſettledneſs of their government, refuſed ſo much as to hear their propoſitions; ſome ſhort time after *Hegeſandrides* a *Spartan* reduced *Eubæa*, and, if he had proſecuted his ſucceſs with ardor, might have taken *Athens* itſelf; but this opportunity being neglected, *Alcibiades* in a very ſhort ſpace ſo reſtored their affairs, by defeating and killing *Mindarus*, who had ſucceeded *Aſtyochus*, that the *Spartans* in their turn were forced to ſue to the *Athenians*, who with great haughtineſs rejected the propoſitions they offered, though highly reaſonable in themſelves. When *Alcibiades* ſailed again into the *Helleſpont*, after he had been at *Athens*, *Lyſander*, finding himſelf too weak to engage ſo numerous a fleet under ſo fortunate a general, kept in the port of *Epheſus*, where he carefully refitted his ſhips, and kept his ſoldiers
e and his mariners to their exerciſe. At length it ſo happened, that *Alcibiades* had occaſion to go from *Samos* to *Phocea*, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to *Antiochus* a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the inſtructions which had been given him, and ſailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of *Epheſus*, where he inſulted *Lyſander*; this inconſiderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the *Athenians* were defeated, though with no very conſiderable loſs, and yet this accident deſtroyed all their affairs; for upon the firſt news of it they diſmiſſed *Alcibiades*, and with him their good fortune. *Lyſander*, while he lay at *Epheſus*, projected a ſcheme for making himſelf in a manner ſovereign of *Greece*;
f he picked up enterprizing men of various cities, and, engaging them to ſettle at *Epheſus*, adviſed them to live in ſtrict friendſhip among themſelves, and to ſtudy political affairs, for that he would ſuddenly find employment for them [k]. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the *Epheſians* and the reſt of the cities in that part of the world, ſo that when *Callicratidas* was ſent him for a ſucceſſor, all the *Aſiatic Greeks* were extremely uneaſy; this uneaſineſs increaſed at the preſence of the new admiral, who was the very reverſe of *Lyſander*, a man of great parts and great courage, but withal of great virtue and unbiaſſed

[h] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Justin. lib. v. c. 6. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſander. Thucyd. lib. vi. [i] Diodor. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi. [k] Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii.

biaſſed integrity [l]. *Lyſander* dealt with him very baſely, he ſent back what money remained in his hands to *Cyrus*, and ſaid to his ſucceſſor at parting with a ſneer, Let us ſee now, *Gallicratidas*, how you can ſupport the charges of this army. The noble *Spartan* found it indeed very difficult, the people were quite drained, treaſure there was none, ſo he was forced to go to the court of *Cyrus*, where being two or three times refuſed admittance, being ſometimes told that the king was buſy, at other times that he was drinking, he at laſt ſaid, *I muſt not be ſo eager for money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta:* Whereupon he ſet ſail for *Epheſus*. *Cyrus*, conſidering better of the matter, ſent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and ſome preſents for himſelf: the firſt he took, but the latter he ſent back again with this memorable meſſage, *That there needed no private friendſhip between* Cyrus *and him, becauſe if the king kept up the terms of his league with the* Lacedæmonians, *he ſhould think himſelf included therein* [m]. He defeated *Conon* the *Athenian* admiral, and beſieged him in *Mitylene*; he likewiſe beat a ſmall fleet that was ſent to his aſſiſtance; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at *Arginuſæ*, over-againſt *Leſbos* where he was ſtationed, he reſolved to engage, when he ſacrificed in the morning, the prieſt who conſulted the intrails told him, that the fleet ſhould in the end proſper, but that the admiral would certainly be ſlain: To which he anſwered without any concern, *Very well then, let us fight*, Sparta *will not loſe much in loſing me; but ſhe would loſe her honour, if I retired in the ſight of the enemy; when I fall, let* Cleander *be your admiral.* He was accordingly ſlain, and by that means the *Spartan* affairs were put into much diſorder [n]. After this miſhap both *Cyrus* and the allies of *Lacedæmon* demanded that *Lyſander* ſhould be ſent admiral again, a requeſt directly oppoſite to the laws of *Sparta*; however, to gratify their requeſt, they gave the title of admiral to one *Aracus*, but lodged the power with *Lyſander*, who immediately ſailed to the *Helleſpont*, where, after receiving great ſupplies from *Cyrus*, he drew together his fleet; but finding the *Athenians* much ſuperior to him in numbers, he wiſely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the ſlip, appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of *Greece*, and made deſcents on the iſlands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*; he ſailed over to the coaſt of *Attica* to ſhew *Agis*, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power [o]. Yet having intelligence that the *Athenian* fleet was approaching, he ſtood away for the *Helleſpont*, where he beſieged and took *Lampſacus*. *Conon* with the grand fleet of *Athens* bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river *Agos*, there the *Athenians* inſulted him for many days together, which *Lyſander* bore with wonderful patience, keeping his ſoldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a ſudden, when the *Athenians* had debarqued their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and ſea. *Conon* the admiral ſaw clearly that all things were loſt, ſo he, with eight gallies and a very inconſiderable body of men, fled away to *Cyprus*; the reſt fell intirely into the hands of *Lyſander*, who in a ſingle hour put an end to the *Peleponneſian* war, and to the maritime power of *Athens* [q].

The Athenians *entirely defeated by* Lyſander. *Year after the flood* 2593. *Before Chriſt* 406.

THIS mighty victory having put all things into the power of *Lyſander*, he acted rather as a univerſal monarch, than as a general from *Sparta*; he immediately viſited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a *Spartan* as chief magiſtrate, and with him ten of his friends from *Epheſus*, where, as we have before obſerved, he erected a kind of political univerſity. Theſe men as they came in by force, ſo they kept no meaſures with thoſe over whom they ruled, they treated them with the utmoſt haughtineſs and ſeverity, ſo that from the very beginning the *Lacedæmonian* government was rendered ungrateful, and the people univerſally diſpoſed to ſhake it off as ſoon as they could [r]. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the maſs of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and deſtined it to be ſent to *Sparta*, whither he had before diſpatched a meſſenger with news of his victory, and with an aſſurance, that he would be ſhortly with a fleet of two hundred ſail before the city of *Athens*; in confidence of this the *Spartans* ſent both their kings, *Agis* and *Pauſanias* with a very great army into *Attica*, on the coaſts of which in due time *Lyſander* arrived.

[l] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Lyſander. [m] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. in vit. Lyſander. [n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [o] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [p] Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii. [q] Xenophon, ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. Justin. lib. v. c. 6. [r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

a arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the ſiege of *Athens*, we have already inſiſted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough, that we inſert the *Spartan* decree contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place, which decree is preſerved by *Plutarch*, and runs thus: *Know, this is the decree of the* Lacedæmonians. *Pull ye down the Pyræum and the long walls, quit all the towns you are now poſſeſſed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon theſe conditions, provided you yield alſo to what ſhall be further thought reaſonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ſhips you may keep, obſerve the orders we ſhall hereafter give on that head. Lyſander* deprived them of all their veſſels except twelve, and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered *Athens* in triumph
b on the anniverſary of the great victory at *Salamis*; he cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed to the ſound of muſic, which likewiſe played while the *Athenian* ſhips were burning, himſelf and his commanders having garlands on their heads; he alſo altered the government, eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants, and left a *Spartan* garriſon in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures [s]. The next thing he did was to ſend the immenſe treaſure he had collected to *Sparta* under the care of *Gylippus*, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in *Sicily*, and who found a way to diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs eminently on this occaſion, though leſs honourably; for he, little regarding the ſeals upon the money bags, ript them open at the bottom, and, having taken out what money he thought proper, ſewed them up again. When he arrived
c at *Lacedæmon* he delivered the money as he had been directed, and deſired, that particular notice might be taken of the fairneſs of the ſeals; but, unluckily for him, *Lyſander* had put in each bag a ticket, expreſſing the ſum of money contained therein; upon comparing theſe notes with the ſums contained a deficiency was diſcovered, but ſtill the ephori and ſenate were at a loſs where to fix it; at laſt the ſervant of *Gylippus* impeached him; and, his crime with all its circumſtances being detected, he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the ſcandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief [t] (L). The coming of this huge maſs of wealth created great diſputes at *Sparta*, many celebrated *Lyſander*'s praiſes and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better
d acquainted with the nature of things and with their conſtitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treaſure as an open violation of the laws of *Lycurgus*, and they expreſſed their apprehenſions loudly, that in proceſs of time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth; at laſt a compromiſe was propoſed and agreed to, whereby it was enacted,

[s] Plutarch. in vit. Lyſander. Xenophon. Hellan. lib. ii. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſander. [t] Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

(L) *Gylippus* the *Spartan* had this vice of covetouſneſs hereditary in his family; his father *Cleondrides* having, as we have before ſhewn, ſuffered death for accepting a bribe from *Pericles*, when he entered *Attica* with an army (42). Authors are pretty much divided as to the character of this man. *Plutarch* every where repreſents him as a perſon of courage, integrity, and humanity, till this laſt act (43); but *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* gives him quite another character; he introduces him making two long ſpeeches at *Syracuſe* to influence the *Sicilians* to ſhew the *Athenians* no mercy; this is directly contrary to what other hiſtorians have written, and on what authority he reports thoſe orations we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with *Lyſander* ſeems to throw a ſhade on his character; for we do not find, that this ambitious general either loved or truſted men of ſtrict honour, and from the beginning *Gylippus* was one of his creatures; it was he who preferred him to the command in *Sicily*, and in the preſent caſe, as a ſignal mark of his confidence, ſent him with the treaſure he had collected in the war, to *Sparta*; ſo that to ſpeak the truth, this was not only a publick theft, but an act of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not wonder, that his patron, who in other reſpects was ready enough to protect his friends even in ill things, abandoned him. How *Gylippus* came to truſt his ſervant we are not acquainted; but the manner in which that ſervant of his betrayed him, *Plutarch* tells us pleaſantly enough. "The magiſtrates, ſays "he, finding the money in the bags leſs than what "was expreſſed in the notes contained in them, "were ſurprized, but did not in the leaſt ſuſpect "him who had the care of the money, till *Gylippus*'s ſervant betrayed the ſecret; and told "them by way of riddle, *That he had obſerved a "great many owls to rooſt in the Ceramicus.* The "ephori ſoon found out that by owls pieces of "money were to be underſtood, becauſe moſt of "the coin then bore the impreſſion of an owl in "reſpect to the *Athenians*; and that the *Ceramicus*, a place in *Athens* ſo called becauſe of a tile-"kiln that had been there, ſignified likewiſe the "roof of an houſe by reaſon of the tiles called *Ceramoi*; thus the myſtery came to be underſtood, "and *Gylippus*, having ſtained his former reputation "with this mean action, was aſhamed to appear "any more at *Lacedæmon* (45)".

(42) *Vid. p.* 495. (43) *In vit. Niciæ & in vit. Lyſand.* (44) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xiii.
(45) *In vit. Lyſander.*

enacted, *That the state might make use of gold and silver, but that private men should pos-* a
sess neither on pain of capital punishments, which resolution of theirs, as *Plutarch* observes,
was shallow, superficial, and ineffectual, because declaring money to be useful to
the state evidently justified the inclination of private men to be possessed of it, while
at the same time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal [u]. *Lysander*
in the mean time, returning to the *Hellespont*, returned also to his old practices there,
changing governments, new-modelling cities, liberally, and even profusely, rewarding
his friends, and at the same time pursuing to death and utter destruction such as
he suspected to be his enemies. While he remained in *Greece* he had done some
very extraordinary things, which sufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious
disposition; he set up his own statue, and the statues of such of his commanders b
who were in his good graces, in brass; he dedicated two stars in honour of the deities
Castor and *Pollux*, in order to keep up an opinion, which his sycophants had taken care
to propagate, that these stars were seen in the rigging of his ship at the battle of *Ægos* [x].
But if he acted thus in *Greece*, he set less bounds to his ambition in *Asia*, where he
made not only the *Greek* cities dependent on him, but struck terror into the *Persian*
governors, and particularly maltreated *Pharnabazus*. This *Persian* grandee was a
man of profound capacity, and a master in *Lysander*'s science of dissimulation: He
saw, that little was to be expected from any representations he could make to this
haughty general, surrounded by a number of powerful persons made so merely by
his favour; he cast about therefore to find out surer protectors, though at a greater c
distance, and with this view dispatched some of his emissaries to *Sparta*. There they
began to open, without apprehension of danger, the iniquity of *Lysander*'s conduct,
they set his ambitious designs in their proper light, they charged him with an inten-
tion to render himself a general for life and independent of his constituents; and
they alledged such probable reasons for what they said, that the ephori and senate
immediately dispatched a *Scytale* to recal this terror of *Asia*. They began likewise
to inspect narrowly the conduct of his friends in *Greece*, put some of them to death,
and amongst the rest *Thorax* one of his principal commanders, in whose house, in con-
travention of the late law, they found a large quantity of silver. The surprize of *Ly-*
sander was inexpressible, when the messenger of the state presented the *Scytale* which d
recalled him (M): He had no previous intelligence of it, nor could he immediately
guess by whom it was obtained, but on recollection he determined in himself, that
it must have been by the procurement of *Pharnabazus*; this discovery made him
more solicitous, especially when he heard what had happened at home, he there-
fore resolved, according to his stated maxim, *to eke out the lion's with the fox's skin* [y];
in consequence of this he demanded a conference, to which *Pharnabazus* readily
yielded. At this meeting *Lysander* made use of all his art to soften the *Persian*, and
to

[u] PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. [x] PLUT. ubi supra. [y] PLUT. in Apophthegm.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the *Scytale* of the *Lacedæmonians*; but first, let us hear what *Plutarch* says of them: "The nature and use says "he of these was, when the magistrates gave their "commission to any admiral or general, they took "two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal "in breadth and thickness; one they kept them-"selves, the other was delivered to their officer, "so that, when they had any thing of moment "which they would secretly convey to him, they "cut a long narrow scrowl of parchment, and "rowling it about their own staff, one fold close "upon another, they wrote their business on it; "when they had wrote what they had to say, they "took off the parchment and sent it to the general, "he applied it to his own staff, which being just "like that of the magistrates, the folds fell in with "each other, exactly as they did at the writing; "and the characters, which, before it was wrapped "up, were confusedly disjoined and altogether un-"intelligible, appeared then very plainly (46)". There are many things omitted in this account which we shall endeavour to supply from other authors. *Tzetzes* calls them wands, which the ephori deli-vered to the general or admiral when he set out to take upon him the command; he says, they were very short and very slender, the parchment being also narrow, which they made use of to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the usual shortness of the *Spar-tan* epistles; for *Demetrius Triclinius* tells us ex-pressly, that the *Scytale* was between three and four cubits long; he does indeed suggest that there was but one of them which was split in two, and one half being given to the general, the other half re-mained at home (48); but *Aulus Gellius* (49) and the scholiast on *Aristophanes* say expressly, there were two (50); *Thucydides* says, the *Scytale* was round, smooth, and long (51); the scholiast on *Pindar*, that it was made of a black wood (52). It should seem, that, besides this *state-Scytale*, private men made use of a contrivance of the like nature to pre-vent deceits in contracts, but then these were exact-ly like our tallies.

(46) *Plut. in vit. Lysander.* (47) *Joan Tzetzes. var. Hist. Chil.* ix. *c.* 258. (48) *Ad. Pindar. Olymp. Od.* vi. (49) *Noct. Attic. lib.* xvii. *cap.* 9. (50) *Ad. Aves Aristoph.* (51) *Boll. Pelop. lib.* i. (52) *Olymp.* vi.

a to engage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been ſuggeſted in his name to the ephori and ſenate, to which with ſome difficulty *Pharnabazus* agreed; he wrote this letter in *Lyſander*'s preſence and in terms ſuitable to his wiſh; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and ſubſtituted it while he pretended to fold the other, ſo that here the deceiver was deceived, and *Lyſander* with all his ſkill outwitted [z]. Receiving this letter, he ſet out immediately for *Sparta*, but when he was informed of its contents he was mightily diſturbed, and fearing leſt he ſhould be called to an account, pretended that he had ſeen a viſion, wherein *Jupiter Ammon* had commanded him to come immediately and conſult his oracle. The ephori and ſenate ſhewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his
b requeſt, but, as ſoon as he was gone, the kings of *Sparta* began to contrive the deſtruction of his friends, that he might no longer have ſuch an intereſt in *wſia* as at this time he had. The *Athenians* at this time taking arms againſt their tyrants, *Lyſander* hearing thereof returned ſuddenly to *Sparta*, where he vehemently preſſed the government to ſupport thoſe he had eſtabliſhed at *Athens*, and that they would make uſe of him as commander in chief in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make uſe of all their intereſt to prevent it. *Pauſanias* therefore procured the command of the army to be veſted in him, and marched, as it was generally underſtood, to ſupport the tyrants againſt the people of *Athens*; but in truth his deſign was to reconcile the *Athenians*, and to compro-
c miſe their differences with *Sparta*, that *Lyſander* might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he alſo effected, and which *Lyſander* highly reſented. Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his ſpleen and of reconciling himſelf to the people; for the *Athenians*, according to the fickleneſs of their temper, flying out again, the *Spartans* were highly incenſed againſt *Pauſanias*, and cried up *Lyſander* for a man of integrity and true public ſpirit [a]. While things were in this ſituation king *Agis* died; he was taken ill at *Heræa* in *Arcadia*, and being conveyed to *Sparta* died there; in his laſt moments he owned *Leotychides*, moved thereto by his tears and earneſt intreaties; and at the ſame time that he did this, he beſought the *Lacedæmonians* who were preſent to bear witneſs of the ſincerity of his declara-
d tion, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have raſhly ſaid of his ſuſpecting the legitimacy of *Leotychides*; but this late recognition of his ſon was, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, altogether ineffectual, *Leotychides* loſing not only his pretenſions to the crown, but his paternal eſtate [b].

Agis left behind him a younger brother whoſe name was *Ageſilaus*, and who be- Ageſilaus *ſucceeds* Agis, *and ſets aſide* Leotychides. came not only an honour to *Sparta*, but to *Greece* itſelf. This *Ageſilaus* ſet up for the crown againſt *Leotychides*, and, as he was a man of extraordinary virtues and of great capacity, he on his firſt declaration had many friends, and on *Lyſander*'s eſpouſeing his intereſt acquired many more: for both theſe it is proper that we ſhould ac-
e count. *Ageſilaus* was born a younger brother, and though the laws of *Lacedæmon*, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the ſharp diſcipline of the *Lycurgic* education; yet the younger children of kings were no leſs ſeverely bred than the meaneſt *Lacedæmonian*, which proved a great happineſs to the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of thoſe qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of ſuch as render men ambitious and aſpiring and of ſuch as make them amiable and beloved, He was brave, active, and of a high ſpirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps be-
yond compariſon; for he preferred her intereſt not only to his own, to his peace,
f and to his ſafety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit which ſhe commanded, and placed his utmoſt happineſs in his capacity of ſerving her, not only on ſuch occaſions as were attended with luſtre and eclat, but in thoſe which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them [c]. Such were the means whereby *Ageſilaus* gained to himſelf friends; as for the regard which *Lyſander* had for him, it ſprung thus: When *Ageſilaus* was a youth *Lyſander* was his lover, and this friendſhip of his continued when *Ageſilaus* was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends

[z] Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [a] Plut. ubi ſupra. [b] Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Pausan. Lacon. [c] Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ageſil.

friends any trouble, and it was this; one *Diopithes*, a man reputed to have great skill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Tho' great thy empire, *Sparta*, yet refrain
From a *lame reign*, which come, thou shalt sustain
Ills unendur'd before; and feel the rage
Of *war*, no *force* can quell, or *skill* assuage (N).

This was thought to point at *Agesilaus*, who had one leg shorter than the other, but *Lysander* outdid the interpreter even in his own science; *The oracle*, said he, *cannot possibly point at a lameness in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, because they caused it; the lameness must be in the title; beware therefore, O Lacedæmonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whose birth is suspected, for that is most likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle*[a]. *Lysander*'s explanation, backed by his authority, had the desired effect; the senate and people excluded *Leotychides* alike from the kingdom and from the private estate of his father; half of this estate of *Agis* *Agesilaus* bestowed on that prince's relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the ephori or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and not only so, but with the greatest confidence and affection; those who were of the opposite party at the time of his election he was ever studious to oblige; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence thereto; he relieved them when under misfortunes; in fine, he acted so prudently and so benignly, that at last the ephori, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage

[a] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Lysand. Justin. lib. vi. c. 4. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Agesil. & Lysand.

(N) It was the custom of the *Greeks*, as we have shewn in this and in the *Athenian* history, never to undertake any act of importance without consulting an oracle, of which there were many in *Greece*; but that of *Delphi* was the most remarkable. Many learned men seem to be of opinion, that the responses from thence were frequently supernatural, and sometimes plain and direct, justified also by the event. However that matter be, yet certain it is, that even in the most early times they were frequently corrupted, of which we have given many instances, and in the prosecution of our history shall have occasion to give many more. If *public oracles* were liable to such inconveniences in spight of all the care that could be taken of them, it is easy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To say the truth, where-ever a superstitious humour of believing such sort of things prevails, experience shews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impose on fools. These keepers of oracles were stiled divine or sacred persons by the *Greeks*, and from the instance before us we see what mighty things they were able to effect. *Plutarch* speaks very respectfully of *Diopithes*, who produced the oracle which gave occasion to this note; and to do justice, we must acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two senses; yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, since it is almost impossible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which some time or other will not be accomplished. It is very remarkable, that *Diopithes*, who by his profession was an interpreter of these sort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his solution, and that *Lysander* should have address enough to conquer the prophet in his own profession (53); for, as *Xenophon* justly observes, the oracle speaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by *Plutarch* (54). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that in all our versions of *Plutarch* into *English*, these oracles are constantly rendered wrong, the word *heir* being substituted instead of *kingdom* (55), which is of mighty consequence; first, because it misrepresents the sense of the oracle; and secondly, because it leaves no room for *Lysander*'s interpretation, though *Plutarch* himself acknowledges it was well received, and *Xenophon* ascribes *Agesilaus*'s carrying his cause to the seeming rectitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing supernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly understood, till very lately *M. le Fevre* declared its true meaning to be, that *Sparta* should take care to preserve both her kings, or, if we may be for once allowed to make use of technical terms, to guard against changing her *duarchy* into a *monarchy*; and in this sense the oracle was most signally accomplished, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew (56). In the mean time let us observe, that *Plutarch* approved *Diopithes*'s interpretation; he conceived, that *Leotychides* was most outrageously injured, and that the great evils which befel *Sparta* during the reign of *Agesilaus* were the punishments threatened by the oracle, in case she suffered herself to be governed by a lame king. *Xenophon* on the contrary affirms, that *Agesilaus* destroyed *Leotychides*'s claim by three invincible arguments; the first was the repeated declarations of his supposed father *Agis*; secondly his mother, who ought to know best, averred the same thing; lastly, that *Neptune* having by an earthquake forced *Agis* out of bed from his wife, he thereupon abstained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term *Leotychides* was born (57). To close this account; let us observe, that there is no reason in the world to doubt the impartiality of *Plutarch*, and that the history of *Xenophon* is an open panegyric on *Agesilaus*, whose friend and confident he was.

(53) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & in vit. Agesil.* (54) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* iii. (55) *See the lives of Lysander and Agesilaus in Plutarch's lives both of the old and new translation.* (56) *Fabr. in Justin. lib.* vi. (57) *ubi supra.*

a umbrage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. *Monopolizing the affections of the people*; which, however, was conſonant enough to the conſtitution of *Sparta* [e]. Before *Ageſilaus* was well ſettled on the throne, his country found itſelf exceedingly diſtreſſed; the *Perſian* king, to whom in the courſe of the war they owed ſuch mighty obligations, declared himſelf at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for diſpoſſeſſing them of their maritime empire. To have a juſt notion of this buſineſs we muſt aſcend a little higher: *Lyſander* while he continued in *Aſia* had paid all his court to *Cyrus* the younger brother of *Artaxerxes*, who on the death of his father aſcended the *Perſian* throne; in conſequence of this friendſhip between *Lyſander* and *Cyrus*, *Clearchus*
b the *Lacedæmonian* general received orders from the ephori and ſenate to aſſiſt that prince, to the utmoſt of his power, in the rebellion he had raiſed againſt his brother. It was in theſe troops that *Xenophon* had a command, and it was at the head of them, after *Clearchus* and the other captains were taken off, that he made that retreat called *the Retreat of the ten thouſand*; this behaviour of the *Lacedæmonians* drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after ſpoke of them in terms of diſreſpect, and ſought as much as in him lay to deſtroy their power [f]. It is very probable, that ſome of the wiſeſt of the *Perſian* ſtateſmen managed this diſpoſition of the king for effecting what they rightly conceived to be the intereſt of his empire; this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, *viz.* of ſending relief to
c *Athens*, and money into *Bœotia*; at the ſame time he determined to reduce all the *Greek* cities abſolutely to his obedience, which was wounding *Sparta* in the tendereſt part, ſhe having over and over declared herſelf the protectreſs of the *Grecian* liberties; on this account it was that they ſent *Thimbro* with an army conſiſting of a thouſand *Laconian* foot, four thouſand *Peloponneſian* infantry, and three hundred horſe from *Athens*; this man managed the war but indifferently, ſuffering his troops, ſince he could make no impreſſion on the enemy, to plunder the allies of *Lacedæmon*. The ephori therefore ſent *Dercyllidas* to ſucceed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewiſe a great politician; he found his force too ſmall to prevail againſt *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, the king's lieutenants; he reſolved to remedy this evil by
d making them deſtroy one another, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their maſters theſe governors of provinces became friends, the *Spartan* was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loſs, though his army did not exceed ſeven thouſand men, and the *Perſians* had twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe in the field, beſides great gariſons. *Pharnabazus* was indeed for fighting, but *Tiſſaphernes*, who was a better officer and who knew well what theſe *Greek* troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with *Dercyllidas*, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on theſe terms; *That the*
e Greek *cities ſhould remain free*; *that his army ſhould retire out of his province*; *that the* Lacedæmonian *governors ſhould remove out of the cities*; *and that this treaty ſhould ſubſiſt, till it was either ratified or diſavowed by the king of* Perſia *and the ſtate of* Sparta. The *Perſian* king, however, within a ſhort time after began to fit out three hundred ſail of ſhips of war, which greatly alarmed the *Greek* cities and occaſioned an application to *Sparta*; where, as we ſhall ſcon ſee, *Ageſilaus* offered himſelf by the advice of *Lyſander*, and was declared general of *Greece* [g]. But, before any reſolution was taken, the king ſacrificing for his country according to cuſtom, the augur, from the bowels of three ſeveral victims, declared, there was ſome very great conſpiracy on foot againſt him and all the magiſtrates of *Sparta*; a little of this conſpiracy was diſcovered to the
f bottom by the information of one of the perſons concerned, whereupon the ſenate took ſuch quick meaſures, though with ſome little injury to the laws, that all the conſpirators were ſuddenly taken out of the way [h] (O). Things were in this ſituation, when

[e] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ageſil. [f] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. i, ii, iii. Diodor. lib. xii, xiii. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Artaxerx: Justin. lib. v. c. 11. [g] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. vi. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. vi. [h] Plut. in vit. Ageſil.

(O) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as endeavour to collect the *Greek* hiſtory from the lives of *Plutarch*, that they find it impracticable to diſtinguiſh any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the juſt order of time in which they happened. In the

when *Lysander*, burning with an impatient desire of returning again into *Asia*, which a
had been the scene of his triumphs, procured such an army to be decreed *Agesilaus*,
and thereby, as he conceived to himself, as would, if no cross accidents had intervened,
have left in all probability no room for *Alexander*'s conquests, as *Plutarch* hath very
rightly remarked. Besides the forces already in *Asia* under the command of *Dercyl-*
lidas, the *Spartans* voted two thousand manumitted *Helotes* and six thousand *Pelo-*
ponnesian foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a
council of thirty assigned him, of whom *Lysander* was in all respects the chief. While
the army was drawing together about *Gerastus*, *Agesilaus* went with some friends to
Aulis, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability suggested to his mind
a dream, wherein he was admonished to imitate *Agamemnon* in sacrificing, inasmuch b
as he was become his successor, and was on the point of going general in chief of
the *Greek* forces against the *Barbarians*, an office which had never been borne but by
Agamemnon and himself; *Agesilaus*, in compliance with this vision, resolved to sacri-
fice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which *Agamemnon* had been guilty of, he sub-
stituted a hind instead of a virgin, and having caused it to be crowned with gar-
lands, he directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The *Bœotians* hearing
of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he should employ
one of his attendants instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, sent deputies to
forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having
delivered to him their message in the temple of *Aulis*, and perceiving that he did c
not give much heed thereto, they went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice
off it on the ground. This may seem a circumstance too trivial for a history of this
nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occasion of a war,
which subverted the *Spartan* empire over *Greece*, and had well nigh destroyed her
state. At this time *Agesilaus* was so much discomposed, that he immediately
hoisted sail and bore away for *Asia*, without staying for any other rites, or offering
any other sacrifice [i]. On his arrival he found things in a situation he neither ex-
pected nor could foresee; at *Sparta* he was a king, but here *Lysander* was treated as
if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application was paid to him, and he
received it rather with the haughtiness of a deity, than with that complaisance which d
is

[i] XENOPHON. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Agesilai. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusdem. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 2.

the present case, he relates this story of a conspi-
racy, as if it had happened in the latter part of his
reign (58). Whereas it is certain from *Xenophon*,
who could not be mistaken in point of fact, that
it fell out in the first year of his reign: the same
author has also recorded the several circumstances
attending it, and as some of them are extraordinary,
the reader will doubtless be pleased to find them
here. On the discovery of the plot it appeared,
that one *Cinado* was at the head of the conspiracy;
this *Cinado* was a young man, very conspicuous for
his valour, though not for his family; the informer
likewise declared, that this *Cinado* had once reckon-
ed up forty *Spartans*, including the *kings*, the *senate*,
and *ephori*; and that on his demanding what he
meant by that calculation, *Cinado* replied, *These are*
they who are against us, the rest in town and country
are of our party. The ephori then demanded of
what number the conspirators consisted; the in-
former replied, they were not many; but that
they reckoned upon the assistance of all the *Helotes*,
the new-made citizens, and the lower sort of peo-
ple, who, as often as they spoke of the *Spartans*,
intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat
them alive. They then demanded if the conspi-
rators had arms; the informer replied they had, and
that *Cinado* had told him, that in the first commo-
tion, workmens tools, or those that belonged to
husbandry, would serve their associates well enough,
since it was not to be supposed, that they should
find their enemies very well armed; being ques-
ed to the time, he replied, that he could not tell
exactly, but that *Cinado* had ordered him to hold
himself ready whenever he should be called upon;
whence he conjectured, the point of execution was
not far off. On the consideration of these things,
the ephori were so much alarmed on taking this
examination, that they were equally afraid to assist
at the sessions of the senate, or to assemble the peo-
ple; at length they bethought themselves of a me-
thod of extricating themselves from the danger:
They sent for *Cinado*, and told him, that they dis-
covered at a town a small distance from *Sparta*
contrivances carried on against the state, in which a
lady of singular beauty and admirable accomplish-
ments was deeply concerned; they therefore di-
rected him to take a small party of youth, such as
he could best trust, and to bring the lady and such
others as they gave him a list of prisoners to *Sparta*;
the better to colour this business, they assigned
him three waggons for his prisoners, and a troop of
horse to escort him if he should have occasion;
this troop of horse, as soon as they were at a con-
venient distance from the city, surprized him and
his companions, and one of them having discovered
the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was
sent back with this information; whereupon the
conspirators were all apprehended, and *Cinado* upon
examination having confessed that he had no other
cause for being discontented, than that he disdained
to see in a city where he lived any man greater than
himself, he and his companions were without far-
ther process put to death (59).

(58) *Plutarch. in vit. Lysand.* (59) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* iii. *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib.* ii. *c.* 14.

a is natural to man; the reſt of the commanders firſt ſtomached it, they grew uneaſy at finding themſelves degraded from being counſellors to *Ageſilaus* into officers, or rather miniſters, of one of their collegues, they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this; he denied every ſuit that *Lyſander* made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the deſign he intended; for as ſoon as the *Greeks* ſettled in *Aſia* perceived it, they no longer moved their ſuits by *Lyſander*, but continued notwithſtanding to pay him as much reſpect as before; this nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man overſeer of his proviſions, and to inſult the *Ionians*, ſaid openly, *Let them now*
b *go and pay court to my butcher*. *Lyſander* quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclairciſment; for the firſt time they were alone he addreſſed the king thus: *In truth*, Ageſilaus, *you know very well how to leſſen your friends*. *Yes*, anſwered the king, *When they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjuſt that they ſhould have power with me, who moſt concern themſelves in promoting my power*. *Sir*, replied *Lyſander* very modeſtly, *You are pleaſed to exerciſe a greater liberty in ſpeaking than I ever did in acting; but I beſeech you, Sir, for the ſake of thoſe ſtrangers, who have their eyes upon us, to aſſign me that poſt, wherein I may be leaſt ſuſpected by you, and have it moſt in my power to render you ſervice* [k]. The king thereupon appointed him embaſſador to the allies of *Sparta* near the *Helleſpont*, which office he executed with great diligence
c and integrity; he perſuaded one *Mithridates* a *Perſian*, who was at variance with *Pharnabazus*, to revolt with a great body of troops and to join *Ageſilaus*; however, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himſelf to return to *Greece*, highly diſſatisfied with his treatment, and not only ſo, but with the government of his country, which he reſolved to overturn if it was in his power; in order to effect theſe purpoſes, he ſet on foot ſuch ſchemes as are ſcarce to be parallelled in ſtory, but inaſmuch as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his aſſociates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our hiſtory; wherefore we have digeſted what is moſt material in them into a note [l] (P). After his depar-

[k] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. & Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand. [l] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the *Spartan* ſtate, there never aroſe therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortunes, than *Lyſander*; how he came to turn thoſe vaſt abilities from the ſervice to the diſſervice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conſpiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will beſt appear from the following account of *Plutarch*, taken, as he profeſſes, from *Ephorus*, an author in great eſteem with *Strabo* and *Polybius*.
" Things had been a great while ripe for changes,
" and people were ready to break into rebellion;
" he reſolved therefore not to miſs the opportunity,
" but ſet it on foot as ſoon as poſſible. His ſtra-
" tagem was this: ſome of the *Heraclidæ*, who
" came into *Peloponneſus* and mixed with the *Do-*
" *rians*, were now grown very numerous and power-
" ful in *Sparta*. Of theſe two families only could
" claim any right to ſucceſſion in the kingdom,
" thoſe were the *Eurytiontidæ* and the *Agiadæ*;
" the reſt, notwithſtanding their high extraction,
" had no greater ſhare in the government than what
" was common to the meaneſt citizen. For they
" only who could plead moſt merit had the beſt
" titles to the common reward of virtue. *Lyſander*
" was one of theſe, and, when he had gained ſo
" great a reputation by his actions, had many friends
" and much power; he was uneaſy to ſee that city,
" which owed its increaſe chiefly to him, ruled by
" others no better deſcended than himſelf: ſo he
" contrived to alter the ſettlement which confined
" the government to two families only, and give
" all the *Heraclidæ* an equal right to it; nay, ſome
" ſay not to the *Heraclidæ* only, but to all the *Spar-*
" *tans*; and make it a reward, not ſo much of
" *Hercules*'s poſterity, as of thoſe who bravely imi-
" tated that valour which gave him a place among
" the gods. He had great hopes, that when the
" kingdom was thus to be diſpoſed of, no *Spartan*
" could appear with thoſe advantages that he could:
" Upon which proſpect, firſt he endeavoured to
" inſinuate the reaſonableneſs of this change into
" private people, and learned by heart a fine oration
" which *Cleon* of *Halicarnaſſus* had made for him
" upon that ſubject. But when he came to reflect
" on the difficulties of this undertaking, which
" was not to be effected by ordinary means, he had
" recourſe to extraordinary. For as in tragedies,
" when any thing of great importance is to be ef-
" fected, the aſſiſtance of ſome god is made uſe of,
" ſo he, to promote his deſigns with the colour of
" authority, had recourſe to oracles, preſuming he
" ſhould prevail upon more citizens by the terror
" of thoſe, than he could perſuade by *Cleon*'s elo-
" quence. *Ephorus* ſays, that after he had in vain
" endeavoured to corrupt the *Pythian* oracle, and
" as unſucceſsfully ſent *Pericles* to corrupt *Dodona*,
" he went himſelf to *Ammon*, and proffered the prieſts
" prodigious ſums of gold, who with great indig-
" nation rejected his bribes, and ſent people to ac-
" cuſe him at *Sparta*, where he met with ſuch
" favourable judges, that he was eaſily cleared from
" their impeachments; upon which the *Libyans*
" took their leave of the *Spartans* in this manner;
" *When you come to live among us in* Africa, *you'll*
" *find us more impartial judges*. Now there was
" an antient prophecy, which foretold, that the *La-*
cedæmonians

departure, *Ageſilaus* carried on the war with great ſucceſs and reputation; *Tiſſaphernes*, a the implacable enemy of the *Greeks*, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into diſgrace with his maſter, and ſoon after beheaded; *Tithrauſtes* ſucceeded him, he, as ſoon as he entered on his office, ſent deputies to treat with *Ageſilaus*, to whom he propoſed, that the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other reſpects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the ſame time large ſums of money if he would condeſcend to make a peace, which *Ageſilaus* refuſed, alledging, that he had not power ſo to do; however, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of *Pharnabazus*. *Tithrauſtes*, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of *Sparta* could not be corrupted in *Aſia*, diſpatched *Timocrates* the *Rhodian* with fifty talents into *Greece*, to ſee if any b of the captains or ſtateſmen there were leſs honeſt than *Ageſilaus*; this agent of his found ſeveral ſuch ſort of people as he looked for in *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*; to them he imparted ſuch ſums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of *Greece*, which no longer left the *Spartans* at liberty to think of extending their empire beyond it [m]. The *Thebans*, who of all others came moſt heartily into this buſineſs, ſaw plainly, that the *Lacedæmonians* of their own accord would not break with any of the ſtates of *Greece*; they did not care to act offenſively themſelves, becauſe the chiefs of the *Perſian* faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the ſucceſs of the war; they perſuaded therefore the *Locrians* to make an incurſion into a ſmall diſtrict which lay in diſpute between c the *Phocians* and themſelves; upon this, as they rightly judged, the *Phocians* without more ado invaded *Locris*; the *Locrians* applied to their allies the *Thebans* for aſſiſtance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the *Phocians* addreſſed themſelves to *Sparta*, ſetting forth that they had not been the aggreſſors, but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the *Spartans* were on their ſide glad of an opportunity of breaking with the *Thebans*, againſt whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the *Perſian* talents diſturbed the tranquility of

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut, in vit. Ageſil. & in Apopthegm. Lacon.

" *cedæmonians* ſhould ſome time or other inhabit
" *Africa*. *Lyſander*'s deſign in this matter was very
" ſubtle and intricate, and managed by very great
" politicians; ſo in order to clear the whole in-
" trigue, we muſt trace it, as we do mathematical
" demonſtrations, up to its firſt principles; I ſhall
" therefore at large explain it as it is related by
" *Ephorus*, a great hiſtorian as well as philoſopher.
" There was a woman in *Pontus*, who being
" with child pretended *Apollo* was the father.
" Many, with a great deal of reaſon, ſuſpected it,
" others were ſo credulous as to believe it. Where-
" fore when ſhe came to be delivered of a ſon,
" ſeveral of the greateſt quality in the country
" took peculiar care of its education, and for ſome
" reaſon or other gave it the name of *Silenus*.
" *Lyſander* taking hold of this concurrence made it
" the ground of his whole ſtratagem, and choſe
" ſuch confidents to aſſiſt him in it, whoſe cha-
" racter might bring the ſtory into reputation with-
" out the leaſt ſuſpicion of forgery. To make the
" beſt advantage of this ſtory, they ſpread abroad
" another ſtory, *That there were very antient oracles*
" *cloſely concealed in the cuſtody of the prieſt at* Delphi,
" *and it was upon record that they were not to be pro-*
" *faned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for*
" *any man to read them, till in ſome future age one*
" *ſhould ariſe, who could manifeſtly prove himſelf the*
" *ſon of* Apollo, *and challenge to himſelf the inter-*
" *pretation of theſe myſteries.* When the credit of
" this report was well eſtabliſhed among the peo-
" ple, *Silenus* was to come and demand the pre-
" rogative of his birth. The prieſts, who were con-
" federates in this plot, were ſtrictly to examine
" into every circumſtance and particular of his na-
" tivity, and afterwards, being fully convinced that
" he was the true ſon of *Apollo*, were to deliver
" up their charge to him, and then the ſon of the
" god was to unfold in public all thoſe oracles,
" eſpecially that, for the ſake of which the whole
" plot had been contrived, relating to the govern-
" ment of *Sparta*, wherein it was to be declared,
" *That it would be more for the honour and intereſt of*
" Sparta *to break the preſent ſucceſſion, and for the*
" *future chuſe their kings out of the moſt deſerving*
" *men in the common-wealth.* But when *Silenus* was
" grown up, and every thing ready for action, the
" whole buſineſs miſcarried by the cowardice of
" one that was an agent in it, whoſe heart failed
" him juſt at the time of execution (60)". Nothing of theſe intrigues was diſcovered during the life-time of *Lyſander*; but after his demiſe, *Ageſilaus* being directed to ſearch his papers on account of ſome diſputes with the *Argives*, he found among them the oration made by *Cleon* before-mentioned, which at firſt he deſigned to publiſh in order to convince the *Spartans*, who ſtill revered the memory of *Lyſander*, that they had quite miſtaken the temper of the man; but *Lacratidas*, one of the king's friends, gave a noble teſtimony of his wiſdom, by adviſing *Ageſilaus* to let it alone; he ſaid, it would be diſhonourable to diſturb the aſhes of *Lyſander*, and that with reſpect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to truſt it abroad in the world; where, conſidering the force with which it was penned, it might raiſe a ſpirit not eaſy to be laid. *Ageſilaus* on the other hand ſhewed his wiſdom in taking the advice of his friend, and paſſing by in ſilence this buſineſs which muſt have produced great miſchiefs, had it ever become the ſubject of debate (61).

(60) *Plutarch in vit. Lyſand. Vid. etiam. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xiv. *Corn. Nepos, vit. Lyſand.* (61) *Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. & Ageſil.*

a of *Greece* and put her in a new ferment. *Lyſander*, though a very old man, grew extremely uneaſy at lying idle, he had beſides a private hatred to the *Thebans* on account of the aſſiſtance they had given to *Athens*, at ſuch time as ſhe ſhook of the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had eſtabliſhed; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occaſion to perſuade the ephori and ſenate once more to intruſt him with an army. As ſoon as he prevailed in his requeſt, he began to diſpoſe all things for the war; an army was quickly raiſed, at the head of which he put himſelf; another was raiſing, which was to be commanded by king *Pauſanias*. *Lyſander* marched with the forces under his command directly into *Phocis*, deſiring *Pauſanias* to lead his army round by *Cithæron*, in order to invade *Bæotia* on that ſide; the eāgerneſs b of *Lyſander* prompted him to quick marches and vigorous meaſures, wherefore, finding *Pauſanias* loiter, he ſent an expreſs to him who was then encamped at *Platæa*, with letters, informing him of the time when himſelf expected to arrive at *Haliartus*, conjuring him to meet him there; theſe letters, *Plutarch* ſays, were intercepted by the enemy and ſent to *Thebes*, where the *Thebans* reſolved to intruſt their city with the *Athenians*, who were come to their aſſiſtance, and to march directly to *Haliartus*. *Lyſander* arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night, but when day began to dawn, and he had ſtill no news of *Pauſanias*, he reſolved at all events to attempt the ſurpriſal of the place; when he drew near the walls and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a ſudden the c gates being thrown open, the *Thebans* and *Haliartans* iſſued out in exact order, and charged the *Lacedæmonians* ſo briſkly, that *Lyſander* was killed on the ſpot, with a prieſt who ſtood by him, before the forces commanded by him could recover themſelves, another body of *Thebans* charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with the loſs of no leſs than a thouſand men, the *Thebans* on their ſide loſt three hundred [n]. The news of this defeat being brought to *Pauſanias*, he immediately marched with all poſſible diligence to *Haliartus*, where he ſought by all means to gain the dead body of *Lyſander*; ſome of the antient *Spartan* commanders were for attacking the enemy and recovering it by force; but he, conſidering that they were already fluſhed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than d his, and that *Thraſybulus* the *Athenian* had now joined them, refuſed to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of *Lyſander* was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of *Bæotia*, which he accordingly performed, and in his rettreat buried the corps of the deceaſed general in the territories of the *Panopæans*. On his return to *Sparta*, ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment appeared againſt him, that he was afraid to ſtand his tryal, for which reaſon he retired to *Tegæa*, where he led a private life. As for *Lyſander*, his memory was greatly revered in *Sparta* on account of the mighty ſervices he had rendered his country, and becauſe, after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himſelf, he died miſerably poor, having always preſerved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his e latter years, he is ſaid to have been extremely melancholy, and even peeviſh, which ſome have aſcribed to his natural temper; though that ſeems to be not a little unjuſt, if we conſider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill treated by *Ageſilaus*, on whoſe friendſhip he had reckoned ſo much. After his death, ſome *Spartans* of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refuſed to eſpouſe them, finding they had no money, for which the ephori fined them, and that very ſeverely, aſſigning this reaſon, that ſuch men muſt be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one [o]. *Ageſilaus*, having ſubjected the greateſt part of the coaſt, determined with himſelf to march into the heart of *Perſia*, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece*. f In the midſt of his projects, and when he was on the very point of carrying them into execution, a meſſenger from *Sparta* brought him a ſcytale, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. *Ageſilaus* heſitated not a moment, he relinquiſhed all his victories and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the conſtitution of *Sparta* to the proſpect of ſubduing the whole *Perſian* empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be ſuppoſed inexhauſtible, ſince the action of *Ageſilaus* has hitherto appeared inimitable [p]. The year before the

[n] XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Lyſand. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſdem. [o] XENOPHON. DIODOR. PLUT. CORN. NEPOS, ubi ſupra. [q] XENOPHON. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſd. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 2.

the *Spartans* had declared him admiral as well as generaliſſimo of their forces, which charge he now beſtowed on his wife's brother *Piſander*, leaving four thouſand men to ſecure his conqueſts, and with the reſt of his army taking the ſame rout which *Xerxes* had done when he entered *Greece*. In his paſſage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only ſent to inquire of them whether they would have him paſs as an enemy or as a friend; meeting with ſome oppoſition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march [q]. a

Ageſipolis *ſucceeds his father* Pauſanias.

AFTER the flight of *Pauſanias*, who left behind him two ſons, *Ageſipolis* and *Cleombrotus*, the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himſelf, his uncle *Ariſtodemus*, to whom the *Spartans* gave the command of a very great army, which they raiſed as well to revenge the death of *Lyſander*, as to quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed againſt them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men; the confederates immediately oppoſed it with another of twenty thouſand, of which thirteen thouſand were heavy armed troops: Near *Corinth* a battle enſued, wherein the *Spartans* were victorious with the loſs only of eight men, if we may believe *Xenophon*, that is, eight of the *Spartans*; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell [r]. News was immediately diſpatched of this victory to *Ageſilaus*, who, far from being pleaſed therewith, cried out, *O* Greece, *what a number of brave men are ſlain in thy private quarrels, when with a leſs waſte of blood thou mighteſt have reduced all* Perſia [s]! Though theſe were his private ſentiments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions ſent him by the ephori, and immediately invaded *Bœotia* contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the ſun was eclipſed, and he received the news of the defeat of the *Spartan* fleet and the death of his wife's brother *Piſander*; being afraid this ill news might diſcourage his ſoldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he ſacrificed to the gods, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head and uſing other teſtimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that *Piſander* had fallen in the engagement [t]. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of *Chræonæa*, the ſharpeſt which happened in his time, as *Xenophon* relates; and of this he muſt have been a very good judge, becauſe he was preſent. In this *Ageſilaus* was the victor where he fought, and the *Thebans* on the other hand prevailed againſt that wing whereon they charged; *Ageſilaus* was conſtrained to return to try his fortune anew againſt theſe: It is generally agreed, that on this occaſion he was guilty of a great overſight in attacking the *Thebans* in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. *Xenophon* indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him *Ageſilaus* was never wrong, yet it is certain, that the miſtake had like to have been fatal; the *Thebans* behaving with great reſolution, killing many, and wounding more, among whom was *Ageſilaus* himſelf. At length they marched ſlowly from the field, leaving to the *Lacedæmonians* the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits [u]. *Ageſilaus* went to *Delphi*, where he conſecrated the tenth of his ſpoils, and in the mean time *Gylus* his lieutenant led the army into *Locris*, where they were ſo buſy in plundering, that the people ſuddenly roſe upon them, and, making a good uſe of their diſorder, killed *Gylus* and many others. *Corinth* was the head quarters of the confederates, as *Sicyon* was of the *Lacedæmonians* and their allies. At *Corinth* there were great ſeditions, many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the *Argives*, reſolved, if poſſible, to free themſelves by bringing in a *Lacedæmonian* garriſon, which in ſome meaſure they effected. The other part in *Corinth* ſent for aid from *Athens*, which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmoſt danger of being totally ruined [x]. The *Spartans* had poſſeſſion only of a fort, their enemies had the city, *Ageſilaus* to put an end to the diſpute invaded the territory of *Argos* with a great army, and having paſſed through it beſieged *Corinth* by land, while his brother *Teleutias* blocked it up by ſea; yet did not their enterprize ſucceed. b c d e f

[q] XENOPHON. Hellan. lib. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Ageſil. [r] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [s] PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſdem. [t] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. [u] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejuſdem. [x] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Iphicrat. POLYÆN. lib. iii. c. 9.

a ceed, *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* captain preſerving *Corinth* and its territories from feeling the effects of his reſentment [y]. After his return from this expedition, the *Achæans* demanded aid of *Sparta* againſt the *Acarnanians*, and, according to their requeſt, *Ageſilaus* was ſent to help them with a great army; he ſo effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace [z]. This war over, *Ageſipolis* at the head of another army entered the country of the *Argives*, though much againſt his will; for as this people had deſired a truce, he conceived this ſeverity to be a kind of injuſtice, and therefore would not put himſelf at the head of the troops, till he had conſulted the *Olympian Jupiter* and the *Delphian Apollo* on this ſcruple of conſcience. Satisfied with the anſwers returned by theſe oracles, he undertook the
b war, but meeting, or fancying he met, in the courſe thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time *Conon* the *Athenian* threatened the *Spartans* with the loſs of their ſovereignty by ſea, wherefore to ſoften the *Perſian* king, it was reſolved at *Sparta* to ſend *Antalcidas* into *Perſia* to endeavour the withdrawing of the great king from the intereſt of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in *Aſia*, in caſe the propoſals he was enabled to offer were refuſed; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to *Sparta*, and this embaſſador was a perſon who differed much from his fellow citizens, being extremely affable in his manner, eloquent, and in ſhort every way well accompliſhed to execute a commiſſion at the *Perſian* court [a] (Q).
c The *Athenians*, however, took ſuch meaſures as hindered his ſucceeding immediately. *Thimbro*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* troops in *Aſia*, for a time did good ſervice, but at laſt he was defeated and ſlain; *Teleutias*, however, gained ſome advantages at ſea, and having extremely frighted the city of *Athens* by an attempt on the *Pyræum*, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the *Grecian* ſtates were now averſe. As for *Sparta*, notwithſtanding her late victories, ſhe found the expence of the war ſo heavy, that it forced her both to wiſh and to ſeek for peace; the *Athenians*, terrified with their late loſſes, recollected the fatal iſſue of the *Peloponneſian* war, and deſired to be rid of this, leſt its end ſhould prove no better; the *Argives*, finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that
d the war would find a place in their country as well as elſewhere, wiſhed a general pacification might take place for their own particular intereſt. The *Perſian* king had alſo his own profit in view, he ſtood in need of *Greek* mercenaries for carrying on his wars, and theſe were not to be had at a time when *Greece* ſtood in need

[y] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos, & Polyæn. ubi ſupra. [z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. [a] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

(Q) *Antalcidas* the ſon of *Leon* was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the *Perſians*, he not only fell into their cuſtoms, but derided and deſpiſed thoſe of his own country; nay, he carried this matter ſo far, if we may believe *Plutarch*, that he had the aſſurance in a wanton dance to mimic *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the moſt worthy men in *Sparta*; this behaviour of his won ſo much on *Artaxerxes*, who otherwiſe had a violent antipathy to the *Spartans*, and uſed to call them the moſt impudent men living; that he ſent him from the table where he was ſitting a garland dipped in an ointment, which for the extraordinary richneſs of its compoſition was uſed only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own maxim, *That the ſole means of influencing men is to ſpeak what may delight, and to do what may profit them* (63). But though he diverted himſelf at the expence of his country's cuſtoms, he could anſwer others very tartly who reflected on them; for being aſked in a contemptuous manner about the bigneſs of *Sparta* and the extent of its dominions, he anſwered ſmartly, *The walls of* Sparta *are her youth, and the points of their ſpears the limits of her territories.* An *Athenian* once bragging in his preſence, *That his countrymen have often repulſed the* Spartans *from* Cephiſus; *Very true,* replied Antalcidas; *but we had never any occaſion to drive you from* Eurotas. Being deſirous to gain admiſſion to the *Samothracian* myſteries, the prieſt aſked him, *Whether he had never done any great crime? If I have,* ſaid he, *the gods know that already* (64). This peace of his was very ill received in *Greece* by ſuch as piqued themſelves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at *Sparta* itſelf, who could not forbear expreſſing their reſentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the *Barbarians*, inſomuch, that a perſon of condition ſaid in the hearing of king *Ageſilaus*, that *Greece* was now in a lamentable ſtate, ſince *the* Spartans *themſelves began to turn* Medes: *Say rather,* replied the king ſharply, *That the* Medes *begin to turn* Spartans (65). How little ſoever *Ageſilaus* approved this peace, he ſupported it with all his might, and conſtrained both the *Thebans* and *Argives* to accept it much againſt their wills. On the whole it muſt be acknowledged, that *Antalcidas* by his art ſecured the ſovereignty to *Sparta*, and that ſhe loſt it by gratifying her own haughtineſs, and her king *Ageſilaus*'s inveterate hatred againſt the *Thebans* (66). As to the fate of *Antalcidas*, we ſhall have occaſion to mention it in the text, and ſhall therefore put an end to this note here.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Artaxerx.* (63) *Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.* (64) *Idem, ibid.* (65) *Plut. in vit. Ageſil.* (66) *Xenophon. Hellen. lib.* v. *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xv.

need of all her ſubjects: He therefore ſignified to *Teribazus*, who immediately communicated the diſpatches to the *Greeks*, the terms whereon the king deſired the peace ſhould be made; they were theſe: *That the cities in* Aſia, *with the iſlands of* Clazomene *and* Cyprus, *ſhould remain to him; that all the other ſtates, ſmall and great, ſhould be left free, excepting only* Lemnos, Imbros, *and* Scyros, *which, having been time immemorial ſubject to the* Athenians, *ſhould remain ſo; that ſuch as refuſed to embrace this peace, ſhould be compelled to accept it by force of arms.* At firſt the *Thebans* abſolutely refuſed to comply, becauſe the government of *Bœotia* was taken from them; but, *Ageſilaus* making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede; the *Argives* too quitted *Corinth*, to which the exiles returned, and every thing elſe was done which the *Spartans* deſired. Such was the peace which from its author was ſtiled *the peace of Antalcides*, whereby the ſovereignty of *Greece* indeed was in a manner guarantied to *Sparta*, but upon very diſhonourable terms; the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* being intirely abandoned to the *Perſian*, notwithſtanding all the promiſes that had been made them, and that *Ageſilaus* himſelf had fought in their quarrel [b]. This flow of ſucceſs made the *Lacedæmonians* loſe all temper, inſomuch, that, on the concluſion of the peace, they began to think of puniſhing with ſeverity ſuch as had injured them, or ſuch as they had ſuſpected during the war, as if the dominion of *Greece* had been a ſmall thing, if their new ſubjects did not feel the preſſure of their government [c]. The firſt who experienced the weight of their reſentment were the *Mantineans*, though they had been their confederates and had done them great ſervices. The *Spartans*, to have a pretence for making war, very modeſtly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had ſerved their forefathers, where they might be ſure to enjoy peace themſelves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refuſed, *Ageſipolis* was ſent with an army againſt them, for *Ageſilaus* did not care to command againſt his old friends and acquaintance; *Ageſipolis* beſieged the city all the ſummer, but when winter drew on the *Lacedæmonians* dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon roſe to ſuch a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houſes, and this compelled the *Mantineans* to ſubmit to the conditions preſcribed to them by *Sparta*, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city which they had ſo long enjoyed. The *Phliaſians* were the next, it was objected to them, that they had exiled ſome of their own citizens who were in the intereſt of *Sparta*, theſe therefore they were conſtrained to receive again, and to do whatever elſe the *Spartans* required of them [d]. The *Olynthians* were in the third place to be chaſtiſed, becauſe they were become powerful; to ſay the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated *Sparta* ſo nearly as did this of *Olynthus*; for under pretence of freeing the *Macedonian* cities from the tyranny of *Amyntas*, they conquered moſt of them and kept them to themſelves; the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians* ſignified to the government of *Sparta*, that in a very ſhort ſpace they muſt be conſtrained either to take arms againſt *Olynthus*, or ſubmit to her and fight under her banners; *Eudamidas* was ſent to aſſiſt them with two thouſand men, he marched into *Thrace*, where he did great ſervice, expecting his brother *Phœbidas*, who was raiſing a great army and had orders to follow him; but he, paſſing through *Thebes*, in his march had it betrayed to him by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, whereupon he ſeized the citadel called *Cadmæa* and put a ſtrong gariſon into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature moſt flagrantly unjuſt; yet *Ageſilaus* protected its author, either from an over-weening paſſion for his own country, or out of an implacable averſion to the *Thebans*. On his motion therefore *Sparta* abetted *Phœbidas*, and transferred the government of *Thebes* to *Archias* and *Leontidas* who had put it into his hands, an act highly diſpleaſing to the *Greeks*, and made them very apprehenſive of the power of *Sparta* [e]. *Teleutias* was ſent to command in *Thrace*, with ſtrict orders to reduce the *Olynthiens* at all events, which he ſet about ſo eagerly, that going in perſon to the aſſiſtance of ſome of his troops, who were repulſed by the *Olynthians*, he expoſed his whole army to a great loſs, and was himſelf ſlain upon the ſpot. *Ageſipolis*, as ſoon as the news reached *Lacedæmon*, was diſpatched to ſupply his

[b] XENOPHON. lib. v. DIODOR. lib. xiv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & Artaxerx. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Ageſil. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. v. PLUTARCH. in vit. Ageſil. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 6. [d] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. PAUSAN. in Lacon. [e] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & in vit. Pelop. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Pelop.

a his place; he fought with great ſucceſs, reduced *Toroné*, a ſtrong city in thoſe parts, and brought the *Olynthians* into great ſtreights; but in the midſt of his conqueſts a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave *Ageſilaus* room to grow upon him, and to make him ſubſervient to his purpoſes, ſo that he made no great figure in the ſtate; yet he died not unregretted, the people ſorrowing for the loſs of one who always treated them with kindneſs, and *Ageſilaus* expreſſing great concern for a collegue, with whom he had lived long, and without any difference [f].

Ageſipolis having no children was ſucceeded by his brother *Cleombrotus*, but he did not ſucceed him in the command of the army, which was intruſted with one *Poly-*
b *biades*, who in a ſhort ſpace reduced the *Olynthians* to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were compelled to make a treaty with the *Spartans*, whereby they undertook to have the ſame friends and enemies with them, and to follow them as aſſociates whitherſoever they ſhould lead them in their wars [g]. The *Phliaſians* having given ſome new offence, by not treating the exiles whom the *Spartans* had reſtored with the reſpect which it was thought they deſerved, *Ageſilaus* marched againſt them with a great army, at which, however, they were not ſo much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous reſiſtance, and defended their city for a very long time; at laſt war and famine brought them ſo low, that they were conſtrained to yield at diſcretion, whereupon commiſſioners were named, part *Spartans*, part of their own exiles, to determine
c which of the citizens ſhould have mercy, and which ſhould be put to death. Thus did *Sparta* govern with pride and cruelty thoſe whom ſhe had moſt unjuſtly brought under her dominion; for by the peace of *Antalcidas* ſhe had engaged, that all the cities ſhould be left to their freedom. Such *Thebans* as could not endure to ſee their country in ſlavery had privately fled to *Athens*; but, entertaining a correſpondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted ſecretly, and, having ſtabbed the chief men of the oppoſite party, aſſumed the adminiſtration to themſelves. The *Spartans* upon this ſent *Cleombrotus* their new king at the head of a great army to reſtore things to their former condition, in which, however, he had no great ſucceſs [h]. At his return he left a gariſon under the command of *Sphodrias*
d at *Theſpe*, as well to encourage the *Thebans* in the *Spartan* intereſt, as to awe the adjacent country and lay it under contribution; this *Sphodrias*, either of his own accord, or, as ſome ſay, prompted thereto by the artifice of the *Thebans*, attempted to ſeize the *Pyræum*, which drew the *Athenians* into the quarrel. *Sparta* might eaſily have ridded herſelf of this new enemy, if ſhe had acted juſtly, and puniſhed *Sphodrias* as he deſerved. But here again, king *Ageſilaus*, being prevailed on by his ſon, interpoſed and protected the criminal; this effectually induced the *Athenians* to engage in the league formed againſt *Sparta*: upon which *Ageſilaus* was forced to un-
e dertake the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excuſed him; he invaded *Bæotia*, but with little ſucceſs, *Chabrias* the *Athenian* having taught the *Thebans* to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, *Phœbidas*, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horſe; the next year *Cleombrotus* marched againſt the *Bœotians*, but the *Athenians* and *Thebans* diſputing his paſſage, he was conſtrained to return. At ſea the *Spartans* were beaten by *Timotheus* the ſon of *Conon*, and in ſhort all things began to decline, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care of *Ageſilaus*, on whom *Antalcidas* revenged himſelf, for ſome ſmart things he had ſaid of him, when he negotiated the peace in *Perſia*; for the king returning home wounded by the *Thebans*, the ſtateſman cried out, *You are properly rewarded*, Ageſilaus, *for teaching theſe* Thebans *to fight whether they would or no* [i]. In the beginning of the hundred
f and firſt olympiad, *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia* laboured exceedingly in making peace among the *Greeks*, becauſe, having the reduction of *Egypt* in his eye, he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance; in little more than a year he accompliſhed it, if that can be ſaid to be accompliſhed which was of ſo ſhort continuance. The *Thebans* would never accept the peace, and the reſt of the cities had very little regard to it, ſuch ſeeds of diſcord being now ſown as could not be rooted out. The *Lacedæmonians* had every-where eſtabliſhed while they were in power an oligarchical govern-

Cleombrotus *ſucceeds* Ageſipolis.

ment,

[f] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Agid. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Lacon.
[g] Diodor. & Xenophon. ubi ſupra. [h] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. [i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ageſil.

ment, which in consequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late masters, and to treat them with as little justice now they were degraded, as they had used towards them when in power. The *Persian* king still wrought for the bringing about a settled tranquility, which, in the beginning of the hundred and second olympiad, seemed to be nearly effected; the *Athenians* concurring heartily with the *Lacedæmonians*, and shewing no sort of countenance towards the *Thebans*, who still refused to hear of peace, because the *Spartans* insisted they should set the cities of *Bœotia* at liberty. In this opposition they were chiefly encouraged by *Epaminondas*, who demanded, that before the *Lacedæmonians* gave laws to others, they should shew a proper regard to these maxims of equity themselves, by giving up *Messenia* to its ancient proprietors and setting *Laconia* free [k]. This violently incensed *Sparta*, and at the same time did not a little offend *Athens*, who could not bear to see the *Thebans* act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of *Sparta*. *Cleombrotus* with an army of twelve thousand men was sent into *Bœotia*, *Epaminondas* seized the passages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into *Bœotia* from the side next *Phocis*, and advancing towards *Leuctra*, encamped his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The *Thebans* were greatly dispirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet *Epaminondas* prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question to fight the enemy; in the interim, *Jason*, a powerful prince of *Thessaly*, arrived with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to assist the *Thebans*, though on his arrival he strove to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As *Cleombrotus* was about to retire out of *Bœotia*, he met *Archidamus* son of *Agesilaus*, coming with a great reinforcement from *Sparta*; these princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to *Leuctra* in order to fall on the *Bœotians*, where they found *Epaminondas* and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none to serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so, which permission the *Thespians* and some others embraced; this done, he disposed his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other; the former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they pressed on the *Theban* wing which retired, they gave *Epaminondas* an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with such vigour, that the *Spartans* began to give way, especially after *Cleombrotus* was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the *Theban* general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thousand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the *Thebans* did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of *Leuctra*, wherein the *Spartans* lost the empire of *Greece*, which they had held now near five hundred years [l].

Agesipolis *succeeds* Cleombrotus. *Year after the flood* 2628. *Before Christ* 371.

When the ephori had the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were superintending the *Gymnic* solemnities, and though they evidently saw what the consequences would be of this mighty loss, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the festival, contenting themselves with sending advice to their relations of the names of those who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the *Spartan* virtue shone with greatest lustre; the fathers, mothers, and those who were nearest of kin to such as were killed, assembled the next morning, shook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of those who had escaped from the battle hid themselves among the women; or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was accomplished,

[k] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. [l] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. Sigul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epaminond. Justin. lib. vi. c. 6. Pausan. Lacon.

a accompliſhed, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, ſince under the ſovereignty of *Ageſilaus* this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities and the little hopes they had of *Ageſipolis* the ſon of *Cleombrotus*, who was a perſon but of very mean parts; they appointed *Ageſilaus* dictator, or rather legiſlator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reaſon; ſuch as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, conſtrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half ſhaved, half unſhaved, and to ſuffer any to beat them who pleaſed without reſiſtance; to execute this at preſent was abſolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to *Ageſilaus* to new-mold the conſtitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occaſion
b ſuch a proof of his wiſdom, as ſhewed he was worthy of the truſt repoſed in him, ſuch a proof as *Plutarch* confeſſes ſet him above compariſon, and which indeed can never be ſufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public aſſembly, and by one ſhort ſentence reſtored the public peace, preſerved ſuch as were under apprehenſions, and at the ſame time ſaved the *Lycurgic* inſtitutes; this ſentence run thus; *Let the laws ſleep this day, but to-morrow let them reſume their full vigour* [m]. Then, old and lame as he was, he aſſembled an army which he led out into the territories of the *Arcadians*, and purpoſely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to ſhew his countrymen that the fortune of *Sparta* was not entirely loſt. Some time
c after this a peace was concluded, the *Mantinæans* took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the *Lacedæmonians*, who at length, not able to contain themſelves, invaded them; but the *Mantinæans*, ſhutting themſelves up in their new city, refuſed to hazard their ſafety by a pitched battle. The *Arcadians* about the ſame time built the great city of *Megalopolis*, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon invaded *Arcadia*, and ſlew *Lycomedes* the *Mantinæan*, general of *Arcadia*, with two hundred men; this broke the ſpirit of the *Arcadians*, who thereupon ſent to *Athens* for relief, but being denied there, they made their application to *Thebes*, from whence *Epaminondas*
d and *Pelopidas* were ſent with a great army to their aſſiſtance; when they were come into *Arcadia*, and found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at laſt it was reſolved to invade *Laconia*, a thing hitherto unattempted, which accordingly they did, and, under the auſpice of *Epaminondas*, appeared before *Sparta* itſelf, which then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood; in this deſperate ſituation of things, *Ageſilaus* took the command upon himſelf, diſpoſing the citizens with ſuch ſkill, and oppoſing the enemy, where-ever they attempted to enter, with ſuch numbers, that *Epaminondas*, notwithſtanding he greatly deſired it, found it impoſſible to attack the place, but was conſtrained to retire, waſting the country as he marched off [n]. In the midſt of
e theſe misfortunes a very dangerous conſpiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels ſeizing the temple at *Diana* at *Iſſorion*. The *Spartans* would have immediately attacked them and put them to the ſword, but *Ageſilaus*, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and, having only one ſervant near him, went in perſon to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, *Sirs, you miſtook my orders, I did not direct you to go all in one place, but that ſome of you ſhould go there, and ſome there.* The conſpirators hearing this believed they were not diſcovered, and therefore ſeparating immediately went to the poſts which he aſſigned them; thus ſeparated they were eaſily ſeized, and being conducted to examination were afterwards put to death the ſame night, without any reſpect had
f to the ordinary forms of law. *Epaminondas*, when he quitted the territories of *Sparta*, left behind him ſuch a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory; he rebuilt the city of *Meſſene*, and recalling the antient inhabitants of *Meſſenia* from the ſeveral countries where they had taken refuge, he reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their ancient patrimony, after they had loſt it three hundred years. It is remarkable, that theſe *Meſſenians*, notwithſtanding their diſperſion, preſerved the old *Doric* dialect, which continued to be ſpoke amongſt them to the times of *Pauſanias*, the geographer and hiſtorian; when *Epaminondas* had accompliſhed this,

[m] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi. ſup. Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd.
[n] Xenophon. ubi ſupra, & in orat. de laud. Ageſil. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſup. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ageſil. & Epaminond. Pausan. in Lacon. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. ii. c. 3.

this, he offered the *Lacedæmonians* peace, on condition that they quitted all pretenſions to *Meſſenia* and left *Laconia* free, which terms were rejected with ſcorn [o]. The preſent diſtreſs of *Sparta* obliged her to ſue for aſſiſtance to her rival *Athens*, which, whether from a principle of generoſity or vain glory is uncertain, was readily ſent them under the command of *Iphicrates*, who in this expedition was ſo unlucky as to loſe a great part of his reputation; the military prudence of *Epaminondas* putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, *Epaminondas* being ſent with a great army to join the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who were in arms in *Peloponneſus*; the *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to all the methods that could be deviſed for reſtoring their affairs. They ſollicited their allies, they manumitted ſuch of the *Helotes* as were willing to take arms, they ſought the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, and even of *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian*, who ordered two thouſand *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to hold themſelves in readineſs to be tranſported into *Greece* as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. In the interim, the *Lacedæmonian* army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, fortified the paſſes at the iſthmus, and, having ſtrongly retrenched themſelves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder *Epaminondas* and his *Thebans* from entering *Peloponneſus*. But this hope was vain, for though the *Theban* army was far inferior in number, yet *Epaminondas*, having conſidered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakeſt where the *Spartans* were poſted, determined at all events to attack them there, which he did with ſuch vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into *Peloponneſus*, where he waſted the country, reduced *Sicyon* and ſome other cities, and afterwards marched to *Corinth*, which he had alſo taken if it had not been for *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who, being cordially in the intereſt of *Sparta*, defended the place ſo well, that *Epaminondas* was forced to retire. Here the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who were by this time come from *Sicily*, did great ſervice, and in the end of the ſummer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home [p].

The Arcadians *routed by* Archidamus. *Year after the flood* 2631. *Before Chriſt* 368.

THE *Lacedæmonians*, though they were ſtill deſirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as poſſible for ſupporting the war. *Ageſilaus* aſſiſted them with his counſels; *Cleomenes*, who ſucceeded his brother *Ageſipolis* after a year's reign, diſcharged the functions of firſt magiſtrate, *Archidamus* the ſon of *Ageſilaus* having the chief command of their armies. In the firſt year of the hundred and third olympiad, this prince having drawn together a conſiderable body of *Spartans*, and their allies, and being aſſiſted by *Ciſſidas* general in chief of *Dionyſius*'s forces, marched into *Arcadia* in order to revenge his country for the many inroads, which within a few years before they had ſuffered from the *Arcadians*. Having taken *Caryæ* and put thoſe he took therein to the ſword, he projected ſtill greater conqueſts, till on a ſudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of *Ciſſidas*, that, his commiſſion being expired, he could act offenſively no longer; in conſequence of which declaration he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by the *Meſſenians*, he ſent to *Archidamus* to beſeech his aſſiſtance; the *Spartan* immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with ſuch vigour on the *Arcadians* and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the ſlaughter of no leſs than ten thouſand men, without ſo much as one *Spartan* being ſlain, whereby the prediction of the the prieſts at *Dodona* is ſaid to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when *Archidamus* marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the *Lacedæmonians* [q]. Some time after this *Epaminondas* broke in again, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken, into *Peloponneſus*, yet without doing any great miſchief; the endeavours of the *Perſian* king having diſpoſed almoſt all *Greece* to think of peace, which with much ado was affected, after the *Laconian* or *Bœotic* war had laſted about five years, in which if *Ageſilaus* was to blame, for having through his hatred of the *Thebans* been a principal author thereof; yet the great ſervices he did his country therein, and his preſerving the city of *Sparta* from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were ſuch reparations, that we may juſtly commend the *Spartans* for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making uſe of thoſe high qualities which

[o] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vi. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xv. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil. & in vit. Pelop. JUSTIN. lib. vi. c. 7. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epamin. PAUSAN. in Meſſen. & Lacon. [p] XENOPHON. Hellen. lib. vii. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CORN. NEPOS, in vit. Epamin. [q] XENOPHON. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PAUSAN. in Lacon. Athen. Deipnoſoph lib. xii. PLUT. in vit. Ageſil.

a which were alone capable of preſerving them. We have been led to this obſervation from the nature of this hiſtory, which ſhews how ſoon the haughtineſs of any ſtate can raiſe up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wiſdom of a ſingle perſon may be capable of conſerving and reſtoring a dejected and defeated nation both to ſpirits and power[r] In the ſecond year of the hundred and fourth olympiad, there broke out new commotions in *Peloponneſus*, the *Tegetæans* and *Mantinæans* making war on each other; the former requeſting the aid of the *Thebans*, the latter of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, gave occaſion thereby to a new and fatal controverſy; for *Epaminondas*, at the head of a great army marching to the aſſiſtance of his allies, had notice, that *Ageſilaus*, with the whole power of *Sparta*, was in full
b march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himſelf that *Sparta* muſt be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmoſt diligence. *Xenophon* himſelf acknowledges, that this meaſure was ſo well taken, and ſo briſkly purſued, that nothing could have prevented his ſurprizing the place; but by accident a perſon gave notice of his march to *Ageſilaus*, who thereupon diſpatched a courier to *Sparta* to deſire the citizens to be on their guard; *Archidamus* no ſooner received his father's diſpatch, than he made all proper Diſpoſitions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houſes, that they might incommode the *Thebans* by throwing tiles and ſtones; ſuch as were capable of bearing arms he poſted in all the avenues of the city, ſo that when *Epaminondas* came, he had
c the mortification to ſee that his deſign was diſcovered, and it was impoſſible for him to think of entering without great effuſion of blood; notwithſtanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received ſo warmly that he was obliged to retire; yet *Archidamus* following him gave an opportunity to the *Thebans* to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of *Spartans*, who had thus needleſsly expoſed themſelves by an unwary purſuit. *Epaminondas*, to make himſelf amends for this ſucceſsleſs attempt, marched directly to ſurprize *Mantinæa*, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by *Ageſilaus*'s march to the relief of *Sparta*. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wiſdom; ſix thouſand *Athenian* ſuccours were juſt landed in *Peloponneſus*, and entered *Man-*
d *tinæa* the very day that he attacked it. Theſe being freſh and full of ſpirits, had the better of his horſe, and forced him to abandon his deſign[s]. Theſe miſcarriages ſunk deep into the boſom of this great general, who reflecting that his commiſſion was about to expire, and that, if he retired out of *Peloponneſus* without effecting any thing, he ſhould not only loſe his own glory, but that authority alſo to which he had raiſed his country; he determined, for the preſervation of both theſe, to riſque a battle at all events. When therefore he underſtood that *Ageſilaus* at the head of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Arcadians* with the reſt of the allies, being no leſs than twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, were arrived in the neighbourhood of *Mantinæa*, he led forth his army, and having drawn it up in battalia,
e marched off towards the hills of *Tegæa*, as if he intended to incamp there; but on a ſudden altering the diſpoſition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched ſuddenly back and fell upon the allies, when they expected no ſuch matter; the confuſion was ſo great, that the *Thebans* would have acquired a very eaſy victory, if *Epaminondas*, charging the *Lacedæmonians*, had not expoſed his perſon too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of *Thebes* was centered in this ſingle man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleſh, and returned upon thoſe who diſcharged them; at laſt one *Anticiates* a *Spartan* ſtruck him into the breaſt with a javelin with ſuch force, that it broke and left the iron ſticking therein, whereupon he fell down, which occaſioned a new conteſt for his
f body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loſs of their beſt officers. All *Greece* looked with concern on the iſſue of this buſineſs, which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of ſo bloody a war, unanimouſly ſtruck up a general peace, excepting only the *Lacedæmonians*, who at the inſtance of *Ageſilaus* refuſed to become parties thereto, becauſe the *Meſſenians* were comprehended therein[t]; for which he is juſtly cenſured by *Plutarch*, who was likewiſe no leſs diſpleaſed at the laſt actions of his life, which were

[r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra, & in orat. de laud. Ageſil. Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. ii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. [s] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Pausan. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. [t] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib xv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Justin. lib. vi. c. 7. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

were theſe. Finding that the *Perſian* was no longer inclined to *Sparta*, he conſented for the ſake of a large ſubſidy given to his country by *Tachos* king of *Egypt* to go in perſon to command the *Greek* mercenaries he had in his ſervice; there for a time he was of great uſe to the prince, at whoſe requeſt he went into *Egypt*; but at length, either to gratify his own reſentment, or becauſe he thought it more advantagious to his country, he deſerted him and ſided with his competitor; from whom having received a large ſum of money for his good ſervices, he imbarked in order to return into *Peloponneſus*; but being by contrary winds forced on the *African* ſhore, he died after a ſhort illneſs, rather of age and fatigue than of any other diſtempers, when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one years, leaving behind him the character of a wiſe prince, a great captain, and a paſſionate lover of his country [u] (R). a b

Archidamus

[u] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. & in Orat. de laud. Ageſil. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit Ageſil.

(R) If it may be juſtly eſteemed a happineſs to a great king to have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince of *Greece* ever was happier in this reſpect than *Ageſilaus*: *Xenophon*, the beſt hiſtorian of his age and the companion of *Ageſilaus*'s labours, was likewiſe the compiler of them. His *Grecian* hiſtory contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits, and his oration in praiſe of *Ageſilaus* is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince and of its writer. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* hath alſo a very copious account of the tranſactions of this king of *Sparta*; beſides which and the tranſcripts that have been made from ancient *Greek* writers by tranſlators and epitomizers, we have his life written by *Plutarch*, and again by *Cornelius Nepos*. His expedition into *Egypt*, when he was eighty years old and upwards, is to be the ſubject of this note; this let us take from *Plutarch*, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactneſs. "As ſoon as he arrived in *Egypt* "all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay "their compliments to him at his landing; his re- "putation being ſo great had raiſed the expectation "of the whole country which did flock in to ſee "him; but when they found, inſtead of the great "prince whom they looked for, a little old man of "contemptible preſence, without all ceremony lying "down upon the graſs, his hair uncombed, and his "cloaths thread-bare, they fell into a laughter and "ſcorn of him, crying out, that the old proverb was "now made good, *The mountain had brought forth "a mouſe*. They were much ſcandalized at his in- "ſenſibility and rudeneſs (as they thought it), who "when the preſents, uſually offer'd to ſtrangers of "diſtinction, were made him of all manner of pro- "viſions, took only the meal, the calves, and the "geeſe, but rejected the ſweet-meats, the confecti- "ons, and perfumes; and when they did urge him "to the acceptance of them, he ſaid, *They might "carry them to his ſlaves the* Helotes. *Theophraſtus* "ſaith, that he was taken with nothing he ſaw in "*Egypt* ſo much as with the *Papyrus*, ſo proper "for garlands by reaſon of the ſmoothneſs and pli- "antneſs of its rind; and when he left *Egypt*, he "deſired the king to let him carry ſome of it home "with him. When he joined with *Tachos*, he found "his expectation of being generaliſſimo fruſtrated: "*Tachos* reſerved that place for himſelf, making "*Ageſilaus* only captain of the band of mercena- "ries, and *Chabrias*, the *Athenian*, admiral. This "was the firſt occaſion of his diſcontent; but there "followed others: He, being daily tried with the "inſolency and vanity of this *Egyptian*, was at "length forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in "a condition much below his ſpirit and dignity, "which, notwithſtanding, he was obliged to digeſt "for a while, till he had an opportunity of ſhewing "his reſentment. It was ſoon afforded him by "*Nectanabis*, *Tachos*'s own nephew and a great cap- "tain under him, who took an occaſion to fall off "from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the "*Egyptians*. This man invited *Ageſilaus* to his "party, and the like he did to *Chabrias*, offering "great rewards to both. *Tachos* had quickly intel- "ligence of this, and had then recourſe to all the "ſubmiſſive methods he could think of, in order "to engage both *Ageſilaus* and *Chabrias* to his in- "tereſt; the latter readily yielded to his intreaties, "and endeavoured all he could to perſuade *Ageſilaus*, "but he pretended to depend wholly on the orders "which ſhould be ſent him from *Sparta*, whither "both the *Egyptian* princes had diſpatched embaſ- "ſadors. The *Lacedæmonians* left the whole mat- "ter to *Ageſilaus*, directing him to what was moſt "for the profit of the commonwealth; whereupon "he immediately changed ſides and carried off all "the mercenaries with him. He had not been "long in the ſervice of *Nectanabis* before a certain "*Mendeſian* ſet up his claim to the *Egyptian* king- "dom, and brought a hundred thouſand men at his "heels to ſupport it. He attempted to tamper with "*Ageſilaus*, of which *Nectanabis* having notice began "to ſuſpect him, and his ſuſpicion increaſed when "*Ageſilaus* adviſed him to fight this multitude im- "mediately; he took quite a different method, re- "tiring into a ſtrong city, and ſhutting up himſelf "and his troops therein, the *Mendeſian* advancing "inveſted the place immediately, and began to ſink "a ditch, and throw up intrenchments all round "the place. *Nectanabis* all on a ſudden talked of "fighting, being afraid of being cooped up, and "ſtarved out; but *Ageſilaus* oppoſed it, for which "the *Greeks* blamed him, and the *Egyptians* called "him traitor; but he bore all with patience being "aſhamed of changing ſides a ſecond time. At laſt, "when the enemy had almoſt perfected their works "and only a narrow aperture was left, *Ageſilaus* "went to *Nectanabis* and addreſſed him thus. Now, "young man, you have an opportunity of ſaving "yourſelf; your enemies have been all this time "working for you; if you iſſue out with your "forces, you will eaſily beat thoſe who guard the "gap which is yet open; and as for the reſt, "their own works will hinder them from ſur- "rounding us. *Nectanabis*, admiring his wiſdom, "exactly followed his advice, by which means he "routed his competitor, and leaving the conduct of "the war for the future to *Ageſilaus*, he quickly ſub- "dued all his enemies, and ſettled him firmly on the "throne. After this being eagerly deſirous of "doing ſtill ſomething more for the ſervice of his "country, the king of *Sparta* imbarked in order "to return to *Greece*, carring with him among "other rich preſents a gratuity of two hundred and "thirty talents, as a free gift from *Nectanabis* to "the ſtate of *Sparta*. In this voyage he died, and

"for

a *Archidamus* ſucceeded to his father *Ageſilaus*, he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory he had obtained over the *Arcadians*, and which, becauſe no *Spartan* fell therein, they tranſmitted to poſterity by the name of the *tearleſs battle*. In his reign broke out the *Phocian*, or *ſacred war*, wherein he ſided with the *Phocians* at the perſuaſion, as ſome writers ſay, of his wife *Dinicha*. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himſelf were wrought on by the bribes of the *Phocians*, but even the ephori, the ſenate, and the whole republic of *Sparta*; but tho' he eſpouſed their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which on the contrary he openly condemned and oppoſed. When *Philip* king of *Macedon* began to intereſt himſelf much in the affairs of *Greece*, and to take highly upon him b for the many victories he had gained, *Archidamus* is ſaid to have ſent him this meſſage; *Sir, If you will be pleaſed to meaſure your ſhadow, you won't find it a whit longer than it was before.* He was by no means pleaſed with the cuſtoms of his country, but on the contrary thought them burdenſome and rigorous, affecting to live freely and without reſtraint, ſuppoſing, that it did not at all affect a man's honeſty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reaſon he was glad of an opportunity to leave *Sparta*, and of reſiding in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws or giving ſcandal to his ſubjects; the *Tarentines* therefore requeſting aid of the *Lacedæmonians* for their ſupport againſt their neighbours, *Archidamus* very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them, and paſſing on this c occaſion over into *Italy*, he was there ſlain near the city of *Mandonium* after having reigned fifteen years; his ſtatue was erected at the temple of *Jupiter Olympus*, an honour which none of the *Spartan* kings had done them except himſelf, which *Pauſanias* ſuppoſes was conceded to him, becauſe he died fighting againſt the *Barbarians*, and did not receive thoſe ſepulchral honours which had been given to all his predeceſſors [x].

Archidamus *ſucceeds* Ageſipolis. *Year after the Flood*, 2637. *Year before Chriſt*, 362.

Agis the ſon of *Archidamus* ſucceeded his father; he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been ſent embaſſador to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who ſeeing him alone, whereas all other cities ſent many deputies, ſaid with an air of contempt, *What! from* Sparta *but one? Why, Sir*, ſaid Agis, *I was ſent but to* d *one* [y]. When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, *Philip will not ſuffer you to ſet your foot in any other part of* Greece. *It is a mercy*, ſaid he, *that we have a good deal of room at home* [z]. During the reign of *Alexander*, tho' he hated the *Macedonians*, yet he did not think fit to expoſe his country to ruin by oppoſing them; but when after the battle of *Iſſus* abundance of mercenaries fled out of *Perſia*, he liſted them to the number of eight thouſand, and openly declared for *Darius*; from whom receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he ſailed over into *Crete*, part of which he ſubdued. After the battle of *Arbela* he ſtirred up all *Greece* to revolt, by ſhewing them, that, when *Alexander* had ſubdued *Perſia*, they muſt become a pro- vince of his empire, which would be no leſs grievous to them, than if they had been e ſubdued by any of the former kings of *Perſia*; for, as he rightly obſerved, a *Grecian* king reigning in *Perſia* would be a *Perſian* to them; beſides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be conſtrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The *Greeks*, rouſed by theſe remonſtrances, raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, of which when *Antipater* had notice, he compoſed on any terms the diſturbances in *Thrace*, and marched ſtrait into *Greece* with forty thouſand men. *Agis*, however, did not retire or ſhun an engagement, ſo that a deciſive battle was quickly fought, wherein, after a glorious reſiſtance, the *Spartans* and their confederates were routed with the loſs of five thouſand three hundred men, *Antipater* loſing three thou- f ſand five hundred alſo. *Agis* himſelf fell, but in manner greatly to his honour; for being covered with wounds he was borne by his ſoldiers out of the battle, till ſeeing them on the point of being ſurrounded, he commanded them to ſet him down,

Agis *ſucceeds* Archidamus. *Year after the flood* 2653. *Before Chriſt* 346.

and

[x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon. & Meſſen. Julian. Orat. ii. [y] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [z] Idem, ibid.

" for want of honey, which the *Spartans* were " wont to uſe in embalming, his ſervants wrapped " his body in wax, and brought it ſafe to *Sparta*". *Xenophon* has taken much pains to vindicate even his deſerting *Tachos*, which *Plutarch* juſtly treats as an act of treachery, proceeding, as he tells us plainly, from the *Spartan* maxim, that all things are juſt that are profitable to one's country (97).

(67) *Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil.*

and preſerve themſelves for the future ſervice of their country; remaining then alone with his ſword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing ſeveral of the *Macedonians*, till at laſt he was ſhot through the body with a dart [a]. Such was the glorious death of this moſt virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when *Alexander* heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to ſay, *While we are fighting* Darius *in* Aſia, *there has been it ſeems a battle of mice in* Arcadia [b]. a

Eudamidas *ſucceeds* Agis. *Year after the flood* 2669. *Before Chriſt* 330.

Agis was ſucceeded by his ſon *Eudamidas*, a prince of great wiſdom, moderation, and gentleneſs; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of conſequence nothing of him on record, except certain inſtances of his good ſenſe and great capacity for governing in thoſe troubleſome times wherein he lived. The death of *Agis* had ſo much provoked the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for carrying on a war againſt *Macedon* at all events, which *Eudamidas* oppoſed; and when a certain *Spartan* addreſſed him thus, *Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone adviſe them to continue in peace? Becauſe*, anſwered the king, *I would convince them of their miſtake.* Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their anceſtors againſt the *Perſians*, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war againſt *Macedon*, *You think, Sir*, ſaid Eudamidas, *that it is the ſame thing to make war againſt a thouſand ſheep and againſt fifty wolves.* Coming into the ſchool of *Xenocrates* the philoſopher, and obſerving that he was very old, he aſked what was his profeſſion, and ſome body anſwering that he was a wiſe man who ſought after virtue, *Alas!* ſaid he, *Is he ſeeking it at theſe years? When then will he make uſe of it?* When *Alexander* cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout *Greece*, that all the exiles ſhould return in ſafety to their own cities, excepting thoſe of *Thebes*; *This is a hard caſe, O ye* Thebans, ſaid Eudamidas, *but at the ſame time very honourable; for it is evident, that* Alexander *fears you only of all the* Greeks [c]. All theſe kings had for their colleague *Cleomenes* the ſon of *Cleombrotus*, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable. b c

Archidamus *and* Areus *kings of* Sparta.

Archidamus ſucceeded his father *Eudamidas*, as *Areus* the ſon of *Acrotatus* did his grandfather *Cleomenes*, but not without ſome diſpute; his uncle *Cleonymus* ſetting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the ſon of the elder brother to the younger. *Cleonymus*, however, retired to *Pyrrhus*, whom he brought with an army into his country to abet his cauſe, notwithſtanding that the ephori and ſenate would have granted him any reaſonable terms he could have aſked. The *Spartans* ſent *Dercyllidas* to meet him on the frontiers, and to expoſtulate with him on the injuſtice of his invaſion; but *Pyrrhus* by one of his courtiers bid him carry this meſſage to *Sparta*, that they ſhould receive their king *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. *Sir*, anſwered Dercyllidas, *If your maſter is a god we do not fear him, becauſe we have done no wrong; and if he is a man we do not fear him, becauſe we are as good as he* [d]. This expedition had well nigh accompliſhed the ruin of *Sparta*, occaſioning much more loſs thereto than either of the attempts of *Epaminondas*. It is our duty therefore to enter into a diſtinct detail thereof. *Pyrrhus* had with him twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants. *Areus* was at this time in *Crete*, and the city was chiefly intruſted to the care of his ſon *Acrotatus*, whoſe amours had in a great meaſure occaſioned this war; for he had debauched *Chelidonis* the wife of *Cleonymus* his uncle, which was one great reaſon of his flying to *Pyrrhus*, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Sparta*, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themſelves that their embaſſadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was ſo meanly provided, and the people ſo much amazed, that without queſtion it would fall almoſt without trouble into his hands; when this news came it was almoſt evening, yet *Cleonymus* preſſed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkneſs would afford an opportunity to the ſoldiers of poſſeſſing themſelves of all the riches of *Sparta*, refuſed to attack it till day-light; a thing ſo little expected even by the *Spartans* themſelves, that in *Cleonymus*'s houſe the *Helotes* were buſy in providing a ſupper, not doubting, but *Pyrrhus* would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his ſoldiers had pitched their d e f

camp

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. CURT. lib. vi. JUSTIN. lib. xii. STRAB. lib. viii. PAUSAN. Attic.
[b] DIODOR. lib. xviii. [c] PLUT. Apophthegm. Lacon. PAUSAN. Lacon. [d] PLUT. Apohthegm.

a camp near the walls, the ſenate aſſembled to conſider if any thing could be done for their preſervation; and the firſt reſolution they came to was, to ſend the women immediately over into *Crete*, which reſolution ſome way taking wind, the *Spartan* ladies aſſembled together, and having deputed *Archidamia* to carry their ſentiments to the ſenate, ſhe entered the room with a ſword in her hand, addreſſing the aſſembly in theſe words: *Do not, my lords, entertain ſo mean an opinion of the* Spartan *women, as to fancy that they will ever out-live* Sparta; *inſtead of conſidering whither we are to fly, conſider what we are to do, and be aſſured we will undertake any thing for the ſervice of our country* [e]. Upon this it was reſolved to ſink a trench directly oppo-
b ſite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying wag-gons to their axle-trees croſſing each other, in order thereby to prevent the paſ-ſages of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their ſhifts to aſſiſt the men in years who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themſelves, leſt they ſhould be unable to ſuſtain the enemies charge in the morning. The dimenſions of the trench once ſettled, which, ſome tell us, were theſe, *viz.* the breadth ſix cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it and engaged to finiſh it by morning [f]. When day began to break, and the troops of *Pyrrhus* were in motion, the *Lacedæmonian* ladies armed their men for the
c fight, repreſenting to them, as they were buckling their armour and putting their ſpears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the ſight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of falling in its cauſe. As for *Chelidonis*, ſhe retired to her own houſe with a halter about her neck, to ſhew, that if things went amiſs, ſhe would rather end her own life, than live again with her huſband. *Pyrrhus* ſaw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo; however, he led them in perſon to the aſſault, where they fought with the utmoſt fury againſt the *Spartans*, who, conſidering for what they fought, made a moſt deſperate reſiſtance; in the mean time *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* drew off two thouſand *Gauls* and other choice men from the attack,
d and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons, which at laſt with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. *Acrotatus* was the firſt who perceived this deſpe-rate miſchief, which he immediately ſought to remedy; for ruſhing through the city with three hundred men, he paſſed round by the ſides of the hills and charged *Ptolomy*'s troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing leſs and being in no poſture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the reſt to the great joy of the *Spartans*; where *Pyrrhus* charged in perſon, the attack was ſuſtained with greateſt vigour, and one *Phyllius* a *Spartan* gave ſuch a demonſtration of invincible courage as is ſcarce any where to be recorded; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himſelf ſo exhauſted
e through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to ſtand; when he called to the commanding officer, and having reſigned to him his poſt, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, ſo it ended therewith, and *Pyrrhus* being extremely fatigued retired to his tent, where he ſlept very ſoundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: He thought he ſaw him-ſelf throwing lightning on *Sparta* which ſet it all on fire, with the joy of which he awaked; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his viſion; but *Lyſimachus* his favourite did not underſtand the viſion in the ſame light with the king; *Thou knoweſt*, Pyrrhus, ſaid he, *that with us places ſtricken with lightning*
f *are accounted ſacred; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby ſignified to thee, that* Sparta *is as ſacred and inviolable as a place ſtricken with lightning*; *Well*, replied Pyrrhus, *I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning theſe things; yet this remains certain ſtill, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack* [g]. The aſſault was no leſs vigorous than the day before, nor did the *Lacedæmonians* defend themſelves with leſs vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench ſup-plying the ſoldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever elſe they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in caſe they were diſabled; at

[e] PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh. [f] JUSTIN. lib. XXV. c. 4. [g] PLUTARCH. in vit. Pyrrh.

at last, however, *Pyrrhus* prevailed in the very attempt his son had miscarried in the a
day before, and of a sudden appeared within the waggons charging at the head of
a great number of horse with mighty resolution. In vain the *Lacedæmonians* crowded
from all sides to impede his passage; they were trodden down by his horse, and *Pyr-*
rhus was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow struck his steed to the
heart; the beast, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his soldiers
in the first confusion, not knowing whether he as well as his horse was not slain, gave
back; upon which the *Spartans* pressed on them so eagerly, and distributed their
darts with such success, that when *Pyrrhus* was remounted he thought it best to
retire, supposing that the third day would put an end to this contest, when after
the heat of the action the *Spartans* had leisure to feel their wounds; nor would he b
in all probability have been mistaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but
those whom he engaged before. The good fortune of *Sparta* prevented this; for
one of *Antigonus*'s captains, having intelligence of their distress and of the noble
stand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to
throw himself into the place, where he was scarce arrived before king *Areus* himself
entered with two thousand fresh men. *Pyrrhus* notwithstanding assaulted the place
the third time, but with little success; whereupon he embraced an invitation
given him to march to *Argos*, and endeavoured to rid himself of this unlucky business
as well as he could; yet here again he found himself distressed, for king *Areus* being
once come did not care to part with him so, but sent a choice body of horse to infest c
his rear. The king, vexed at this insult, ordered his son *Ptolomy* with some squa-
drons under his command to march to the assistance of the troops attacked, where
the young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, exposing himself too
much was slain. *Pyrrhus* when he heard the news immediately jumped on horseback,
and charging with unwonted fury on the *Lacedæmonians* slew many of them, and
particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand; he afterwards quitted his
horse and fought on foot, and when he had satiated himself with destroying numbers
of the *Spartans*, he continued his march to *Argos* [h]. *Areus* is very much blamed
for his conduct on this occasion: it is said, that when *Pyrrhus* was retired, pursuing
him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but d
it seems the *Spartan* king was of opinion, that no safety could be hoped for till *Pyr-*
rhus was out of *Greece*; for this reason he posted away in person to *Argos* with a
thousand choice foot, and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city,
a gate of which having been perfidiously opened to *Pyrrhus* in the night, he entered it
before the citizens were aware; however, they stood to their arms, and while they
were hotly engaged with the enemy, *Areus* came to their aid; *Pyrrhus* at last per-
ceiving that he fought under great disadvantages would have retreated; but his or-
ders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he
was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who, standing on the top of her house
and perceiving him about to push his horse upon her son, discharged a thick tile at his e
head, which struck him on the temple, took from him his senses, and before he could
recover them an officer of *Antigonus*'s army struck off his head [i]. Concerning this
Areus we know nothing of him farther than that he was a zealous defender of the
liberties of *Greece*, as far as the broken and distressed state of his country would
give him leave; for when he understood, that *Athens* was in danger of being oppressed
by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, he generously armed in its defence, and was
slain valiantly fighting at the battle of *Corinth* [k]. To this prince the best critics
have referred that letter to *Onias* the high priest, which we find recorded in the book
of *Maccabees* [l] (S). He was succeeded in his throne by his son *Acrotatus*, who had f
so valiantly defended *Sparta* when attacked by *Pyrrhus*.

Of

[h] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 5. [i] Justin. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Pyrrh.
[k] Plut. in vit. Demetr. [l] 1 Maccab. xii. 20. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. c. 5.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus:

Areus king of the *Lacedæmonians* to *Onias* the high priest, greeting;

It is found in writing, that the Lacedæmonians *and* Jews *are brethren, and that they are of the stock of* Abraham: *Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your peace* (69). This letter is actually in the *Laconic* stile, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we find in *Josephus*, wherein *Demoteles* is named as embassador from *Sparta*; the form of the letter is said to be square, and the common seal of *Lacedæmon*

(69) 1 Maccab. xii. 20.

The Acts of Archidamus IV. *king of* Sparta.

Of the other houſe *Archidamus* the fourth of that name, the ſon of *Eudamidas*, governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true *Spartan* race, who was deſirous to maintain all *Greece* in freedom, and to repreſs, if it had been poſſible, the mighty power of the *Macedonian* kings, which like a torrent ſwept all before them; and though for a time they might be reſtrained from doing much miſchief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elſewhere, yet, whenever they had leiſure, they were ſure to ſeek ſuch an authority in *Greece* as ſuited not with her liberty. *Archidamus* had ſtruggled againſt the ſtream when it was moſt rapid, that is, when *Demetrius Poliorcetes* after ſubduing *Athens* ſought to make himſelf maſter of *Sparta*; twice *Archidamus* oppoſed him in the field, but was ſo unfortunate as to be as often
b defeated, nor could any thing have ſaved the virgin city of *Sparta* from the rage of the victor, if the declenſion of his affairs in *Aſia* had not conſtrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of *Greece* [m]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

Eudamidas *ſucceeds his father* Archidamus.

Eudamidas the ſon of *Archidamus* was the collegue of *Acrotatus*, he married *Ageſiſtrata*, by whom he had two ſons, *Agis* and *Archidamus* [n]. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in hiſtory: It is probable, that, being a man of ſmall parts, the government reſted chiefly in *Acrotatus*, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour and many virtues. *Ariſtodemus*, who had made himſelf prince of *Megalopolis*, was the capital enemy of the *Lacedæ-*
c *monians*, ſeeking by all means to abaſe a nation who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppreſſion of tyrants themſelves, or to ſee their neighbours oppreſſed by them. *Acrotatus*, at the head of the *Lacedæmonian* army, endeavoured to make head againſt this prince, who was grown formidable to all *Peloponneſus*; but, his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himſelf ſlain, leaving the kingdom to his young ſon *Areus*, to whom *Leonidas* the ſon of *Cleonymus* was tutor or protector, and he dying after a very ſhort reign, *Leonidas* ſtept into the throne in his own right [o].

Leonidas *ſucceeds his pupil in the throne of* Sparta.

Leonidas had been bred up, or at leaſt had long lived, in the court of *Seleucus*, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he ſaw affected there;
d at *Sparta* he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the *Lycurgic* maxims grown not only into diſſuetude, but contempt: One *Opytadeus*, being raiſed to a chair among the ephori, took occaſion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice againſt his own ſon, procured a law whereby all men were left at liberty to diſpoſe of their lands by gift or ſale, or by teſtament at the time of their deceaſe. This ſubverted the very foundations of the ſtate, for by degrees the lands were moſt of them transferred from the antient *Spartan* families, ſo that though they were reduced now to about ſeven hundred, not above one hundred of theſe had any lands, but lived in

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Agid. [o] Plutarch ubi ſupra & in vit. Cleomen.

Lacedæmon is deſcribed as having repreſented thereon an eagle holding a dragon; the learned primate of *Ireland* hath been led into a great miſtake by paying too much regard to this *Jewiſh* writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been ſent to *Onias* the third of that name high-prieſt of the *Jews*, who flouriſhed when there were no kings at all at *Sparta*; this the learned prelate was ſo well aware of, that to get over theſe difficulties, he ſuppoſes one *Areus* a nobleman of *Sparta* to have taken the title of king in the penning of this epiſtle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; *Jonathan* in his letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, ſpeaking of the epiſtle before us, ſays it was wrote a long time ago, which no way quadrates with the time in which *Joſephus* and archbiſhop *Uſher* place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to *Onias* the ſon of *Simon*, but to *Onias* the firſt, who was undeniably cotemporary with this king *Areus*, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. *Prideaux* (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reaſon to ſuſpect ſome alteration in this letter by *Joſephus*, becauſe when he comes to give us *Jonathan*'s letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its addreſs alſo, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to *Joſephus*: Jonathan, *high prieſt of the* Jews, *and the ſenate, and commonalty of the* Jews, *to the ephori, ſenate, and people of the* Lacedæmonians *greeting* (72). Whereas in the book of *Maccabees* the addreſs is thus: Jonathan *the high prieſt, and the elders of the nation, and the prieſts, and the other people of the* Jews, *unto the* Lacedæmonians *their brethren ſend greeting* (73). Neither ephori or ſenate are mentioned here, they were probably put in by *Joſephus* to make the letter look the better. The name of *Demoteles* is alſo inſerted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of *Maccabees*. How the *Spartans* and the *Jews* came to be related, muſt be conſidered in another place; our buſineſs here was to fix the time when the letter from *Areus* was ſent to *Onias*.

(70) *Uſſer. Annal. V. T. A. I. P.* 4531. (71) *Connection of the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Part* ii. *Book* II. (72) *Antiq. Judaic. lib.* xiii. *c.* 5. (73) 1 Macc. xii. 6.

in the city lazily, without employment and without wealth, their ſpirits ſinking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the *Spartan* ſtate [p]. a

Agis *the ſon of* Eudamidas *attempts to reſtore the conſtitution of* Sparta.

The collegue of *Leonidas* of the other houſe was *Agis* the ſon of *Eudamidas*, a young prince of great hopes; he ſhewed himſelf both juſt and obliging to all men, and in the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition and ſublimity of his virtues not only exceeded *Leonidas* who reigned with him, but all the kings of *Sparta* from king *Ageſilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother *Ageſiſtrata* and his grandmother *Archidamia*, who were the wealthieſt of the *Lacedæmonians*; yet, before the age of twenty, he ſo far overcame himſelf as to renounce effeminate pleaſures. He was a very handſome perſon and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein would always b
go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exerciſes he choſe to imitate the old *Laconic* frugality and temperance, and was often heard to ſay, *He would not deſire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to reſtore their antient laws and diſcipline.* This maxim of his governed his whole life; he endeavoured to aſſociate himſelf with men of intereſt and capacity, ſufficient to bring about the great deſign he had formed of thoroughly reforming the ſtate. *Ageſilaus*, his uncle by the mother's ſide, was one of his principal counſellors, a man of great eloquence but no great virtue; the part he took in this buſineſs being chiefly owing to his ſon's perſuaſions, whoſe name was *Hypomedon*, one of the worthieſt men of his age. This *Ageſilaus* brought over his ſiſter king *Agis*'s mother to the c
ſentiments of her ſon, notwithſtanding her averſeneſs to them at firſt; and ſhe in a ſhort time brought over moſt of the ladies of *Sparta*, which was a thing of prodigious conſequence, ſince they had always a mighty ſtroke in political affairs, and their huſbands ſeldom took any ſtep without their advice. On this occaſion, as on many others, they ſhewed their great good ſenſe and virtue; for when they had thoroughly conſidered the matter, and perceived that though theſe new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the ſame time it would reſtore the credit of *Sparta* and give her new luſtre in the world; they came into it unanimouſly, and endeavoured to engage their huſbands to reliſh the propoſal, which they found no difficult taſk to perform among the groſs of the people, who, d
partly becauſe they ſaw the power of the ſtate decline, and partly from their natural fondneſs for revolutions, were eager to ſee the thing accompliſhed. But the few in whoſe hands the wealth of *Sparta* was centered grew very uneaſy; they applied themſelves to *Leonidas*, telling him, that, as he was an older and wiſer man than this collegue, he ought to interpoſe, and not ſuffer the conſtitution to be deſtroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For theſe poſſeſſors of money called that the conſtitution by which their uſurious gains were to be preſerved, and trembled at the name of *Lycurgus*, as runaway ſlaves were wont to do if they hear that of their maſter. *Leonidas* was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he ſaw evidently inclined to favour his collegue and the ſcheme which he had formed. He therefore applied e
to the principal magiſtrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that *Agis* intended to eſtabliſh an independent power in his own perſon by inclining the people to his intereſts; firſt by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal diviſion of lands. The party he formed by theſe ſuggeſtions were very conſiderable; however, *Agis* perſiſted in his reſolution; and, when his friend *Lyſander* was choſen one of the ephori, actually preſented his rhetra or decree to the ſenate; the chief articles of which were theſe: *That every one ſhould be free from his debts*; *all the lands to be divided into equal portions*; *thoſe that lay betwixt the valley of* Pellene *and mount* Taygetus *as far as the cities of* Mallea *and* Sellaſia *into four thouſand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thouſand*; *theſe laſt to be ſhared by ſome choſen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms*; *the firſt among the natural* Spartans, *admitting alſo ſtrangers to ſupply their number, ſuch as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All theſe were to be divided into fifteen companies, ſome of four hundred, ſome of two, with a diet and diſcipline agreeable to the laws of* Lycurgus. The matter being hotly debated in the ſenate, *Lyſander* began to doubt the event, and therefore, without ſtaying to put the queſtion, convoked a general aſſembly of the people; in this aſſembly both the kings, the ephori, and other conſiderable perſons were heard, and by long orations ſought to ſhew the conveniency or inconveniency of the ſcheme, according f
as

[p] Plut. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleom.

a as they were inclined or averſe to it; at laſt, however, it was rejected in the ſenate, though but by one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to *Agis*, while the richer citizens, and thoſe eſpecially who had placed their money out at intereſt, applied themſelves to *Leonidas*. *Lyſander*, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way, he cauſed an accuſation to be preferred againſt him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of *Sparta* to marry a ſtranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of theſe accuſations and practiſing a little on the ſuperſtitious temper of the people, he ſo terrified *Leonidas*, that he fled to the temple of *Minerva* for ſhelter. Upon this *Lyſander* ſtirred up *Cleombrotus*, who was of the
b royal houſe and who had married the daughter of *Leonidas*, to pretend to the kingdom, of which when *Leonidas* had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who choſe rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her huſband [q].

Cleombrotus, being raiſed to the regal dignity, concurred with *Agis* in all his deſigns; but the next year the ephori being choſen out of the oppoſite faction, they cited *Lyſander* and his friends to appear before them, and anſwer for what they had done during their adminiſtration; they in this diſtreſs had inſtantly recourſe to the kings, beſeeching them to protect thoſe who were threatened for having performed their command; *Lyſander* at the ſame time ſuggeſted, that the ephori were created only to take care of the ſtate in caſe any difference happened between the kings; but that
c while they agreed, theſe magiſtrates had no right to call in queſtion any acts they thought fit to authorize. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* being perſuaded of this reſolved to make *Lyſander* and his friends eaſy immediately; they therefore went directly to the place where the ephori were ſitting, removed them from their ſeats, and placed others in their room, the firſt of theſe being *Ageſilaus*. Such a tranſaction as this could not well happen without a tumult, but, through the great care and ſteady integrity of *Agis*, no blood was ſpilt, nor did any ill accident happen. *Ageſilaus* indeed had projected the murder of *Leonidas* as he was on the road to *Tegæa*; but king *Agis* having notice of it ſent a conſiderable number of his own friends to eſcort him; things being in this ſituation, the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts and
d to the equal diviſion of lands, had not *Ageſilaus* prevented it, by pretending that it would not be ſafe to attempt both at one time; but that firſt the debts ſhould be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a diviſion of lands; this he ſaid, becauſe he had himſelf a good eſtate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he ſought to rid himſelf of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his poſſeſſions. The kings, and even *Lyſander*, were deceived by his ſpecious pretences, ſo that they came readily into his ſchemes, cauſing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the diviſion of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly diſpleaſed the people. *Agis* quickly perceived this, and therefore he ſought to repair his error by immediately dividing the eſtates;
e but *Ageſilaus* ſtill found means to put it off under one pretence or other, till *Agis* was obliged to go with a body of *Spartan* troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans*. In his abſence he loſt all bounds of modeſty, and acted ſo tyrannically, that by the time *Agis* returned a conſpiracy was formed for reſtoring *Leonidas*, which was accordingly effected; and upon this *Agis* fled to the temple of *Minerva*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* ſhewed more reſentment againſt his ſon-in-law than againſt *Agis*, he went to his ſanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter *Chelonis*, interceding and holding the two children ſhe had in her arms, prevailed ſo far as to have his ſentence changed into that of perpetual baniſhment; in which
f ſhe accompanied him, notwithſtanding all the intreaties of her father; which extraordinary tranſaction hath drawn this reflection from *Plutarch*, that *Cleombrotus* was happier in being baniſhed with ſuch a wife, than he could be in the poſſeſſion of a kingdom without her [r] (T).

Cleombrotus *ſucceeds* Leonidas *on his expulſion.*

Leonidas

[p] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

[r] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(T) The character of *Chelonis* the wife of *Cleombrotus* is one of the moſt noble and moſt laudable in the *Spartan* hiſtory; we cannot therefore be blamed for inſerting her ſpeech to her father, which ſhe pronounced in a mourning habit and in a ſuppliant poſture, thus: "This mourning veſt, theſe "dejected looks, and all thoſe other tokens of un"utterable woe, which cannot be concealed, are not "worn for the ſake of *Cleombrotus*, but were put "on to condole with you in your baniſhment; and "now you are reſtored to your country and to "your kingdom, muſt I ſtill remain in grief and "mifery?"

Leonidas *reſtored to the kingdom, and* Cleombrotus *baniſhed.*

Leonidas, once reſettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods poſſible for drawing *Agis* out of his ſanctuary; but all his attempts failed, at laſt he corrupted ſome of the king's friends, who were wont to viſit him daily to condole with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths and guard him back again. The names of theſe perſons, for it is but juſt that they ſhould be always recorded, were *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Archeſilaus*. The firſt of theſe had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king *Agis*; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he ſhould acquire the poſſeſſion of them; the other two were bribed by *Leonidas*; theſe men therefore took an opportunity, when king *Agis* was returning from the baths and relied entirely on their protection, to ſeize him; *Amphares* catched him by the arm, *Demochares*, being a ſtrong man, threw a b
cloak over his head and muffled him up; then their aſſociates coming in to their aſſiſtance, they dragged their ſovereign away to the common priſon, where the new ephori, conſtituted by *Leonidas*, ſat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of juſtice to their proceedings, ſome ſenators were by, but they took care that they ſhould be ſuch as were of their party. As ſoon as the king came in, they aſked him how he durſt attempt to alter the government; at which he ſmiled without affording them an anſwer, which provoked one of the ephori to tell him, *That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him ſenſible of his preſumption.* Another aſked him, *Whether he was not conſtrained to do what he did by* Ageſilaus *and* Lyſander; to which the king with a compoſed countenance anſwered, *I was con-* c
ſtrained by no man, the deſign was mine, and my intent was to have reſtored the laws of Lycurgus *and to have governed by them. But do you not now*, ſaid one of his judges, *repent of your raſhneſs? No*, replied the king, *though I ſee my death is inevitable, I can never repent of ſo juſt and honourable an intention.* The ephori then ordered him to be haled away and ſtrangled. The officers of juſtice refuſed to obey, and even the mercenary ſoldiers declined ſo unworthy an action; whereupon *Demochares*, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. *Agis* about to die, perceiving one of the ſerjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, ſaid, *Weep not, friend, for me, who die innocently; but grieve for thoſe who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than* d
theirs. Then ſtretching out his neck, he ſubmitted to death with a conſtancy worthy both of the royal dignity and his own great character. Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the priſon gate, where he found *Ageſiſtrata*, who caſting herſelf at his feet, he gently raiſed her up, pretending ſtill the ſame friendſhip as formerly. He aſſured her ſhe need not fear any further violence ſhould be offered againſt her ſon; and that, if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might go in and ſee him; ſhe begged her mother might alſo have the favour of being admitted, and he replied no body ſhould hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate ſhould again be locked, and the grandmother to be firſt introduced; ſhe was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wiſdom and virtue. e
As ſoon as *Amphares* thought ſhe was diſpatched, he told *Ageſiſtrata* ſhe might now go in if ſhe pleaſed; ſhe entered, where beholding her ſon's body ſtretched on the ground and her mother hanging by the neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid a ſpectacle; but after a while recollecting her ſpirits, the firſt thing ſhe did was to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her ſon's, where embracing and kiſſing his cheeks; *O my ſon*, ſaid ſhe, *it is thy too great mercy and goodneſs which has brought thee and us to this untimely end.* *Amphares*, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this, ruſhed in haſtily, and, with a furious tone and countenance, ſaid to her, *ſince you approve ſo well*

" miſery? Or would you have me attired in my
" feſtival ornaments, that I may rejoice with you,
" when you have killed within my arms the man
" to whom you gave me for a wife? Either *Cleom-*
" *brotus* muſt appeaſe you by mine and my chil-
" dren's tears, or he muſt ſuffer a puniſhment greater
" than his faults have deſerved: He ſhall infallibly
" ſee me die before him, whom he ſo tenderly
" loves. To what end ſhould I live, or how ſhall
" I appear among the *Spartan* ladies, when it ſhall
" ſo manifeſtly be ſeen that I have not been able to
" move compaſſion, either in my huſband for the
" ſake of my father, or in my father for the ſake
" of my huſband? I was born, it ſeems, to be diſ-
" honoured and diſgraced both as a wife and a
" daughter, in that relation which is neareſt to me
" in each capacity. As for *Cleombrotus*, I ſuffici-
" ently diſowned his cauſe, when I forſook him to
" follow you; but now you yourſelf will juſtify
" his proceedings, by ſhewing to the world that
" for the ſake of a kingdom it is juſt to kill a ſon
" in-law, and be regardleſs of a daughter" (70).

(70) *Plut. in vit. Agid.*

a *well of your ſon's actions, it is fit you ſhould partake in his reward.* She, riſing up to meet her deſtiny, only uttered theſe few words; *I pray the gods that all this may redound to the good of* Sparta [r]. *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis* ſaved himſelf by flight, but was conſtrained to leave his wife, who had juſt lain in, behind him; her, becauſe ſhe was the heireſs of a great eſtate, *Leonidas* compelled by force to marry his own ſon *Cleomenes*; to this the young lady was very averſe, yet in the end ſhe was forced to comply. *Cleomenes* behaved towards her with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, that ſhe became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. *Cleomenes* was too young to conſummate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tenderneſs for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the ſtory of *Agis*'s murder, at which he wept, and by de-
b grees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own diſpoſition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of *Agis*. He was conſtrained, however, to bridle his deſires till after the death of his father, he well knowing, that both the king and the nobles were too much diſſolved in luxury and eaſe ever to incline to, or ſo much as bear with, the execution of his deſign.

On the death of *Leonidas*, *Cleomenes* mounted the *Spartan* throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himſelf obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. *Aratus* at the head of the *Achæans* had formed a grand project of uniting all the *Peloponneſians* into that league; the youth of *Cleomenes* ſeemed to furniſh him with an opportunity of trying the diſpoſition of the *Spartans*, which he
c neglected not, but ſuddenly invaded the *Arcadians* their neighbours and their friends, who lived in a manner under their protection [s]. The ephori upon this ordered *Cleomenes* to ſeize on a paſs into *Laconia*, which was then in the hands of the allies of the *Achæans*, which he performed, and afterwards diſappointed *Aratus* in a ſcheme he had formed for ſeizing *Tegæa* and *Orchomenium*. Upon which the young king ſent a meſſage full of ſneer to *Aratus*; the old ſtateſman deriding his youth aſked *Democrites*, a *Spartan* exile who lived with him, *What ſort of a perſon this* Cleomenes *was? Why, my friend*, replied the Spartan, *I will anſwer you in few words; if you have any thing to do againſt the* Lacedæmonians, *let me adviſe you to begin before this*
d *young eagle's talons are grown.* In the ſubſequent courſe of the war, *Aratus* by his great ſkill obtained ſome advantages over the *Spartans*; but *Cleomenes* gave therein ſuch ſhining inſtances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himſelf apprehenſive, and the people of *Sparta* ſeemed to take new ſpirit from their king. The ephori, however, were for putting an end to the war, becauſe they did not care to run any hazard, and becauſe they were not a little afraid of ſucceſs, which they knew would raiſe not only the power, but the credit of *Cleomenes*, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, ſaw clearly, that without reducing the power of the ephori, he ſhould have nothing more left him than the title of the king, with this farther
e mortification, that he ſhould ſee the power of *Sparta* ſink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold reſolution of ridding himſelf of the ephori at once; this he communicated to ſome of his friends, who agreed to aſſiſt him in it from the ſame generous deſire of reſtoring the glory of their country [t]. The firſt ſtep that was taken in this buſineſs was the recalling of *Archidamus* the brother of *Agis*, who on his approach to *Sparta* was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without ſome ſuſpicion that *Cleomenes* conſented thereto; but this ſeems to agree little with his character, and *Plutarch*, who reports this ſuggeſtion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto [u]. When it appeared a point out of diſpute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money
f prevailed on the ephori to engage in a war and to give him the command. His mother *Crateſiclea*, a woman of great ſpirit, perceiving the difficulties her ſon had to ſtruggle with, married again, that ſhe might fix a nobleman of great intereſt to his party, and at the ſame time engaged to give up her own fortune, perſuading her huſband alſo to come to the ſame terms, whenever a diviſion of goods and of lands ſhould be made. *Cleomenes*, carrying ſuch as he ſuſpected moſt into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a *Spartan* prince; but withal he took care ſo to haraſs his army with quick and almoſt continual marches, that many deſired to be left behind in *Arcadia*; with the reſt he advanced ſlowly towards *Lacedæmon*.

Cleomenes *ſucceeds* Leonidas. *Year after the flood* 2763. *Before Chriſt* 236.

When

[r] Plut. in vit. Agid. [s] Plut. in vit. Arati. [t] Plut. in vit. Cleom. [u] Id. ibid. Polyb. l. v.

When he drew near the place, he ſent a ſmall party headed by ſome of his confidents, who ſurprized the ephori at ſupper, killed four of them upon the ſpot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himſelf dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came ſo the next day without being injured. On the morrow *Cleomenes* came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one which he reſerved for himſelf, then he made a moſt artful apology to the people for what he had done (U); he ſhewed them the neceſſity of reſtoring the *Lycurgic* inſtitutions, and aſſured them, that though the ſituation of things had obliged him to make uſe of violence in effecting this reſolution, yet for the future he would pay a ſtrict regard to the laws, though for his own ſafety he proſcribed at this time fourſcore citizens. b He was the firſt who delivered up his whole ſubſtance to the public ſtock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In aſſigning the lands, he gave ſhares to all whom he had baniſhed, promiſing to recal them as ſoon as was conſiſtent with the public ſafety; immediately after he reſtored the old *Laconic* way of educating youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exerciſes together; he alſo raiſed a conſiderable body of troops, and diſciplined, and armed them in a new manner; to ſhew his diſlike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all theſe things by his own authority, he aſſociated his brother *Euclidas* in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there ſhould be always two kings at *Sparta* as there were in times paſt, and that he would c not erect a monarchy in order to tranſmit it to his poſterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others ſerved to eſtabliſh moſt the power and the character of *Cleomenes*, was the courſe of his own life, which was in nothing more ſtately or more expenſive than that of the meaneſt citizen. There were in his houſe no purple furnitures, no canopies or cloths of ſtate, no ſuperb chairs or couches for indulging eaſe, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him: When any offered petitions, he ſtepped forward to receive them, talking graciouſly to every body, redreſſed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himſelf; yet had his virtue nothing in it of auſterity or affectation; he was naturally of a pleaſant temper, which he indulged. When ſtrangers dined d with him he had plenty of wine, which was ſet down in a braſs veſſel, with ſilver cups near it, according to the number of the gueſts, every man being permitted to drink

(U) It is from *Plutarch* that we learn the purport of the king's ſpeech on this occaſion, which it is neceſſary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the preſent thread of our hiſtory, but becauſe we have referred ourſelves to it elſewhere, as containing ſeveral curious particulars relating to the *Spartan* policy. *Cleomenes* then in this harangue alledged, "That the government, as it was framed "by *Lycurgus*, was compoſed of the kings and the "ſenate; and that that model of government had "continued a long time, and needed no other ſort "of magiſtrates to give it perfection. But afterwards in the long war with the *Meſſenians*, when "the kings being to command the armies had no "time to attend civil cauſes, they choſe ſome of "their friends, and left them to determine the ſuits "of their citizens in their ſtead. Theſe were called "ephori, and at firſt behaved themſelves as ſervants "to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they appropriated the power to themſelves, and erected "a diſtinct ſort of magiſtracy. An evidence of the "truth of this may be taken from the uſual behaviour of the kings, who upon the firſt and ſecond "meſſage of the ephori refuſe to go, but upon the "third readily attended them: And *Aſteropus*, the "firſt that raiſed the ephori to that height of "power, was not *Ephorus* till many years after their "inſtitution; therefore, whilſt they modeſtly contained themſelves within their own proper ſphere, "it was better to bear with them than to make a "diſturbance. But that an upſtart introduced "power ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old model of "government, as to baniſh ſome kings, murder "others, without hearing their defence, and threaten "thoſe who deſired to ſee the beſt and moſt divine "conſtitution reſtored in *Sparta*, was unſufferable. "Therefore if it had been poſſible for him without "blod-ſhed to have freed *Lacedæmon* from thoſe "foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and uſury; "and from thoſe more antient evils, poverty and "riches, he ſhould have thought himſelf the happieſt king in the world; having, like an expert "phyſician, cured the diſeaſes of his country without pain. But now in this neceſſity, *Lycurgus*'s "example favoured his proceedings; who being "neither king nor magiſtrate, but a private man, "and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into "the market-place, inſomuch, that king *Charilaus* "fled for fear to the altar: But he, being a good "man and a lover of his country, readily conſented "to *Lycurgus*'s project, and admitted an alteration "in the ſtate. Thus by his own actions *Lycurgus* "ſhewed, that it was difficult to correct the go"nernment without force and fear; in uſing which, "he ſaid he would be ſo moderate as never to de"ſire their aſſiſtance; but either to terrify or ruin "the enemies of *Sparta*'s happineſs and ſafety. He "commanded that all the land ſhould be left in "common, and private claims laid aſide: That "debtors ſhould be diſcharged of their debts, and "a ſtrict ſearch be made who were foreigners, and "who not. That the true *Spartans* recovering their "courage might defend the city with their arms; "and that they might no longer ſee *Laconia*, for "want of a ſufficient number to ſecure it, waſted "by the *Ætolians* (70)".

(70) *Plutarch. in vit. Cleom.*

a drink what he pleaſed, being neither deſired nor forced to drink more; being informed that *Aratus* and the *Achæans* intended to give him ſome diſturbance, from an apprehenſion that after theſe alterations he durſt not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the courſe of the war, he gained ſuch advantages over *Aratus*, as made that great ſtateſman and captain decline being choſen captain general of the *Achæans* next year as he was wont; yet did not *Cleomenes* make any ill uſe of his victories, or attempt to oppreſs the cities which fell into his power, but reſtored them to their liberty, and, where they had been expelled, recalled their ancient inhabitants. The *Achæans* were ſo much frighted with this unexpected run of ill ſucceſs, that they
b were ready to liſten to any terms which *Cleomenes* ſhould think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he ſought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the *Greeks*, and that he was ready to deliver up the priſoners without ranſom, and to reſtore the cities he had taken. *Lerna* was appointed for the place of treaty, the *Achæans* being willing to accept of the king's terms; but *Cleomenes* marching thither ſwiftly heated himſelf very much by the way, and, drinking in the midſt of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himſelf into a fever, which was attended with the loſs of his ſpeech; he ordered, however, the principal captives of the *Achæans* to be ſet at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and *Greece*; for *Aratus*, who till this time had approved
c himſelf a moſt worthy *Grecian* commander, now ſuffered envy, jealouſy, and ſelf-conceit to triumph over his virtue and love for his country; and he, who in his youth had expelled the *Macedonians* out of *Peloponneſus* merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that *Cleomenes*, the moſt worthy of the *Spartan* kings, ſhould be raiſed to that dignity which he ſo highly deſerved [x]. When *Cleomenes* was recovered, he advanced towards *Argos*, where the *Achæans* held their aſſembly; but when he drew near, *Aratus* cauſed deputies to be ſent him, to inform him, that he muſt either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place; to which *Cleomenes* anſwered, That he was unjuſtly dealt with, for they ought to have told him ſo plainly at firſt, and not now, when he was come
d to their very doors, ſhew their jealouſy and deny him admiſſion. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offenſively. Upon this the whole league of the *Achæans* was put into a ferment, moſt of the towns being ready to revolt and break the union; becauſe on the one ſide the people had been made to hope for a diviſion of the lands and a diſcharge of their debts; and on the other the nobility grew weary of *Aratus*'s power, and were almoſt all of them provoked againſt him for having called the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*. Encouraged by theſe miſunderſtandings, *Cleomenes* invaded *Achæa*, where he firſt took *Pellene* by ſurprize and beat out the *Achæan* garriſon; afterwards he made himſelf maſter of *Phenæon* and *Penteleon*. Not long after he ſurprized *Argos*, and in a very ſmall ſpace of time raiſed him-
e ſelf to greater power than any of his predeceſſors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than ſhe had ever held in *Greece*. In this ſpace he would very gladly have treated with *Aratus*, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendſhip; but he was immoveable in his reſolution of deſtroying the *Spartan* greatneſs; with this view he procured the caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the key of *Peloponneſus*, to be delivered up to *Antigonus*, who ſuddenly came to his aſſiſtance with an army of twenty-eight thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe. *Cleomenes*, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of *Peloponneſus* till *Argos* was betrayed; even there he did great things, and, when over-powered by numbers he could do no more, made a moſt glorious retreat. At this time he received from
f *Sparta* the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for tho' the *Spartans* were remarkable for being fond huſbands, yet *Cleomenes* was diſtinguiſhed for his fondneſs even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero and like a king; he went to his houſe, indulged his ſorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp reſumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without ſuffering his private concerns to interfere with public affairs. *Ptolemy* at this time offered him his friendſhip in caſe he would ſend him his mother and his ſon as hoſtages. This demand troubled *Cleomenes*; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at laſt, when it broke out, *Crateſiclea* burſt

[x] Plut. in vit. Arat. Polyb. lib. ii.

burſt out a laughing; *Well*, ſaid ſhe, *was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do* a
you not put me on ſhipboard, and ſend this carcaſs where it may be ſerviceable to Sparta, *before age waſtes it unprofitably here?* When ſhe was going on board, ſhe withdrew her ſon into the temple of *Neptune*, where having wept and embraced each other, *Come king of* Sparta, ſaid ſhe, *let us dry our tears, that no ſigns of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakneſs appear unworthy your dignity or the honour of our country, ſince our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence.* She wrote afterwards to him from *Egypt*: *King of* Sparta, *do what is worthy of your country and may redound to its profit; nor, for the ſake of an old woman and a little child, ſtand in fear of what* Ptolemy *may do.* *Cleomenes* acted in this unequal war with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the moſt excellent cap- b
tain among the *Greeks* [y]. He had to do with a numerous army compoſed of veterans, well armed, and well diſciplined, and well paid; his own troops were moſt of them new-raiſed, many of them half armed, and nothing but what he could get to ſubſiſt them with. Yet he kept the war out of *Laconia*, took the city of *Megalopolis*, which was bigger than *Sparta*, in the midſt of king *Antigonus*'s armies; and when he had taken it generouſly offered to reſtore it untouched to its citizens, but they, rejecting his offer, abandoned it to the plunder of his ſoldiers [z]. After this he haraſſed the territory of *Argos*, and raiſed mighty contributions, though *Antigonus* and the *Macedonian* forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was ſtiled raſhneſs, arrogance, and a vain-glorious ſhew of ſhort-lived ſucceſs; and it is owing c
to *Polybius*, that poſterity conſiders it in a different light; for he tells us, that tho' the generality believed *Cleomenes* to have acted from a deſperate temerity, yet men of the beſt diſcernment and underſtanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgment. The true ſtate of the caſe is this; *Cleomenes* ſaw, that tho' at preſent he could make head againſt his enemies, yet in a ſhort time he ſhould be deſtroyed without fighting; he therefore ſought to provoke *Antigonus* to fight, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again *Antigonus* gave a ſtrong teſtimony of his conſummate ſkill in military affairs; for notwithſtanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the *Greeks*, and the inſults of *Cleomenes*, he kept himſelf where he was, and would not ſuffer either his d
own, or the paſſions of others, to puſh him upon a ſtep which might be injurious to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and *Cleomenes* by reaſon of his poverty could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at *Sellaſia*, where, partly through the ſuperiority of the *Macedonian* troops, partly through the treachery of *Damoteles*, the *Lacedæmonians* were defeated with a vaſt ſlaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almoſt the utter deſtruction of their own; for of ſix thouſand *Spartans* only two hundred eſcaped. In the beginning of the action *Cleomenes* had the better, at leaſt in that part of the army where he commanded in perſon; but looking behind him, and ſeeing the other wing commanded by his brother ſurrounded, he cried out, *Thou art loſt, dear brother, thou art loſt; thou* e
brave example to our Spartan *youth, and theme of our matrons ſongs!* This misfortune of *Cleomenes* deſerves the more to be pitied, ſince, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he muſt have ſeen *Antigonus* conſtrained to abandon the *Achæans*; for within that ſpace after the battle meſſengers arrived in his camp from *Macedonia*, which brought advice of ſuch diſorders there as forced him immediately to return [a]. When the battle was over, *Cleomenes* retired to *Sparta*, where, however, he knew it was impoſſible for him to ſtay, nor indeed did he reſt there above a few hours; for, after having given a few directions, he went to his own houſe, where, without taking any refreſhment, he leaned himſelf, in his armour as he was, againſt a pillar, and conſidering what he ſhould do, he at length determined to retire to *Egypt*; which f
reſolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to *Gythium*, there imbarqued on board a few ſhips, and paſſed over to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who entertained him honourably while he lived; but his ſon growing ſuſpicious of him confined him, which *Cleomenes* at length reſenting, he with twelve friends forced the place where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to eſcape, they ſlew each other. *Ptolemy Philopater* in revenge of this cauſed the body of *Cleomenes* to be expoſed on a croſs, butchered his mother, the reſt of his family, and all her attendants. Miſerable end of ſo great a man, who ſought only to make his country free and his countrymen

[y] PLUT. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Arati. POLYB. ubi ſupra. [z] PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopæm.
[a] POLYB. lib. ii. PLUT. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

countrymen virtuous! In him ended the *Herculean* race of *Spartan* kings, if we except the short reign of *Agesipolis* which we shall presently mention (X).

AFTER

(X) In this note we shall vindicate our history of the reign of *Cleomenes*, which we confess to be very little consistent with the account given us by *Polybius*, though we acknowledge that he is, generally speaking, a most judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true state of things at the time of which we are speaking; and yet we affirm, that he has not spoken of *Cleomenes* things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a just right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and established reputation. Two things therefore we shall endeavour to demonstrate in this note: *First*, That *Polybius* hath injured the character of *Cleomenes* in his history; and, *Secondly*, That the causes of his misrepresentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be assigned. *First*, then, *Polybius*, opening to his reader the causes of the *Cleomenic* war, writes thus: *When this war was kindled, and* Cleomenes *had ruined the republic of* Lacedæmon, *and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power*, Aratus, *who saw that this prince made war with no less conduct than valour, and being at the same time afraid of what might be attempted by the* Ætolians, *thought it necessary to counterwork their projects* (71). In this passage *Cleomenes* is roundly declared a tyrant, and undoubtedly he was so in the opinion of all the *Achæans*; and the historians of those times dealt so freely with his character, that the great *Livy* makes no scruple of calling him *Cleomenes* the first tyrant of *Lacedæmon* (72). *Pausanias* is yet more outragious; he says, that *Cleomenes*, following the example of the great *Pausanias* who gained the battle of *Platæa*, affected tyranny, and thereby disgusted the *Lacedæmonians* so much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all these great men are most certainly in the wrong; nay, *Polybius* and *Pausanias* are so of their own shewing. For the first every where admits, that *Cleomenes* was a prince of great wisdom and mildness, as well as intrepidly valiant and of a lofty spirit. The reason for which he stiles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing passage, because he altered that condition of the republic in which it stood when he ascended the throne. It is confessed he did so, but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from *Polybius* himself. In another part of his writings, descanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of the *Spartan* state, he makes use of these words: "*Lycurgus*, in pro- "viding by his laws for the harmony of his citi- "zens, for the security of his polity, and the main- "tenance of liberty, hath done so well, that his "institutes seem rather to be divine than human. "An equality of possessions with a simple and in- "expensive course of life could not but render "men honest and sociable in private life, and quiet "and peaceable in public concerns; finally, continu- "al exercise and a readiness to undertake any kind "of labour could not fail of making them both "valiant and indefatigable (74)". He then shews, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of *Lycurgus*, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls *Cleomenes* tyrant he commiserates the *Lacedæmonians*, for having from a state of perfect freedom sunk by degrees into that of abject slavery under *Nabis*, by a continual declension from the *Lycurgic* institutes. Now, if the slavery of the *Lacedæmonians* and their ruin arose from their leaving the laws of *Lycurgus*, and if the laws of *Lycurgus* derived their chief excellence from their enjoining an equality of possessions, a simple frugal life, and continual exercise, how could *Cleomenes* be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the *Spartan* republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein *Lycurgus* left it? but perhaps it will be said he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will subvert all the *Greek* notions of liberty. The ephori were not established by *Lycurgus*, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had destroyed the constitution by introducing the sale of lands, they had most impiously murdered *Agis* their natural sovereign, and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of *Sparta* vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the state, and had, as *Polybius* phrases it, changed a legal authority into a most detestable tyranny, from which *Cleomenes* rescued his country, and restored it to its ancient lustre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That *Cleomenes* was legally king of *Sparta*, *Polybius* himself owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved, and consequently we have shewn, that *Livy* was in an error when he stiled him the first of the *Lacedæmonian* tyrants. We will next shew the falshood of *Pausanias*'s account, he says, that *Cleomenes* affected the empire of *Greece*, and *Polybius* intimates the same thing, but they offer no facts to support it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of *Polybius*'s history. A tyrant is one who sacrifices public rights to his particular views, which *Cleomenes* had mighty opportunities of doing, and whenever he had them constantly rejected them. He brought his paternal estate into the public stock when he new-modelled *Sparta*; he restored all the cities he took to their ancient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions; and chose to have allies where he might have had subjects; with reason therefore have we concluded with *Plutarch*, that he did not affect the tyranny of *Greece*. As to the latter part of *Pausanias*'s censure, that the *Spartans* so hated the memory of *Cleomenes*, it is diametrically opposite to truth; for *Polybius* tells us, that after his flight into *Egypt* they remained without kings, because they tenderly loved *Cleomenes*, and ardently wished and expected his return. These are his very words, and he afterwards tells us, that as soon as they knew that *Cleomenes* was dead, they resolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the second part of what we proposed, the causes of *Polybius*'s misrepresentations, and they were no other than those which have been and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. *Polybius* lived in these times: He was by birth of the city of *Megalopolis* which *Cleomenes* destroyed; he was an *Achæan* statesman, a professed and zealous friend of *Aratus*, the capital enemy of this prince whom he so much decries. *Aratus* sought to bring all the *Peloponnesian* states into the *Achæan* league, and why? that they might be thereby safe against the *Macedonian* power; *Cleomenes* opposed this, because it was contrary to the interest of *Sparta*, which would have thereby become inconsiderable. *Aratus* endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his scheme by force, on a supposition, that *Cleomenes* being a young man might have been easily deposed. After all, when *Cleomenes* in his own defence had humbled the *Achæans*, he did not pretend to reduce them into subjection, but offered to join with them to support the

(71) *Polyb. Hist. lib.* iv. (72) *Liv. lib.* xxxiv. (73) *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.* (74) *Fragment. lib.* xiii.

The state of Sparta *after the flight of* Cleomenes.

After the fatal battle of *Sellasia*, *Sparta* fell into the hands of king *Antigonus*, a who, out of regard to the merit of their ancestors, treated the inhabitants with great kindness and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time very quietly, and, submitting to the present situation of things, acted in such a manner as might give least umbrage to *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, who were the king's friends; as long as *Cleomenes* lived, though an exile and at last a prisoner in *Egypt*, the *Spartans* lived as well as they could under the government of the ephori and senate; but as soon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly ascertained it was true, new stirs arose, in which *Adimas*, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his collegues had summoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to represent to them, how little their behaviour corre- b sponded with their circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in their present unsettled condition in a new war with the *Macedonians*, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever since treated them well. The people of *Sparta*, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason as soon as they began to understand it, which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about *Adimas* and stabbed him; which once done, they did what they pleased. Soon after this *Philip* the son of *Antigonus* arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the *Spartans* sent deputies to make their submission, which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, c after representing the *Lacedæmonians* as a turbulent and factious people, declared, that the king ought to treat them as heretofore *Alexander* had done the *Thebans*, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe chastisement. But the king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them; he said, the sedition of the *Spartans* turned to their own hurt, that on his appearance they had offered to submit themselves and become his subjects; and that to put their principal men to death and mal-treat the rest would be unworthy of a prince; he therefore contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the *Spartans* for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet; after which he dismissed them [b]. d

Lycurgus *and* Agesipolis *elected kings.*

The *Ætolians*, making new disturbances in *Greece*, were very desirous to engage the *Lacedæmonians* in their interest; to this end they sent *Machates* embassador to *Sparta*; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the *Ætolians*; but those magistrates, liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for *Machates*. This party after his departure found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that at a solemn festival they murdered them at the temple of *Pallas*, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first *Agesipolis* a boy, the grandson of *Cleombrotus* whom *Leonidas* banished, and appointed *Cleomenes*, the e son of *Cleombrotus* and the child's uncle, his tutor. For the other king they set up *Lycurgus*, a man, no-way allied to the royal family, or at least never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a piece to the ephori, they declared him of the *Herculean* race and the lawful king of *Sparta*. He after some time drove *Agesipolis* into banishment, and involved his country in several wars, which he waged with various success. At last *Chilo* conspired against him; this man conceived he had some right to the *Spartan* throne, and having engaged about two hundred persons to abet his scheme, he fell upon the ephori suddenly and murdered them; after which he surrounded the house of *Lycurgus*, who, by the fidelity of some of his servants,

[b] Polyb. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arat.

the liberty of *Greece* against the *Macedonian* kings; but *Aratus*, resolving to have all things his own way, called in these very *Macedonians*, delivered up to them *Acro-Corinth*, destroyed the *Lacedæmonian* kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himself poisoned by *Philip* king of *Macedon*, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. *Polybius*, misled by *Aratus*'s notions, paints *Cleomenes* as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preserve *Greece* free, and *Greece* lost her freedom because he failed in his design; this has appeared since, and *Plutarch*, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that justice to *Cleomenes* which *Polybius* denied him (75).

(75) *Hist. lib.* iv. *Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati & Philopœm.*

a vants, made his escape. *Chilo*, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of *Laconia*, and retired to the *Macedonians* whom he endeavoured to irritate against his country. When things were a little settled, *Lycurgus* was recalled, and reigned in *Sparta* many years. When king *Philip* came into *Peloponnesus* for the second time, and began to transact things there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion, of *Aratus*, *Lycurgus* and the *Lacedæmonians* began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of *Macedon*, notwithstanding all the mischiefs they had sustained; neither were they frighted from this purpose, when they were informed, that the king was become friends again with *Aratus* and his son; wherefore, as soon as the season of the year permitted, they invaded *Messenia*, which
b immediately drew *Philip* that way, upon which *Lycurgus* retired, that he might put his country into a condition to sustain the invasion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king *Philip* took all the precautions possible to hinder his design from being penetrated [c]. He advanced with his army as far as *Amyclæ*, from whence he spoiled all the country round about: In the mean time the *Messenians* invaded *Laconia* on the other side, resolving to march through it and join the *Macedonians*; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the *Spartans* in their present distressed condition, encamped carelessly and without throwing up any intrenchments, *Lycurgus* suddenly attacked them with such success, that he took the greatest part of their horses and baggage, and returned with much honour to *Sparta*.
c As soon as he returned, he made the necessary dispositions for the defence of the city. In the first place, he recovered the posts which the *Macedonians* had seized on the mountains, and then causing the waters of the *Eurotas* to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; so that the *Macedonians*, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coast the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the insults of *Lycurgus* and his *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* perceiving this resolved, first of all to dispossess *Lycurgus* of his posts in the mountains, which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed; however, he retired with his forces at last into the city, which he preserved from any insult; and thus this great king of
d *Macedon*, after having plundered and ravaged *Laconia*, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the ephori, having, or pretending to have, information, that *Lycurgus* intended to make himself absolute, they attempted to surprize and murder him in his house; but he, having previous notice of their design, withdrew into *Ætolia*, and the iniquity of the ephori being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the sword, in possession of the regal authority, or not; neither can we say what steps were taken by the *Spartans* when they lost this king of their own election: If we take him for the last of their princes,
e or if, according to others, we look upon *Cleomenes* in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which, according to the constitution of *Sparta*, could not but be lame, and under them all the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

Machanidas was the successor of *Lycurgus*, but when he attained the sovereignty is very uncertain; the year in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin; by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a person of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the ephori, as not caring
f to have any either equal or greater than himself in *Sparta*; abroad he made all *Peloponnesus* tremble, which in all probability he would have subdued and brought under his own power, if *Philopæmen* the chief of the *Achæans* had not opposed him [d]. He engaged all the cities in that league to furnish troops for reducing the power of *Machanidas* within bounds, which, as he plainly shewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exercising them for some time in slight skirmishes, he marched towards *Mantinea*, in order of battle. Thither also came *Machanidas* at the head of a very powerful army, composed not only of *Spartans*, but of mercenaries; an engagement quickly

Machanidas *assumes the tyranny. Year after the flood*, 2792. *Before Christ*, 207.

[c] Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arati. Liv. Hist. lib. xxxiv.

[d] Polyb. ubi supra. Plut, in vit. Philop.

quickly followed which was very obſtinate, in which at firſt *Machanidas* had the a
better; but he purſuing this advantage too far, *Philopæmen* attacked him in the
rear; however, the *Lacedæmonians* fought deſperately for a time, expecting that *Ma-*
chanidas would come to their relief, which accordingly he did; but *Philopæmen* fore-
ſeeing that he would take the ſhorteſt way, and knowing that there was a ditch
there of which *Machanidas* was ignorant, he left *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan* to puſh
the enemy that were ſtill fighting, and with a ſmall party of horſe advanced to the
ditch to meet *Machanidas*, whom he preſently diſtinguiſhed by his purple robe. The
tyrant, who with two or three friends had out-rode the reſt of his troops, ſeeing that
Philopæmen and his company were but few, reſolved to paſs the ditch; in order to
this he puſhed his horſe directly againſt *Philopæmen*, who turning ſide-ways from him, b
as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his ſpear to bear directly againſt
his breaſt as his horſe leaped, ſo that, juſt as he paſſed the ditch, *Machanidas* fell
down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as ſoon as his death was known his
army fled: The *Achæans* waſted all the provinces which had been ſubject to him,
the *Spartans*, who loſt four thouſand men in this engagement, having neither ſpirits
nor ſtrength to oppoſe them [e].

Nabis *ſucceeds* Machanidas. *Year after the flood*, 2803. *Before Chriſt*, 196.

Not long after the death of *Machanidas*, we find *Sparta* under a new and yet ſeve-
rer bondage under one *Nabis*, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to
have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to *Phalaris* and *Dionyſius* on a compari-
ſon of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps c
many ways of plaguing and puniſhing their ſubjects; but *Nabis* had not only all,
but invented and practiſed ſuch acts of cruelty as were never heard of before, and
have ſunk into oblivion ſince. To all who were honeſt, brave, or noble, he was
an open enemy, ſuch as he could lay his hands on he murthered, ſuch as were not
immediately in his power he baniſhed: But did he ſtop there? no. He ſent ſome
of his *Cretan* aſſaſſins after them where-ever they retired, who watched them ſo nar-
rowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity
to ſlay them. At home he reigned with a diſſimulation, which ſome called wiſdom.
He kept up the ſtate of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed
the functions of a firſt magiſtrate, kept an equal countenance, made uſe of ſmooth d
ſpeeches, entertained numbers of ſpies and ſycophants, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into
all who were not ſo, that they durſt not expreſs their thoughts or their fears. *Poly-*
bius tells us, that he had a painted image which reſembled his wife, and this being
clad in royal robes he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any
Lacedæmonian out of his money; and ſuch was the art with which this image was
contrived, that, by touching certain ſecret ſprings, it catched any who were near it in
its arms, and forced them to ſay any thing the tyrant pleaſed [f]. The diſtreſſed and
dejected ſtate of all *Greece*, which was now mightily divided, weak in its councils,
and weaker ſtill in the execution of them, and with all this mightily over-awed by the
power of the *Macedonian* kings and the *Roman* republic, gave vaſt opportunities to e
the tyrant to increaſe his dominions and to exalt his power. He in the midſt of theſe
confuſions ſeized, under pretence of aſſiſting ſome of the exiled citizens, on *Argos*,
into which he put a garriſon under the command of *Pythagoras* his ſon-in-law, a
man of great abilities, and who was indeed the ſupport of his tyranny. The *Achæans*
immediately applied to the *Romans*, for they began to be affrighted themſelves at
the apprehenſions of the tyrant's growing power. *Titus Quintius* the *Roman* general
arriving in Greece, they quickly made him ſenſible of the miſchiefs that would follow,
if *Nabis* was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of
Peloponneſus under his ſway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the ſea, and
to project ſuch ſchemes as threatened diſturbance even to the *Romans* themſelves. f
Quintius marched immediately into the neighbourhood of *Argos*, and had ſome
thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a riſing was attempted,
which iſſued in the deſtruction of thoſe who were deſirous to be free. After this
he marched towards *Lacedæmon* itſelf, at which *Nabis* was exceedingly troubled; he
ordered, however, a general aſſembly of the people to be held without the city, whither
as ſoon as they were come, he ſurrounded them with his troops; then he made a
ſhort ſpeech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all
tyrants to call themſelves and their private concerns the intereſt of their country; he
then

[e] Plutarch. in vit. Philopœmen. Polyb. Fragment. lib. vii. [f] Id. Fragm. lib. xiii.

a then magnified the great pains he had taken in ſecuring all the poſts and avenues of *Sparta*, concluded, that ſince without ſpeaking he had done ſo much for their ſervice, they ought not now he did ſpeak to grudge doing ſomewhat for him, the rather, becauſe what he ſought concerned likewiſe their own ſafety; ſome there were amongſt them, he ſaid, who had given him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their conduct, theſe therefore he was determined to ſeize and impriſon, till, the preſent danger being over, he might, which he greatly wiſhed, reſtore them again to liberty conſiſtent with his own and the publick ſafety: Having made this goodly harangue, he cauſed fourſcore perſons of worth and honour to be arreſted, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement, and that ſame night he cauſed them all to be murdered in priſon; a little b afterwards, growing jealous of the *Helotes*, he ſeized a great number of them, cauſed them to be ſcourged in the ſtreets, till the kennels were diſcoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the *Romans* about to beſiege him, he reſolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king *Antiochus* was meditating new ſtirs, and from thence concluded, that *Quintius* would be glad to come to ſome agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that great man, having nothing ſo much in view as the intereſt of *Rome*, readily agreed to meet him and hear his propoſals: *Nabis* at this interview made a long and well-compoſed oration, to which *Quintius* made him but an indifferent return, yet promiſed to ſend him certain articles in writing; and thus this conference ended. c The allies laboured hard to engage *Quintius* not to treat any more, king *Eumenes*, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpoſe, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him; *Ageſipolis* king of *Sparta*, who with many other illuſtrious exiles waited on *Quintius*, inſiſted, that it would be unworthy of the *Roman* name to enter into treaty with ſo execrable a perſon; the *Achæans* were of the ſame ſentiments, yet *Quintius* remained firm to his own; he ſaw clearly that they regarded their own intereſts, and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but thoſe of *Rome*; acting therefore on this motive, he ſent *Nabis*, as he had promiſed, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace, and thoſe terms were theſe: That he ſhould withdraw all his gariſons from *Argos* and its ter- d ritories: that he ſhould deliver up all the ſhips of war he had taken, and of all his fleet ſhould retain no more than two galliots: That he ſhould deliver up ſuch as had fled to him from the *Roman* allies, and make reſtitution to the *Meſſenians* for plundering their territories: That he ſhould reſtore to the *Lacædemonian* exiles their wives and children: That he ſhould build neither caſtle nor city in his own territories nor in thoſe of his neighbours: That he ſhould give five ſuch hoſtages as the general would chuſe, and among them his own ſon: That he ſhould pay down a hundred talents, and that he ſhould continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together. *Nabis* diſliked theſe conditions, and found means to make all the *Lacedæmonians* diſlike them, ſo that they determined to make an obſtinate defence; e *Quintius*, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thouſand men, reſolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did ſeveral times, but was as often repulſed. At laſt he penetrated into the city, and his ſoldiers beginning to take poſt in the firſt long ſtreet, *Nabis* thought of nothing but making his eſcape; yet *Pythagoras* delivered him from this danger, by ſetting the ſtreet on fire at each end, and engaging the *Lacedæmonians*, who were yet fighting in front, to ſupply the riſing flames with fuel. The *Roman* ſoldiers were forced again to withdraw, but *Nabis* was ſo thoroughly frightened, that with much ado he procured peace on the terms before ſpecified, which was hardly concluded before advice came, that the *Argives* had delivered themſelves by expelling his gari- f ſons. When *Nabis* was free from the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, he began to caſt about in his mind how he might extricate himſelf from the miſchiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of loſing at once thoſe dominions, which he had been ſo long and with ſo much pains acquiring. He was eſpecially irritated at beholding himſelf without a ſea-port, and little ſet by amongſt his neighbours; he therefore began to treat privately with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* for creating new diſturbances in *Peloponneſus*, and having received from them great promiſes, he began to act offenſively againſt the *Achæans* and their allies. *Gythium* the ſea-port of *Sparta* he beſieged and recovered; but after that and a ſlight victory at ſea, which he obtained againſt *Philopœmen*, he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general in himſelf, than any fault in his ſoldiers. *Philo-*

pæmen, though he could not hinder the taking of *Gythium*, yet resolved to terrify a
the tyrant by marching directly towards *Lacedæmon*, which had the consequence he
expected and desired, since *Nabis* drew his forces together, and led them with the
utmost diligence to the relief of his capital; by this forced march he fronted the
Achæan army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant seizing on this occasion a very
strong camp, where *Philopæmen* intended to have lain that night. This great general,
perceiving that his first design was rendered abortive, immediately formed a second,
and, since he could not spoil *Sparta*, resolved to content himself with destroying an
army every way superior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet,
from which both the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* were to fetch water; but it was
considerably nearer to the former than to the latter. *Philopæmen* therefore sent a b
great detachment to take post privately in a copse which bordered on the river;
when the troops of *Nabis* came to water their horses and to fill their vessels for the
camp, this detatchment suddenly attacked them and cut many of the light-armed
soldiers in pieces. About the same time he sent one of his auxiliary soldiers as a
deserter to *Nabis*, with instructions to give him information, that the *Achæans* designed
to move in the night, in order to get between him and *Lacedæmon*. The tyrant,
affrighted at this news, as soon as it was thoroughly dark, quitted a camp which
Philopæmen could never have forced, and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in
his intrenchments, marched with all the troops he could towards *Sparta*. *Philo-*
pæmen foreseeing this attacked his camp as soon as he was out of it, and so harassed c
his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that *Nabis* found himself constrained
to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. *Philo-*
pæmen in this space recalling his light-armed forces, he left them in the camp which
he had taken, and, with his troops that were still fresh, marched with great secrecy,
and seized the passes which led to *Lacedæmon*, not doubting, but at the approach
of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had
seized the avenues the forces of *Nabis* were in a manner at his mercy, and he used
his advantage so well, that the tyrant with a very small part of his army got into
the city, covered with disgrace, and unable to hinder *Philopæmen* from spoiling the
country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving *Nabis* much dejected d
and with small forces to continue the war. His recovery of *Gythium* furnished him
at present with little comfort, for the enemy being master of all the country, he could
scarcely hold any correspondence therewith; besides, his navy was very inconsiderable,
and he had every day repeated advice that the *Romans* intended suddenly to send a
new army into *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* themselves appeared dissatisfied, which
made him afraid to lead his soldiers without the city; and pent up within it they
were scarce of any use. In the midst of these distresses and distractions, he placed
all his hopes in the *Ætolians*, who had indeed done a great deal of mischief in
Greece, and had been strongly instrumental in drawing him into this war. To
these he dispatched courier after courier, not with the haughty command of a tyrant, e
but with the humble supplications of a distressed ally; he reminded them, that for
their sakes only he had so precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none else
cared to own them for allies; he shewed them truly the nature of his distress, hoping
that it would make their relief the quicker and more effectual; but it produced quite
a contrary effect, the *Ætolians* being fit confederates for such a tyrant. As soon as
they had given audience to his messengers, they dispatched them with large assu-
rances of ready assistance, while in the mean time they consulted what for their
interest would be fittest to be done; the result of their consultations was, that in
the days of his prosperity, and when he had a strong army of mercenaries at his
command, *Nabis* was their good ally, and deserved all possible regard; but in the f
present situation of things, when his forces were in a manner cut off, and he scarce
able to maintain himself in *Sparta*, 'twould better serve their purposes to remove
him out of the way and take the city to themselves. This counsel taken and ap-
proved, a thousand foot and thirty horse were chosen to march to *Lacedæmon*
under the command of *Alexamenus*. When they were ready to depart, the horsemen
were sent for into the great council, where they received the following short and
pithy instructions, that they were not sent to assist *Nabis* to make war upon the
Achæans, or for any other purpose whatsoever, than to obey *Alexamenus*, and to do
what he directed let it be what it would. Thus dismissed, they marched under the
command of that general to *Sparta*, where they found *Nabis* very little satisfied
with

a with ſo ſmall a reinforcement. *Alexamenus* did all he could to encourage him, he told him, the *Ætolians* by ſending him intended no more than to give him a ſpecimen of their good will, inſtructing him alſo to inform him, that if his neceſſities required it, they would, whenever he requeſted it, march with the utmoſt forces they could raiſe to his relief; he likewiſe informed him, that *Antiochus* was reſolved to make war on the *Romans*, and intended to cover *Greece* with his armies and the ſea with his ſhips; that many of the *Greek* ſtates were inclined to his party, and that the *Ætolians* were about to muſter all their troops before the king's commiſſioners ſhortly, which was the reaſon why they ſent ſo few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by theſe conſolatory ſpeeches, began, by the advice of *Alexamenus*, to exerciſe his forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage and the *Achæans*
b apprehenſions. At theſe exerciſes the *Ætolian* general failed not to aſſiſt; his guard of horſe keeping, according to his order, aloof, and he ſometimes riding up to them as if it were to give them orders. Theſe growing at laſt into daily practices, the *Lacedæmonians* ſinking again into a timorous obedience, *Nabis* entertained freſh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himſelf upon the *Romans* for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The *Spartan* guards, which *Alexamenus* looked upon as the beſt corps in the tyrant's army, he adviſed to be poſted, phalanx-wiſe, beyond the reſt, offering ſuch plauſible reaſons, that *Nabis* readily yielded to it, which was the only ſtep wanting to his ruin. When the day came whereon *Alexamenus* reſolved to execute his great and deſperate deſign, he behaved towards
c *Nabis* with more than ordinary complaiſance; he commended the appearance and diſcipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promiſed him the ſupremacy in *Peloponneſus*, and perceiving that his complaiſance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant teſtifying by his looks and geſtures the higheſt ſatisfaction, *Alexamenus* ſuddenly wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of *Ætolians*, bid them remember the inſtructions they had received when they were firſt choſen for this ſervice. Having ſaid this, he turned the head of his horſe, and rode with a full career againſt *Nabis* whom he overthrew, and his *Ætolians*, riding immediately after him, one after another buried their ſpears in the boſom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of
d what paſt till he was dead, and then, not knowing for whom he fought, they forbore fighting at all. The reſt of the *Lacedæmonians* looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy that the tyrant was dead, who had ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſt them, terror at beholding ſo ſtrange an accident; the reaſons of which they knew not, and of its conſequences were therefore afraid. *Alexamenus* and his *Ætolians*, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace and rifling all his treaſures; the ſoldiers ſhortly after followed his example, ſo that in a ſhort time the *Lacedæmonians* looked on the murder of *Nabis* as their misfortune; but conſidering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous *Sparta* to look on and ſee their riches carried away by foreigners,
e they without much ado took a child whoſe name was *Laconicus*, and who on account of his being deſcended from the royal family was bred up by *Nabis*; him they ſet on horſeback, and gathering about him, they ſurrounded many of the *Ætolians* and put them to the ſword, after a while they broke into the palace, where they ſlew *Alexamenus* and thoſe who were with him; they forced likewiſe a temple of *Diana* to which many of the *Ætolians* were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the ſword. When they were in the midſt of this confuſion, of which none had projected any iſſue, *Philopœmen* arrived, ſome friends of his having poſted to him with the account of the death of *Nabis*; the forces he had were few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of ſeizing the city; on the contrary he did
f what *Alexamenus* ought to have done, that is, he convinced the *Lacedæmonians* of the madneſs of their proceedings, and engaged them, ſince they had ſo happily recovered their freedom, to unite themſelves to the *Achæans*, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the *Ætolians* expected from their treachery.

It may indeed ſeem ſtrange, that the *Spartans*, who had entertained ſuch generous notions of liberty, ſubmitted patiently for ſo long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawleſs tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great meaſure taken off, if we conſider two things; *Firſt*, That the manners of the *Lacedæmonians* were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very baſis of ſlavery; there can be no ſuch thing as bending the necks of virtuous people; but when once men are abandoned to their vices and become ſlaves to their paſſions, they readily ſtoop to thoſe who

can

can gratify them; and this was the case of the majority of the inhabitants of *Sparta* at this time. *Secondly*, those amongst them who were distinguished by their merit and their morals were on this very account proscribed by the tyrants and hated by their creatures; so that they were forced to forsake their country and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to resist. To this we may add, that such as were of mild dispositions flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing better times, and even in these consoled themselves with the thought, that *Sparta* yet retained her independency, and was not subjected to any other state [g] (Y). a

[g] Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Plutarch. in vit. Philop. Justin. lib. xxx. c. 4. lib. xxxi. c. 1, 2.

(Y) There is a point or two in the *Lacedæmonian* history, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be considered more largely. *Aratus* undoubtedly intended the preservation of the *Grecian* liberty, especially from the *Macedonian* power, but at the same time he as certainly intended to engage all the *Peloponnesian* states in the *Achæan* league, which was absolutely inconsistent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this account it was that he hated and made war upon all the little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he stiled tyrants and persecuted as such, as the *Achæans* continued ever after to do. If *Sparta* had acceded to the *Achæan* league, it is very possible, that *Greece* might have vindicated its freedom, for some time at least, against both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*; but *Sparta* had been too long at the head of *Peloponnesus* to think of changing her government at the first motion of *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, and therefore gladly accepted the proposal of *Cleomenes* to restore her antient form of government, and with it her antient lustre (75.) *Aratus*, seeing that this would intirely overturn his scheme, immediately called *Cleomenes* tyrant, and as such would have pulled him down. While the *Spartans*, and those who sided with the *Spartans*, acknowledged him the vindicator of the antient *Grecian* liberty, one who desired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preserve kingly government in *Sparta*. It is true, that *Machanidas* and *Nabis* pretended to carry on the same design, the latter actually dividing the lands as *Cleomenes* had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing of themselves and their families, and the supporting of a dominion unlawfully maintained, which was far from being his case (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly stated these matters, will clearly appear from the subsequent history of the *Achæans*, wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the *Lacedæmonians*, till their manners were wholly changed and the *Lycurgic* institutions rooted out by force. Now whether such proceedings as these of ruining a constitution that did not suit with their league, or *Cleomenes*'s schemes for supporting every state in its pristine form, ought with greatest justice to be stiled a desire of bestowing liberty on *Greece*, the reader must determine.

(75) *Polyb. Hist. lib.* iv. *Plutarch. in vit. Arati.* (76) *Tit. Liv. lib.* xxxiv.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The History of the several states of Greece, *from the beginning of the* Achæan *league to its dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present time.*

SECT. I.

The History of Achaia.

a ALL *Greece*, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. *Achaia*, *Ætolia*, and *Athens*. There were, 'tis true, at this time several other republics in *Greece*; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of *Achaia*, by far the most considerable republic of *Greece* in its declining times; after having premised, that the name of *Achaia* was used by the ancients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended
b all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call *Greece*; that is, *Attica*, *Megaris*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, the territory of *Thebes*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*. In after-ages it was confined to that country in *Peloponnesus* which was possessed by the *Achæans*, and extended along the bay of *Corinth* and the *Ionian* sea, from the confines of *Sicyon* to the territory of *Elis*. In the *Roman* times the name of *Achaia* comprised not only all *Peloponnesus*, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the *Achæan* league; upon the dissolution of which all *Greece* was by a decree of the *Roman* senate divided into two provinces, *viz.* that of *Macedonia*, containing *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and that of *Achaia*, which took in all the other states of *Greece*. We have already described the coun-
c try [a], and shall therefore now proceed to the history of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidst innumerable tyrants, but restored most of the *Greek* cities to their ancient freedom.

Achaia, a state originally of small account, rose by degrees to such a height of reputation and prosperity, as to rival and even eclipse the most powerful states of *Greece*. This great increase of power was not owing either to the vast numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but solely to its wholesome laws and happy constitution. For the *Achæans*, after having shaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themselves, on the plan of a democracy, a new system of government, which, obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their small
d republic, united them into one body, and at the same time left them in full possession of their respective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the *Achæans* were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the same laws, but moreover had the same money, weights, and measures, the same magistrates, council, and judges, and in short every thing so uniform, that all *Achaia* seemed but one city. This invited many of the *Peloponnesians* to embrace their form of government and accede to the *Achæan* alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this institution reaped no advantage by their accession; for no sooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges with the rest. Neither was the fame of their wise laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of *Peloponnesus*, but even reached

[a] Universal History, Vol. II. p 414, 415.

reached the *Greek* colonies in *Italy*, where the *Crotoniates*, the *Sybarites*, and the a
Cauloniates, agreed to adopt the *Achæan* laws and govern their ſtates conformably [a] (A). The *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* had ſuch an eſteem of their impartial juſtice and equity, that they choſe them after the famous battle of *Leuctra* to compoſe ſome differences that were ſtill ſubſiſting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author obſerves [b], to refer their differences to the arbitration of the *Achæans* by any argument of their greatneſs or power, there being no ſtate at that time in all *Greece* that was not ſuperior to them in both theſe reſpects, but merely in conſideration of their juſtice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

THIS form of government continued from the expulſion of *Gyges* the laſt king of b
Achaia to the time of *Alexander the Great*, upon whoſe death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inſeparable from diſcord. The ſpirit of patriotiſm no longer prevailed among them, each city purſuing their private intereſt to the prejudice and deſtruction of their neighbours. As theſe diſſenſions and emulations were artificially ſown and carefully fomented by the *Macedonian* princes, ſo they failed not to take their advantage of them; for *Demetrius*, *Caſſander*, and *Antigonus Gonatus*, ſeizing on ſome of their cities, obliged them to receive the *Macedonian* yoke. In this unhappy ſituation they changed maſters as often as *Macedon* did ſovereigns, and were moreover enſlaved by tyrants of their own, who as they eſpouſed the *Macedonian* intereſt, ſo they were ſupported with the whole ſtrength c
of that kingdom [c].

The Achæan *league revived. Year of the flood 2723. Before Chriſt 280.*

THE *Achæans*, accuſtomed to live according to their own laws and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook ſo ſlaviſh a ſubjection, and therefore in the 124th olympiad, which was coincident with the expedition of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, they began to revive their ancient union and return to their former aſſociation. The inhabitants of *Patra* and *Dyma* gave the firſt example of this happy change. Five years after thoſe of *Ægium*, having driven out the *Macedonian* gariſon, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of *Bura* followed their example, having firſt killed their prince or tyrant; and ſoon after thoſe of *Ceraunia* incorporated their city into the ſame *Achæan* body, *Iſeas* their tyrant reſigning the dominion, upon promiſe of d
indemnity for what was paſſed [d].

THE cities we have mentioned were the firſt that revived the ancient aſſociation, continuing for the ſpace of twenty-five years to maintain the ſame form of government without being joined by any others. But at laſt the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a ſincere zeal for juſtice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew ſeveral neighbouring cities to join them. *Sicyon* was one of the firſt that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by *Aratus* (B) the *Sicyonian*, who at the age of twenty

[a] POLYB. lib. ii. PAUSAN. in Achaic. [b] POLYB. ibid. [c] POLYB & PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [d] Idem, ibid.

(A) *Polybius* tells (1) us, that great diſturbances ariſing among the *Greek* cities in that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græcia*, embaſſadors were diſpatched to them from all parts of *Greece*; but that the council only of the *Achæans* was choſen to cure thoſe great evils and compoſe the diſſenſions; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that all thoſe cities by common conſent agreed to imitate them, and to form themſelves according to the example of the *Achæan* republic. Whereupon uniting in one body they built a temple to *Jupiter Homorius*, appointing that place for the congreſs of their general aſſemblies.

(B) *Aratus*, a native of *Sicyon*, played on this occaſion a noble part on the ſtage of action, which rendered his name famous all over *Greece*. *Sicyon*, having long mourned under the yoke of her domeſtic tyrants, attempted to ſhake it off by devolving the power on *Clinias*, the father of *Aratus* and one of her beſt citizens. The government began to flouriſh and aſſume a new form under his wiſe conduct, when *Abantidas* found means to diſconcert his meaſures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed *Clinias*, and with him all thoſe who ſtood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewiſe deſtroyed *Aratus*, who was then but ſeven years old, had not the infant eſcaped with ſome others amidſt the diſorders and confuſion that filled the houſe when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmoſt conſternation and diſtreſs, he accidentally entered the houſe of the tyrant's ſiſter, with a deſign to conceal himſelf there till the tumult was over, for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's ſiſter, being perſuaded that this deſtitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulſe of ſome deity, cauſed him the enſuing night to be ſecretly conveyed to *Argos*, where he was educated with the utmoſt care by ſome hoſpitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had paſſed through ſeveral hands, when *Aratus*, being come to man's eſtate, began to entertain thoughts of reſcuing his country from the oppreſſion it groaned under. He was greatly reſpected both for his birth and the many excellent

(1) *Polyb. lib.* ii.

a twenty years reſcued his country from tyranny and reſtored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the *Achæan* league, he took by ſurprize *Acro-Corinth* (C), and alſo the city of *Megara*,

excellent qualities which he began already to diſplay on ſeveral occaſions. The *Sicyonian* exiles, diſcovering in him an early averſion to tyrants, began to caſt their eyes upon him, as a perſon deſtined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For *Aratus* had ſcarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy againſt *Nicocles*, who was tyrant of *Sicyon* at that time, and purſued his meaſures with ſo much prudence and ſecrecy, that, notwithſtanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he ſcaled the walls of *Sicyon* and entered the city by night, before *Nicocles* had any notice or even ſuſpicion of his deſign. However, he had the good luck to make his eſcape, leaving *Aratus* in poſſeſſion of the city. The next morning the people being aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what had been tranſacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice, that *Aratus the ſon of* Clinias *invited the citizens to reſume their ancient liberty*. Theſe joyful words were no ſooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated ſhouts and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was *Sicyon* delivered from its tyrants without the loſs of one ſingle man on either ſide; for *Aratus* commanded his followers to abſtain from ſlaughter, ſaying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumſtance gave him no leſs joy than the action itſelf.

Sicyon began then to recover its ancient ſplendor; but *Aratus* was not yet quite eaſed from his inquietude and perplexity. *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* had ſupported and protected *Nicocles*, and was ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to make himſelf maſter of the city, or eſtabliſh in it ſome other tyrant: ſeeds of ſedition were artfully ſown among the citizens by his partizans and emiſſaries; and *Aratus* was extremely apprehenſive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the ſafeſt and moſt prudent conduct in ſo delicate a juncture would be to unite *Sicyon* in the *Achæan* league, which he did accordingly, ſtrengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himſelf among the cavalry for the ſervice of that ſtate (2).

(C) The iſthmus of *Corinth* unites the continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponneſus*. The citadel of *Corinth*, known by the name of *Acro-Corinth*, was ſituated on a high mountain between thoſe two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land; ſo that this fortreſs cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the iſthmus, and can awe, if well gariſoned, all *Greece*; for which reaſon *Philip* of *Macedon* uſed to call it the fetters of *Greece*.

This fortreſs *Antigonus* had taken by ſurprize, with a deſign to enſlave all *Peloponneſus*; but *Aratus* wreſted it out of his hand by an action equal, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, to the moſt celebrated enterprizes of the ancient heroes of *Greece*. After he had been long meditating with himſelf by what means he might gain that important place, he was by accident furniſhed with an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign.

One *Erginus*, an inhabitant of *Corinth*, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of *Sicyon*, who was a particular friend of *Aratus*. As the citadel happened one day to be the ſubject of their converſation, *Erginus* told his friend, that in going to viſit his brother, who was a ſoldier of the gariſon, he had obſerved a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortreſs was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, aſked his friend with a ſmile, whether he and his brother were deſirous to make their fortunes. *Erginus* underſtood him, and promiſed to ſound his brother, by name *Diocles*, on that head. A few days after he returned to *Sicyon*, and engaged with the banker to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high, adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. *Aratus* promiſed on his part to reward them with ſixty talents if the affair ſhould ſucceed; but as he was not maſter of ſuch a ſum, and the borrowing it might create ſuſpicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a ſecurity for the promiſed reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and ſurmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was ſufficient to diſcourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to paſs the night under arms. He then ſelected four hundred men, furniſhed them with ſcaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a ſteep rock within the city. They ſcaled the walls without being obſerved, *Erginus* having, with the aſſiſtance of his brother and ſome others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great ſilence through the city, they met with a ſmall guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who making his eſcape alarmed the city. But *Aratus*, notwithſtanding the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortreſs ſtood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But miſſing the path that was ſtruck out of the rock, by reaſon of a thick fog which roſe from the ſea at their firſt entering the city, *Aratus* was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the ſtreets, and even the ramparts, blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets ſounded to arms on all ſides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog all on a ſudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to ſhine with the ſame brightneſs as before, diſcovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldeſt men, and arrived with much ado at the ſpot which had been deſcribed to him. But he found the gariſon, which was by this time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately diſpatched *Erginus* to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While theſe were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a cloſe body, *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of king *Antigonus*, appeared at the head of a conſiderable band with a deſign to mount the hill and attack *Aratus* in the rear. The three hundred *Sicyonians* at his approach concealed themſelves among the rocks; but he was no ſooner paſt than they ſtarted out, and fell upon him with ſuch reſolution, that he was ſoon put to the rout. This action was ſcarce over when *Erginus* arrived, and acquainted them, that *Aratus* was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate aſſiſtance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by *Erginus*, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

Megara, from the *Macedonians*, uniting them both to the *Achæans*. The cities a of *Træzene*, *Epidaurus*, and *Megalopolis*, were likewiſe prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary reſignation of the authority they had uſurped over their fellow-citizens [c]. The tyrants of the *Argives*, of the *Hermionians*, and the *Phliaſians*, following their example, were likewiſe received into the alliance.

As theſe glorious ſucceſſes raiſed the reputation of the *Achæan* league, ſo they created no ſmall jealouſy in the neighbouring ſtates. But before we proceed to the wars which they were ſoon involved in by their jealous and reſtleſs neighbours, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of their happy conſtitution. All the cities ſubject b to the *Achæan* league were governed by the great council or general aſſembly of the whole nation. To this aſſembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to ſend a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their reſpective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no reſolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the intereſts of each particular city ſo conſulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the ſupreme and legiſlative power was lodged in the aſſembly, it was conſtantly convened twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn; but ſeldom out of theſe ſtated times, unleſs upon ſome very urgent occaſion. In theſe meetings they enacted laws, diſpoſed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, *&c.* If any city of the league did not acquieſce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, c or refuſed to furniſh their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magiſtrate of the whole league, called by the *Greeks Strategos*, and by the *Latins Prætor*, was choſen in the general aſſembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the *prætor*'s province to preſide in the diet and command the army. They choſe at firſt two *prætors*, but it was ſoon thought adviſeable to reduce them to one; and the firſt who enjoyed that dignity alone was *Marcus* the *Carian*, who was ſucceeded by the famous *Aratus*. The *prætor* and other magiſtrates were appointed in the vernal aſſemblies, and ſeldom continued two years ſucceſſively in the ſame employment. The former was veſted with great power, eſpecially in time of war; but at the ſame d time liable to be called to an account by the general aſſembly, and puniſhed without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of miſdemeanor or any other crime. The *demiurgi* were next in power to the *prætor*, and therefore ſtiled by *Polybius* and *Livy* the ſupreme magiſtrates of the *Achæans*. They were ten in number, choſen by the general aſſembly from among the moſt eminent men of the whole league for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to aſſiſt with their advice the *prætor*, who was to lay nothing before the aſſembly but what had been previouſly approved of by the major part of the *demiurgi*. In the *prætor*'s abſence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and in ſome extraordinary e caſes they were even impowered to ſummon the general aſſembly out of the ſtated times.

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the ancients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiouſly obſerved while the republic continued in a flouriſhing condition. 1. That an extraordinary aſſembly was not to be ſummoned at the requeſt of foreign embaſſadors, unleſs they firſt notified in writing to the *prætor* and *demiurgi* the ſubject of their embaſſy. 2. That no city ſubject to the league ſhould ſend any embaſſy to a foreign prince or ſtate, without the conſent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the aſſembly ſhould accept of preſents from foreign princes under any pretence what-

[c] Polyb. ibid. Plut. in Arato.

their approach with loud ſhouts to animate their friends, and ſtrike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their ſhouts, doubled by the ecchoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight ſilence, made them appear far more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint reſiſtance from the wall, and left *Aratus* abſolute maſter of the citadel. In the mean time the reſt of the troops arriving from *Sicyon* were not only received with open arms, but but aſſiſted by the *Corinthians* in ſeizing all the *Macedonians* that were in the city.

Aratus having ſecured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having aſſembled the people in the theatre acquainted them in a long diſcourſe with the particulars of the *Achæan* league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimouſly agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon *Aratus* reſtored to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power ſince the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander* (2).

(2) *Plut. in Arat.*

a whatſoever. 4. That no prince, ſtate, or city ſhould be admitted into the league without the conſent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general aſſembly ſhould never ſit above three days. Theſe laws have been explained at length and illuſtrated with many uſeful obſervations by a modern writer of no mean character e, to whom we refer the reader and reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

THE *Ætolians*, conceiving no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power and extraordinary ſucceſs of the *Achæans*, began to inſtil the ſame into the neighbouring ſtates, with a view of breaking the union of thoſe cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The ſenſe of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendſhip of the *Achæans*, during their war with b *Antigonus*, with-held them from openly declaring war againſt their benefactors. However, they left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the *Lacedæmonians*, and engage their king *Cleomenes* in a war againſt the *Achæans*; wherein they ſucceeded to their wiſh; for *Cleomenes* at their inſtigation having built a fortreſs in the territory of the *Megalopolitans* called *Athenæum*, the *Achæans* interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general aſſembly, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould be reputed enemies f. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the *Cleomenic* war (C).

THIS declaration of the *Achæan* confederacy was no ſooner heard at *Sparta*, but the *Ephori* commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of *Cleomenes*, who, coming up with the *Achæans* near *Pallantium*, offered them battle. But *Aratus* c declaring againſt an engagement, *Ariſtomachus* the *Achæan* general made a retreat, which drew ſevere reproaches upon *Aratus*, both from his own countrymen and from the enemy, whoſe army did not amount to five thouſand men in the whole; whereas that of the *Achæans* conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe g. Not long after the two armies met again, when the *Achæans* were defeated; but *Aratus*, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched ſtrait to *Mantinæa*, and, before the enemy could have any ſuſpicion of his deſign, made himſelf maſter of that important place. This advantage was ſoon counter-ballanced by the loſs of another battle, wherein great numbers of the *Achæans* were ſlain with *Lyſiades* their general, while they were purſuing with too much eagerneſs and in diſorder the d *Lacedæmonians*, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory *Cleomenes* advanced into the territories of *Megalopolis*, where his troops committed great devaſtations, and got a very conſiderable booty. To theſe ravages he added inſults, cauſing public games and plays to be exhibited in the ſight of the enemy, not that he had any ſatisfaction in ſuch ſhews and diverſions, but only with a view to convince the *Achæans*, that he entirely deſpiſed them, and was ſure of victory, having to deal with ſo contemptible a foe h.

The Cleomenic *war.* *Year of the flood* 2771. *Before Chriſt* 232.

THE *Achæans*, now reduced to the laſt extremity and under apprehenſion of being enſlaved by the *Lacedæmonians*, eſpecially if they ſhould be joined by the *Ætolians*, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain e thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But *Aratus*, dreading the conſequence of a treaty ſet on foot between his diſpirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, uſed his utmoſt efforts to divert them from it, and at the ſame time had recourſe to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* in this war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, which opened a way to the *Macedonians* into *Greece*.

Aratus

e MARTINI SHOOCKII. Reſpub. Achæor. & Veient. f Idem, ibid. g PLUT. in Cleom. h PLUT. ibid.

(C) *Plutarch* (2) relates the occaſion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Cleomenes*, not being able to brook the authority of the *Ephori*, who engroſſed all the power to themſelves, leaving him only the empty title of king, reſolved to change the form of government; and as he was ſenſible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accompliſhment of his deſign would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the *Achæans*, who luckily for his purpoſe had given *Sparta* ſome occaſions of complaint; for *Aratus*, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the *Arcadians*, who had eſpouſed the party of the *Lacedæmonians*, to abandon them and enter into the *Achæan* league, entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity *Cleomenes* laid hold of, and taking the field treated the *Achæans* as they had done the *Arcadians*. According to this account the *Achæans*, and not the *Lacedæmonians*, were the aggreſſors.

(2) *Plut. in Cleom.*

The Achæans *invite* Antigonus *into* Greece. *Year of the flood* 2776. *Before Christ* 227.

Aratus knew, that *Antigonus* had great cauſe to be diſſatisfied with his former pro- a
ceedings; but he was likewiſe ſenſible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but meaſure amities and enmities by the rules of intereſt. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would oppoſe it, and that the *Achæans* themſelves would have reaſon to deſpair, if they ſhould ſee their general applying to their enemy. He therefore reſolved to proſecute his purpoſe with ſuch caution as to leave no room for ſuſpicion, and to carry on his meaſures ſo as to keep them undiſcovered. He was not ignorant, that the *Megalopolitans*, by their neighbourhood to the *Lacedæmonians*, were moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemies, and conſequently, as they were greatly inclined to the houſe of *Macedon*, for the many favours they had received at the hand of *Philip* b
ſon of *Amyntas*, they would reſort for ſuccour to *Antigonus* and the *Macedonians*. Having therefore gained over to his ſcheme *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas*, two principal citizens of *Megalopolis* and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought it ſo about, that the *Megalopolitans* decreed to ſend embaſſadors to the aſſembly of the *Achæans*, begging leave to ſollicit ſuccours from *Antigonus*. *Nicophanes* and *Cercidas* were themſelves ſent to the *Achæans* with orders to proceed to *Antigonus* if they approved the propoſition. The general aſſembly, having given audience to the embaſſadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual ſuccours by reaſon of their own great ſtraits, aſſented to their propoſal, and granted them leave to purſue their orders. When they received audience c
of *Antigonus*, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, purſuant to the inſtructions of *Aratus*, on the imminent danger to which the king himſelf would be expoſed, ſhould the alliance, which was then talked of between the *Ætolians* and *Cleomenes*, take place. They repreſented to him, that, if the united forces of thoſe two ſtates ſhould gain over the *Achæans* the advantages they expected, the ambition of *Cleomenes* and the *Ætolians* would never be ſatisfied with the ſingle conqueſt of *Peloponneſus*, but would aſpire to the empire of all *Greece*, which they could not compaſs without firſt deſtroying the *Macedonian* monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the ſafeſt counſel for him to take; whether to ſuccour the *Achæans* in oppoſition to *Cleomenes* and defeat his ambitious deſigns, or, by neglecting the occaſion of gaining the friendſhip of ſo great a people, become liable at laſt to ſuſtain a war in *Theſſaly* for the empire of *Macedon*, not only with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*, but with the *Achæans* themſelves. To theſe remonſtrances they added, that, if the *Ætolians* continued their neutrality, the *Achæans* would be capable of ſupporting themſelves with their own forces; but, if on the other hand the *Ætolians* ſhould join the enemy, they muſt then intreat him to prevent with timely ſuccours the ruin of *Peloponneſus*, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to himſelf. They likewiſe took care to inſinuate, that *Aratus* would give ſuch ſecurity for his fair proceeding and ſincere intentions as ſhould be pleaſing to both parties, and that he himſelf would take upon him to demand aſſiſtance when he e
ſhould think it needful.

Antigonus highly approved all theſe repreſentations, and with great pleaſure laid hold of the opportunity of engaging in the affairs of *Greece*. He likewiſe wrote an obliging letter to the *Megalopolitans*, aſſuring them of his aſſiſtance whenſoever the *Achæans* ſhould think fit to call for it. The embaſſadors having acquainted *Aratus* with the good diſpoſition wherein they found *Antigonus* towards the *Achæans*, he was not a little pleaſed to find his project ſucceed ſo well. He wiſhed indeed to have had no occaſion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though neceſſity obliged him to have recourſe to that prince, yet, to ſhun the blame that might redound upon the authors of ſuch meaſures, he f
took care they ſhould appear as concerted by the *Achæans* without his privity. The *Megalopolitans* having acquainted the *Achæans* with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of *Macedon*, and ſent the letter of *Antigonus* to be read in the general aſſembly, moſt of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into *Peloponneſus* without further delay. But *Aratus* ſtanding up made a long ſpeech, exhorting them to try firſt, whether they could ſupport themſelves with their own forces; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune ſhould declare againſt them, it would then be time enough to have recourſe to their friends. His

advice

a advice was approved by the whole assembly, and it was then concluded, that the *Achæans* should employ their own forces only in the prosecution of the war [i].

THE war proved very unsuccessful for the *Achæans*, who, being often worsted by *Cleomenes*, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their strong holds. Neither were these able to stop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign took the cities of *Caphyes*, *Pellene*, *Pheneus*, *Phliunte*, *Cleonæ*, *Epidaurus*, *Hermione*, and *Corinth* itself. These successes allowed the *Achæans* no further time to deliberate; and accordingly, *Aratus*, at their entreaties, dispatched his son to *Antigonus*, inviting that prince to come with all speed to their assistance, and assuring him that, on his arrival, *Acro-Corinth* should be put into his hands. *Antigonus* immediately
b began his march towards *Peloponnesus*, at the head of twenty-thousand foot and fourteen hundred horse, and arriving at the isthmus encamped just opposite to *Cleomenes*, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole space between *Acro-Corinth* and the *Onion* hills. As *Antigonus* did not think it adviseable, nor even practicable, to force his way through, and on the other hand had not a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist his army till the *Achæans* joined him, he was preparing to decamp, and transport his troops by sea to *Sicyon*. But in the mean time a messenger arriving at the camp acquainted *Aratus*, who was come to meet *Antigonus*, that the inhabitants of *Argos* had revolted from *Cleomenes*, and were then besieging the citadel. Whereupon *Aratus*, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to sea, and
c arriving at *Epidaurus* marched from thence to *Argos*, and made himself master both of the city and castle, after having defeated in a skirmish the partizans of *Cleomenes*, and killed *Megistones* who had been detached from the army to their relief [k]. This success proved of great consequence to the *Achæans*, and first of all gave rise to the prosperity of the allies; for *Cleomenes*, hearing that *Argos* was taken, and being apprehensive that the enemies would surround him, abandoned his lines and retired with great precipitation, first to *Argos*, and then to *Mantinea*. He appeared before *Argos* quite unexpected, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of *Aratus*, and *Antigonus* pursuing him close with all his forces.

Antigonus *arrives in Greece. Year of the flood* 2778. *Before Christ* 225.

d *Antigonus*, having thus entered *Peloponnesus* without the loss of one single man, advanced to *Corinth*, which immediately surrendered, and thence to *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenos*, *Hærea*, and *Telphussa*; all which places, terrified at the approach of the *Macedonians*, either voluntarily submitted, or made but a faint resistance. And now winter drawing near, he sent home his troops, and went himself to *Ægium* to assist at the general assembly of the *Achæans*, where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was chosen general of the confederate army, and the important castle of *Acro-Corinth* was, by a decree of the council, made over to him.

IN the mean time *Cleomenes*, receiving intelligence that *Antigonus* had sent home
e his army while he himself continued at *Ægium*, formed a design of surprising the city of *Megalopolis*, very considerable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and extent to *Sparta* itself. As the garison was not very strong at that time, nor the guards very strict in their duty, since *Antigonus* was near at hand and the enemy weakened with frequent losses, *Cleomenes* imagined he might easily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain some of the inhabitants over to his interest; and accordingly applied himself to certain *Messenians*, who, having been banished their country, had taken sanctuary in *Megalopolis*. Being conducted by these, he arrived at the city by night, scaled the walls, and made himself master of the place without the least opposition. Most of the inhabitants retired to *Messene*, whither *Cleomenes* sent a herald to acquaint
f them, that he would restore them to the possession of their city, provided they would renounce the *Achæan* league and join the *Lacedæmonians*. But they chose rather to see themselves divested of all that was most dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had swore to their allies. The famous *Philopæmen*, whom we shall have frequently occasion to mention in the sequel of this history, contributed not a little to this generous resolution. This refusal highly enraged *Cleomenes*, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, sent all the statues and pictures to *Sparta*, demolished the houses, threw down the walls, and committed so many outrages, that he left not so much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place [l].

Megalopolis *taken and destroyed by* Cleomenes.

Antigonus

[i] POLYB. ubi supra. PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat. [k] PLUT. in Arat. & Cleom. POLYB. ubi supra. [l] PLUT. & POLYB. ibidem.

Antigonus having ſent his troops, as we have already obſerved, into winter quarters in *Macedonia*, *Cleomenes* aſſembled his early in the ſpring with a deſign to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the reſult of temerity and deſpair, but according to *Polybius*, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and ſagacity. As the *Macedonians* were diſperſed in their winter quarters, and *Antigonus* enjoying himſelf with his friends at *Argos* without any other forces but a few mercenaries, *Cleomenes* taking the field made an irruption into the territories of *Argos*, laying waſte the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he propoſed in this enterprize was, to bring *Antigonus* to hazard an engagement, which in all probability he would have loſt; or, if he declined it, to leſſen his reputation among the *Achæans*, and raiſe complaints againſt him, chiefly in the city of *Argos*. This project ſucceeded according to his expectation; for the *Argians*, ſeeing their country ravaged and laid waſte under the king's eyes while he continued inactive, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats preſſed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to reſign the command of their troops to thoſe who were leſs timorous than himſelf. But *Antigonus* was deaf to all their reproaches and remonſtrances, and, in ſpite of the many reflections that were publickly caſt upon him on that occaſion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy inſulting him at the very gates. Thus *Cleomenes*, having frightened the enemy and inſpired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to *Sparta*. In the beginning of the ſummer, *Antigonus*, being deſirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeſervedly loſt among the *Achæans*, took the field with an army of twenty-eight thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and advanced into *Laconia*.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the enemy would ſoon viſit him, took care to guard all the paſſes with ſtrong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid acroſs. He marched himſelf with a body of twenty thouſand men, and encamped at a certain place called *Selaſia*, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the enemy propoſed to paſs that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This paſs was formed by two mountains, the one called *Eva* the other *Olympus*; between theſe runs the river *Oenus*, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, having thrown up a good intrenchment at the foot of theſe mountains, poſted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount *Eva* under the command of his brother *Euclidas*, while he himſelf encamped on mount *Olympus* with the *Spartan* troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river ſuſtained by a body of mercenary foot. When *Antigonus* arrived, and viewed the ſituation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that *Cleomenes* had made, and obſerved with how much judgment he had poſted his troops, he did not think it adviſeable to attack him, but encamped at a ſmall diſtance on the banks of the *Gorgulus*, which covered part of his army. There he remained ſome days, the better to acquaint himſelf with the ſituation of the different poſts and the diſpoſition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; but finding every poſt well guarded, and *Cleomenes* warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemies camp, and retired to his own, which was equally ſecured againſt all attempts. Both armies having ſtood thus to their defence ſome days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at laſt agreed on a deciſive battle.

The battle of Selaſia. Year of the World 2780. Before Chriſt 223.

It is not eaſy to comprehend what could induce *Cleomenes* to ſuch a reſolution; he was poſted very advantageouſly; his troops were not ſo numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion from *Sparta*, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of *Lacedæmon*? *Polybius* indeed ſeems to inſinuate the cauſe of this proceeding; for he tells us [m], that *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the ſame time to come to an accommodation with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no proſpect of any ſupplies from foreign ſtates, we may ſuppoſe that the deſperate poſture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

Both

[m] Polyb. lib. ii.

a Both armies being drawn up and the ſignals given, *Antigonus* detached a body of *Illyrians* againſt *Euclidas*, who was poſted on mount *Eva*; but while they were aſcending the hill ſome light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while *Euclidas*, who was poſted on the top of the hill, preſſed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. *Philopœmen*, who then ſerved in the army as a volunteer, obſerving what danger the *Illyrians* were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a ſmall body of *Megalopolitans* his countrymen, the enemies horſe, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had b fallen on the *Illyrians* rear, to haſten to the relief of the cavalry; for *Cleomenes* had poſted them at firſt near the cavalry on purpoſe to ſupport and cover them. By this means the *Illyrians* being diſengaged reſolutely marched up the hill againſt *Euclidas*, who, inſtead of moving towards the enemy, and thereby improving the advantage of the ſhock which the deſcent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was firſt poſted. The *Illyrians*, having gained the top of the hill without any oppoſition, now advanced againſt *Euclidas* on even ground, and attacked him with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was ſoon defeated and moſt of his men cut in pieces. This ſucceſs againſt *Euclidas* was entirely owing to *Philopœmen*, as *Antigonus* himſelf ac- c knowledged, for, after the battle, having aſked the officer that engaged the enemy's horſe how he came to fall upon them before the ſignal, and the officer excuſing himſelf by ſaying, that a young man of *Megalopolis* had done it without his direction, the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw ſoldier [n].

During this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewiſe engaged on the plain by the river. The *Achæans* behaved with uncommon bravery, being ſenſible, that this battle would decide their liberties. *Philopœmen* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt, for his horſe being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemies, till he was with a d javelin ſtruck through both thighs at one ſtroke.

But the ſharpeſt encounter was on mount *Olympus*, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, conſiſting of about five thouſand on each ſide. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man ſtrove to ſignalize himſelf and perform ſomething worthy of ſuch ſpectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either ſide; but at laſt *Cleomenes*, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehenſive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviſeable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having ſounded the ſignal for the light- Cleomenes
e armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both ſides with equal animoſity; *defeated.*
but the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the double *Macedonian* phalanx, gave ground, and ſoon fell into the utmoſt confuſion. The overthrow then became general; the *Lacedæmonians* were every where cut in pieces, and thoſe who found means to make their eſcape fled from the field of battle in the greateſt diſorder. *Cleomenes* with a ſmall party of horſe retreated to *Sparta*, whence he departed the night following to *Gythium*, where he embarked on a veſſel, that attended him there according to his directions, and ſailed to *Alexandria*, accompanied by a ſmall number only of his intimate friends [o]. *Plutarch* aſſures us, that moſt of the foreign troops in both armies were ſlain in this engagement, and that of five thouſand f *Lacedæmonians* two hundred only outlived that action.

Cleomenes had ſcarce ſet ſail when *Antigonus* arrived at *Sparta*, and made himſelf maſter of it without reſiſtance; for *Cleomenes* had adviſed the citizens to receive *Antigonus*, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war againſt the *Spartans*, but againſt *Cleomenes*, whoſe flight had diſarmed his reſent-

[n] Idem, ibid. [o] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Cleom

reſentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory ſo glorious in future a
ages as to have it ſaid, that *Sparta* had been preſerved by the prince, who alone had
the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addreſſed the citizens,
he declared them free and reſtored them to the full enjoyment of their ancient privi-
leges. He ſhewed an inclination to continue ſome time among them, but was obli-
ged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occaſioned
by the intelligence he received that the *Illyrians* had invaded *Macedonia*, and were
committing there dreadful ravages. If *Cleomenes* had reſpited giving battle three days
only, or had fortified himſelf in *Sparta* and held out for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, he
would have preſerved his dominions. From *Sparta Antigonus* marched to *Tegæa*,
which city he likewiſe declared free, and from thence to *Argos*, where the general b
aſſembly of the *Achæan* confederacy was then ſitting. There he was thanked by the
deputies of each city of the *Achæan* league, and by a decree of the council declared
the protector of *Achaia*. From *Argos* he proceeded by long journies to *Macedon*,
where he gained a ſignal victory over the *Illyrians*; but on that occaſion ſtraining his
voice to animate his men, he burſt a vein, and having voided a great quantity of
blood, he fell into an ill ſtate of health, which ſoon after took him out of the world [p].
Thus ended the *Cleomenic* war, leaving all *Greece* in a profound tranquility.

The war of the confederates.

But the *Ætolians* were ſoon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honeſtly
and abſtain from plunder and rapine which they uſed to ſubſiſt on, leading much the
ſame life on land as pirates do at ſea; they had no ſenſe of friendſhip or alliance, c
accounting all thoſe as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had
a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of *Antigonus*,
the fear they were under leſt he ſhould fall upon them kept them in awe. But he
was no ſooner dead, and *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius*, who was then very young,
placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the ter-
ritories of the *Meſſenians*, and carrying off their cattle and whatever elſe they could
meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magiſtrates of ſuch proceedings;
but they ſeemed rather enclined to encourage than reſtrain ſuch robberies, being
ſharers in the booty. The chief author of all theſe diſorders was one *Dorimachus* of
Trichonia, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him [q], every way an d
Ætolian, who being ſent to *Phigalia*, a city in *Peloponneſus* but of the *Ætolian* con-
federacy, to be a ſpie upon the *Achæans*, encouraged the looſe rabble of that place
to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himſelf with their ſpoils.
To him therefore chiefly the *Meſſenians* had recourſe, demanding reparation for the
damages they had ſuffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the di-
ſturbers of the public tranquility. *Dorimachus* told their deputies, that he would come
himſelf to *Meſſene*, and there hear their complaints and ſee all their grievances redreſſed.
He went to *Meſſene* accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief
ſufferers, he diſmiſſed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, while he
ſtill remained in the city, a band of *Ætolian* robbers from *Phigalia* attacked in the e
night a certain country-houſe called *Chyron*, killed all thoſe who made reſiſtance,
bound the reſt, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon
the *Meſſenians*, having cited *Dorimachus* to appear before their aſſembly, arreſted him
on his entering the council, and kept him in priſon, till he promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn
manner, that reparation ſhould be made for all the injuries they had ſuffered and the
authors of the late ſlaughter put into their hands. But he was no ſooner returned to
his own country, than he prevailed upon the *Ætolians* to revenge the treatment he
had met with at *Meſſene*, by declaring war againſt the *Meſſenians*, which being pro-
claimed, the *Ætolian* pirates began to infeſt the neighbouring ſeas, taking all the
ſhips they met with; they even made prize of a ſhip belonging to the king of *Macedon*, f
and carrying her to *Cythera* ſold there both the ſhip and her company. In ſhort,
they plundered all the coaſt of *Epirus*, made an attempt on *Thyrea* a city of *Acar-
nania*, and, conveying ſome troops privately into *Peloponneſus*, ſurpriſed and kept
poſſeſſion of a ſtrong hold called *Clarium* in the *Megalopolitan* territory, making uſe
of it to lodge and ſecure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the
very heart of *Peloponneſus*, they began their march towards *Meſſene*, plundering the
cities of *Patræ* and *Pharæ*, which were of the *Achæan* alliance, and laying waſte all
the

[p] Polyb. lib. ii. [q] Polyb. lib. iv

a the countries through which they paſſed, till they came to *Phigalia*, which they made their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the *Meſſenians* [r].

THE *Achæans* in the mean time aſſembling according to cuſtom at *Ægium*, the complaints of the *Patræans* and *Pharæans* were heard, and the deputies of the *Meſſenians* ſent to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Achæans* againſt the common enemy. After the aſſembly had deliberated on theſe matters, it was agreed, that the ſtate had been affronted by this inſolent proceeding of the *Ætolians*, who had preſumed to enter *Achaia* in a hoſtile manner, contrary to the treaty of peace. Whereupon, juſtly provoked by theſe infractions, they reſolved to ſend ſuccours to the *Meſſenians*,
b and that, as ſoon as the prætor ſhould have raiſed them, they would then proceed further to execute what ſhould be thought expedient by the aſſembly. *Timoxenus*, who was then prætor of the *Achæans*, was not at all pleaſed with the decree of the aſſembly; for, his authority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the *Achæan* ſoldiery. But *Aratus*, provoked at the indignities they had ſuffered by the audacious *Ætolians*, loſt no time in putting the *Achæans* under arms, being determined to come ſpeedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he diſpatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day, when all their young men fit for the ſervice ſhould aſſemble at *Megalopolis*. All the *Achæan* youth
c being drawn together purſuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he ſent a meſſenger to the *Ætolians*, requiring them to depart the territories of *Meſſenia*, and not to march into *Achaia* on peril of being treated as enemies. The *Ætolians*, not being at that time in a condition to make head againſt the army of the *Achæans*, complied with his demand. Whereupon *Aratus* diſmiſſed the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians*, who had joined him, marching only with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he obſerved, that they were marching off with an immenſe booty, which ſo provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the diſadvantages imaginable. The diſpute was long and obſtinate,
d but at laſt the *Achæans*, having the diſadvantage of the ground and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The *Ætolians* purſued them cloſe with great ſhouts and acclamations, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the fugitives, that they muſt have all been cut off, had they not had at hand the ſafe retreats of *Orchomenus* and *Caphya*. The *Megalapolitans*, who had drawn all their forces together in order to join *Aratus*, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other uſe than to bury thoſe whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the *Ætolians*, having gained a complete victory contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite croſs the *Peloponneſus*, made an unſucceſsful attempt on *Pellene*, plundered the territory of *Sicyon*, and encamped on the iſthmus.

Battle of Caphya *loſt by* Aratus. *Year of the flood* 2782. *Before Chriſt* 221.

e IN the mean time, the *Achæans* having called their general aſſembly, complaints were made againſt *Aratus* by all the allies, as the cauſe of the loſs and diſhonour which they had ſuſtained. And indeed there was no diſpute, but *Aratus* had greatly erred in having, we may ſay, uſurped the magiſtracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had ſucceeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loſs of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his paſt ſervices they would not cenſure him with more rigour than humanity. His ſubmiſſion on this occaſion changed the minds of the whole aſſembly,
f and the people began to vent their rage upon his accuſers, who, privately withdrawing, left *Aratus* in greater eſteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the aſſembly gave themſelves entirely up to his counſel and conduct, and re-inſtated him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; ſo that he behaved as a prudent civil magiſtrate, rather than as an able warrior; and though the *Ætolians* often gave him opportunities to diſtreſs them, he made no advantage

Aratus *accuſed before the aſſembly of the* Achæans.

[r] POLYB. lib. iv.

advantage of them, but ſuffered their parties to lay waſte almoſt the whole a country [s] (D).

The *Achæans* were therefore forced to addreſs *Macedonia* again, and call in *Philip*, in hopes that the affection he bore to *Aratus*, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours. For *Antigonus* on his death-bed had above all things entreated *Philip* to join with *Aratus*, and follow his counſel in all things relating to *Greece*; he had alſo ſent him when very young into *Peloponneſus*, to learn the art of government under the eye of ſo great a ſtateſman. *Philip*, having given audience to the *Achæan* deputies, and underſtood by their ſpeech the injuries they had ſuffered from the *Ætolians*, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of *Antigonus*, promiſed to aſſiſt them with the whole ſtrength b of his kingdom; and accordingly ſoon after ſet out for *Greece* and arrived at *Corinth*. Upon his arrival the embaſſadors of the confederates, who were already met at *Corinth*, began to concert with him what meaſures they ſhould take with relation to the *Ætolians*. Complaints were made to the king by almoſt every city in *Peloponneſus* againſt them, and war unanimouſly declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the aſſembly, with the concurrence and approbation of *Philip*, that all thoſe who had been ſufferers by the *Ætolians*, ſince the death of *Demetrius* father to *Philip*, ſhould be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or ſtate had been awed into an alliance with the *Ætolians*, and paid them tribute, they ſhould be forthwith ſet at liberty, the ſecurity of their reſpective govern- c ments committed to their own hands, and all gariſons withdrawn. This decree was ſent to all the confederate towns, to the end, that, it being every where received and ratified by the ſuffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different ſtates proclaim war againſt the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the *confederate war* [t].

The *Ætolians* on the other ſide prepared for war, and choſe for their prætor one *Scopas*, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. *Philip*, having concerted with the *Achæans* the operations of the enſuing campaign, marched his army back into *Macedon*, where he employed all the winter in making the requiſite military preparations. He won over *Scerdilaidas* to the *Achæan* league. d He was a petty king of *Illyria*, and had engaged in an alliance with the *Ætolians*, but was at that time highly incenſed againſt them for refuſing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, ſhare of the ſpoils which been got at the taking of *Cynætha*. This breach of articles ſo diſguſted him, that he was eaſily prevailed upon by *Philip* to enter into the common alliance, and furniſh a fleet of thirty ſhips, on the terms of being paid yearly the ſum of twenty talents [u]. The *Achæans* likewiſe ſent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The *Acarnanians* without any heſitation declared war againſt the *Ætolians*, though they were moſt expoſed to the enemy's inſults, as lying neareſt the *Ætolian* territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themſelves. Our author beſtows the higheſt encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the *Greeks* with e which friendſhip may be more ſafely contracted, there being none that profeſs more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty; that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other conſiderations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greateſt dangers [w]. The *Epirots* refuſed to declare war, till *Philip* ſhould firſt proclaim it. The *Meſſenians*, for whoſe ſake the war was undertaken, declared, that they would not engage in it, unleſs *Phigalia*, which commanded their frontiers, were firſt drawn off from the *Ætolian* league. The *Lacedæmonians* had declared at firſt for the *Achæans*, but, the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the *Ætolians*. Thus all

[s] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. *in Arat.* [t] Polyb. ibid. p. 294. 299. [u] Idem, ibid. p. 305, 306. [w] Idem, ibid. p. 330.

(D) *Aratus* was accuſed in the aſſembly, firſt, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected: ſecondly, he was blamed for having diſmiſſed the *Achæan* troops, while the *Ætolians* were ſtill in the heart of *Peloponneſus*, notwithſtanding he had before been well aſſured, that they did all they could to engage *Peloponneſus* in a war. Third article againſt him was, his venturing to join battle with ſo few troops, when he might have made with great eaſe a ſafe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The laſt and heavieſt charge againſt him was, that, after he had reſolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one ſoldier-like ſtep in the whole conduct of the action.

a all things falling out to the wiſh of the *Ætolians*, they entered on the war with great hopes of ſucceſs, while the *Achæans* had but a melancholy proſpect of their affairs. For *Philip*, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the *Epirots* were ſlow in their preparations, and the *Meſſenians* continued neuter, while the *Ætolians*, aſſiſted by the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, attacked them on all ſides [x] and gained very conſiderable advantages. Embaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to *Philip*, who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, and croſſing *Theſſaly* arrived in *Epirus*. Here he was prevailed upon by the *Epirots* to lay ſiege to *Ambracia*, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare againſt his coming; b whereas, if he had led his army directly into *Ætolia*, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While *Philip* was employed at *Ambracia*, *Scopas*, at the head of a numerous body of *Ætolians*, took his march through *Theſſaly*, and entering *Macedonia* ravaged the country without the leaſt oppoſition, returning home in a ſhort time with an immenſe booty. However, this did not hinder *Philip* from purſuing the ſiege of *Ambracia*, and, after the ſurrender of that city, entering *Ætolia* and ſeizing on a great many important places. He would have ſoon reduced all *Ætolia*, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the *Dardanians* were upon the point of invading. At his departure he aſſured the embaſſadors of the *Achæans*, that aſſoon as he ſhould be able to compoſe his affairs c at home, he would return into *Greece* and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power. His unexpected arrival ſo terrified the *Dardanians*, that they diſmiſſed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of *Macedonia*, and retired home. Whereupon *Philip* returning to *Theſſaly* ſpent there the remaining part of the ſummer in the city of *Lariſſa* [y].

In the mean time *Dorimachus*, whom the *Ætolians* had juſt before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops led them into the upper *Epirus*, laying waſte the whole country, not ſo much in proſpect of profit to himſelf, as out of malice to the *Epirots*. He did not even ſpare the temple of *Dodona*, but laid it in aſhes, carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that ſtately edifice. d *Philip* having notice of theſe ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left *Lariſſa*, and taking with him three thouſand *Chalcaſpides*, ſo called from their carrying brazen ſhields, two thouſand buckler-men, three hundred *Candiots*, and about four hundred horſe, marched through *Theſſaly* and *Eubœa* to *Corinth*, where he arrived without any one's having the leaſt notice of his march. On his arrival he ſent for *Aratus*, and diſpatched letters to his ſon, who bore the ſame name, and was that year prætor and commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces, requiring him to aſſemble the troops aſſoon as poſſible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. *Caphya* was the place agreed on, whither while *Philip* was marching, he met with a detachment of two thouſand *Eleans*, who, under the command of *Euripidas*, were advancing to plun- e der the territory of *Sicyon*, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of *Philip*'s return, he took about twelve hundred of them, and cut the reſt in pieces. Three days after he arrived at *Caphya*, where he halted two days to refreſh his troops, and then together with *Aratus* the younger, who had there drawn together ten thouſand *Achæans*, he advanced to *Pſophis*, with a deſign to beſiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable, both on account of its natural ſituation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and beſides was furniſhed with a ſtrong gariſon commanded by *Euripidas*, who had eſcaped from the late defeat. *Philip* encamped on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the town, and, after viewing the fortifications and ſituation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he ſhould attempt it or not; but at length, reflecting on the great importance of ſuch a fortreſs, he reſolved at all adventures to begin the ſiege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refreſh themſelves, and be in a readi-

Pſophis *taken by the confederates.*

neſs

[x] Idem, ibid. p. 331.

[y] Polyb. ibid.

(E) *Pſophis* was the moſt ancient city of *Arcadia*, ſituated in the very heart of *Peloponneſus*, and on the weſt borders of *Arcadia* towards the frontiers of *Achaia*. It was ſurrounded on the weſt ſide by a rapid ſtream, which during the winter was nowhere fordable; on the eaſt by the *Erymanthus*, a great and violent river; on the ſouth by a torrent which emptied itſelf into the *Erymanthus*; on the north it was defended by an eminence very ſtrong by nature and greatly improved by art, which ſerved for a citadel; and beſides, the walls and works about the town were very conſiderable, both for their height and thickneſs.

neſs under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and paſs a
the bridge over the *Erymanthus*; which they did without oppoſition, the gariſon not
ſuſpecting they would venture on ſuch a dangerous enterprize. Having croſſed the
river they approached the town, and lodged themſelves at the very foot of the wall.
This ſtruck *Euripidas* and the gariſon with great terror; for they never imagined,
that the enemy would be ſo bold as to make an eſſay of their ſtrength againſt a place
ſo well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long ſiege by reaſon of the winter
and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that *Philip* might become
maſter of the place by intelligence. But when theſe fears were over, there being
none in the town ſo much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themſelves to
the defence of the works, the greateſt part of the *Ætolians* mounting the walls, while b
the *Elean* mercenaries made a ſally by a gate in the upper part of the town in hopes
of ſurpriſing the enemy on that ſide. In the mean time the king, having appointed
three ſeveral attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raiſed by men deſtined for
that particular ſervice againſt each place, with a ſtrong guard of *Macedonians* to ſup-
port them; then commanding the ſignal to be given, they advanced to the aſſault
on all quarters of the town. The gariſon for ſome time made a brave reſiſtance, c
overturning many of their ladders; but their darts beginning to fail them, and the
Macedonians bravely maintaining the attack, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met
with, they deſerted at length their poſts, and betook themſelves to flight to the ci-
tadel, leaving the *Macedonians* poſſeſſed of the walls. At the ſame time the *Candiots*, c
who had engaged the party that had made the ſally, beat them back, and in the purſuit
entered pell-mell with them into the town; ſo that it was taken in all quarters at
once. The inhabitants with their wives and children took ſanctuary in the citadel, as
did *Euripidas* and ſuch as had time to provide for their ſafety [z]. *Euripidas*, fore-
ſeeing what muſt inevitably befal him, capitulated with *Philip* and yielded up the
citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both towns-
men and ſtrangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode
here for ſome days, he aſſembled all the *Achæans* that were with him, and after ſhew-
ing them of what importance the city of *Pſophis* was to them in the war they had on
their hands, generouſly gave it up to their deputies, aſſuring them at the ſame time, d
that he would let no occaſion paſs of ſhewing them the ſtrongeſt proofs of his affe-
ction to their nation and zeal for their intereſt.

From *Pſophis* the king led his army to *Laſion*, which he found abandoned both
by the *Elean* gariſon and the inhabitants. This town likewiſe he delivered up to the
Achæans, as he did the city of *Stratus* to the *Telphuſſians*, whom the *Eleans* had driven
out. From *Stratus* he continued his march to *Olympia*, where after he had allowed
his troops three days reſt, he entered the territories of the *Eleans*, ſending detach-
ments abroad to plunder and lay waſte the country, while he encamped with the main
body of the army in the neighbourhood of *Artemiſſium*. This territory had been for-
merly accounted ſacred in regard of the *Olympic* games, which were ſolemnized there
every fourth year; and all the nations of *Greece* had agreed never to turn their arms e
againſt it. But the *Eleans* had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of
Greece, and adhering to one party againſt another. As the territory of the *Eleans*
was the beſt peopled and the moſt fruitful of all *Peloponneſus*, and the inhabitants ſo
fond of a country life that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns,
the allied army found here ſo great a booty that they could ſcarce carry it off, the ſol-
diers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houſes, beſides the
many priſoners and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embaraſſed them in their
march. *Philip* therefore found it neceſſary to retire out of the *Elean* territory and re-
encamp at *Olympia*, taking on his march the fortreſs of *Thaleme*, whither many of the
Eleans had conveyed their moſt valuable effects [a]. f

Diſturbances raiſed by Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employing his arms in defence of the *Achæan* liberties, one
of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery. Among the
many tutors and governors left by *Antigonus* to king *Philip*, who came a child to the
crown, *Apelles* held the chief rank, and had preſerved a powerful influence over the
young prince. This miniſter took it into his head to reduce the *Achæans* to the ſame
condition in which the *Theſſalians* were at that time; that is, to ſubject them to
the caprice of the miniſters of *Macedon*, leaving them only the bare name of liberty,
which

[z] Polyb. ibid. p. 336. [a] Idem, ibid.

a which was the caſe of the *Theſſalians*. To compaſs this deſign, his firſt eſſay was on the patience of the *Achæan* ſoldiery, whom the *Macedonians* by his orders often diſlodged, taking poſſeſſion of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themſelves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard uſage he cauſed them to be put under arreſt, and ſeverely puniſhed by the common executioner, imagining, that by this ſort of uſage he ſhould be able by degrees to bring the *Achæans* to bear any burden, the king ſhould think fit to lay upon them. But *Aratus* complaining to the king of this injurious treatment and imparting to him the project of *Apelles*, that prince aſſured him, that care ſhould be taken for the future to prevent any ſuch injuries. And accordingly he ordered *Apelles* never to lay
b any commands on the *Achæans* without the concurrence of their prætor or chief officer. The *Achæans*, over-joyed at the favour the king ſhewed them and the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were ever beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe virtues which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an uncommon underſtanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aſpect heightened by a majeſtic air, which beſpoke the greatneſs of his mind; but his brighteſt virtues were the ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, and a great deſire to pleaſe and content all who lived under his government [b]. How he forfeited this great character our author
c gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

The king, having thus ſettled matters between the *Macedonians* and *Achæans*, decamped from *Olympia*, and, having cauſed a bridge to be laid over the *Alpheus*, entered the territory of the *Triphalians* (F), reduced the city of *Aliphera* (G), and in a few days brought all that country under ſubjection. The rapidity of his conqueſts ſtruck ſuch terror into all the neighbouring ſtates, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted, and the reſt, after a faint reſiſtance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the *Ætolian* confederacy, he returned loaded with ſpoils and glory to *Argos*, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter [c].

d *Apelles* had not yet ſo given over his project as to be without hopes of bringing by degrees the *Achæans* to a ſervile ſubjection. But he well knew, that both the *Aratus*'s, father and ſon, withſtood his deſign, and that the king held them in great eſteem, eſpecially the father, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He therefore reſolved to attack them both, and by fraud and addreſs put them, if poſſible, in diſgrace with the king. With this view he ſent for all thoſe who were of the oppoſite faction among the *Achæans* and enemies to *Aratus*, and having inſtructed himſelf in their ſeveral intereſts and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendſhip, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to perſuade, that if he continued to treat *Aratus* with ſo much deference, he

Apelles endeavours to put Aratus *in diſgrace with the king.*

e could never hope to gain any thing on the *Achæans* further than was ſtipulated by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleaſed to countenance thoſe he ſhould recommend, he might ſoon compaſs whatever he deſired, and diſpoſe of all matters in *Peloponneſus* at his pleaſure. The new friends enforced theſe reflections and improved on the arguments of *Apelles*. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be preſent at the *Achæan* aſſembly, and to employ all his intereſt in favour of one *Eperatus* a declared enemy to *Aratus*, who was accordingly elected in preference to *Timozenus*, whom *Aratus* had ſet up. Thus *Philip*, notwithſtanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime miniſter; what then

[b] Polyb. ubi ſupra, p. 338, 339. [c] Idem, p. 343.

(F) This country, which took its name from an *Arcadian* youth, lies on the ſea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus* between the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, on the north-weſt ſkirts of *Achaia*. Its towns were *Sanaïcum*, *Lepreum*, *Hypana*, *Typanæa*, *Pyrgus*, *Æpium*, *Bolax*, *Styllagium*, and *Phryxa*. All theſe places the *Eleans* had lately reduced to their obedience, together with *Aliphrea*, a town of *Arcadia*, and *Megalopolis* itſelf, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) *Aliphera* was ſeated on the top of a high and ſteep hill, which was defended by a ſtrong fortreſs. In this fortreſs was to be ſeen a brazen ſtatue of *Minerva*, famous for its ſize and the excellence of the workmanſhip. The inhabitants themſelves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whoſe charges. It was the work of *Hecabodorus* and *Soſtratus*, and generally eſteemed the moſt beautiful and finiſhed piece they ever performed (4).

(3) *Polyb. lib.* ii. *p.* 339. 343.

(4) *Idem, ibid. p.* 343.

then can be expected from a weak prince that devotes himself to the will of a crafty intriqueing *Apelles?* And now *Apelles* began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an *Achæan* prætor of his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to destroy the interest of *Aratus* with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new calumnies. *Amphidamus* chief of the *Eleans*, who had been taken prisoner, persuaded the king that it would be no difficult matter to procure him the friendship of his countrymen, and that he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, impowering him to assure the *Eleans*, that, on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garisons and tribute. But the *Eleans* would not listen to any conditions how advantagious soever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their ancient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal *Apelles* ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by *Aratus*, telling the king, that he had kept *Amphidamus* from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of *Elis*, and that, on *Amphidamus*'s departure from *Olympia* towards *Elis*, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded that it would be no-ways for the interest of *Peloponnesus* that *Philip* should acquire any power over the *Eleans*. The king immediately sent for *Aratus*, and insisted upon *Apelles*'s charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This *Apelles* did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the *Achæans*, and the king in the mean time return with his army into *Macedon*. This was what he wanted, not doubting, but he should get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. *Aratus* beseeched the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king, more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that *Apelles* should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given *Apelles* the information, and that in short nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought *Aratus*'s request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after *Amphidamus*, being suspected by the *Eleans* to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country and retire to *Dymas*, whither the king was come to settle some affairs. *Aratus* laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himself would examine *Amphidamus*, since the secret was said to have been imparted to him. He complied with his request, and upon a strict examination found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly *Aratus* was pronounced innocent, and restored to the king's favour and confidence [d].

a b c d e

As *Philip* began to want both money and provisions for his army, he prevailed upon the *Achæan* magistrates, by means of *Aratus*, to convene a general assembly at *Sicyon*, where, on the report he made of the state of his exchequer and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that, the instant his troops should set out on their march, fifty talents should be advanced to the king with ten thousand measures of wheat; and that afterwards, so long as he should carry on the war in person in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive fifteen talents a month. This renewed his esteem for *Aratus*, to whom he was indebted for so large a supply, as he himself acknowledged in a private conference which he had both with the father and the son after the council was dismissed. On this occasion he imputed all that had passed to the artifices of *Apelles*, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the same degree as heretofore, since he considered them now more than ever [e].

f

And now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was resolved to prosecute the war likewise by sea, in order to divide the enemies

[d] Idem, ibid. p. 344. 349. [e] Idem, l. v. p. 350.

a mies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more eaſe whitherſoever they ſhould judge it moſt expedient, for they had to do at once with the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans*. Purſuant to this reſolution the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the *Achæan* ſhips, to rendezvous at the port of *Lechæum*, where he commanded the *Macedonian* phalanx to be inſtructed in the uſe of the oar.

Treaſonable practices of Apelles.

While *Philip* was thus employed in training up his *Macedonians* for naval expeditions, *Apelles*, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor ſuffer that the counſels of *Aratus* ſhould be followed and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. He agreed with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*, two chief officers who were to act in the army, that they ſhould ſecretly thwart and
b obſtruct all his meaſures, while he, making his abode at *Chalcis*, ſhould take care to ſhorten and retard his ſupplies, ſo that he ſhould be obliged, for want of money and proviſions, to paſs the whole ſummer in a ſtate of inactivity. His view was to make himſelf neceſſary to his ſovereign, and to force him by the ill poſture of his affairs to throw himſelf into his arms. With this proſpect he acted his own part ſo well, that, by ſtopping the convoys of money and proviſions that were ſending to the king, he reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to ſupply his wants.

Philip, thinking his *Macedonians* now ſufficiently inſtructed in the uſe of the oar, embarked with ſix thouſand of them and twelve hundred mercenaries, ſteering
c his courſe towards *Patræ*, where he arrived the next day. From *Patræ* he diſpatched meſſengers to the *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Scardilaidas*, requiring them to haſten with their ſhips and join him at *Cephalenia*. He then left *Patræ*, and came to *Paleis* a ſtrong city in the iſland of *Cephalenia*. Here, finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he diſembarqued and ſet down before the place, drawing his veſſels aſhore and ſecuring them with a good ditch and palliſadoe. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty deſirous to become maſter of it before their arrival. It was of great uſe to the *Ætolians*, who from thence made all their deſcents in *Peloponneſus* and plundered the coaſts of *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Philip* therefore, having viewed the ſituation of the town, cauſed
d the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his *Macedonians* to undermine the walls. They went chearfully to work, and in a very ſhort time undermined great part of the wall, propping and ſupporting it with great wooden ſtakes. The king then ſummoned the town to ſurrender, which the gariſon refuſing to do, fire was ſet to the poſts that ſuſtained the walls, and a breach made ſix hundred fathoms wide. *Leontius* was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall. But he, mindful of his agreement with *Apelles*, having corrupted ſome of the chief officers that ſerved under him, attacked the enemy ſo faintly, that he was repulſed with great loſs, when he had the faireſt opportunity that could be wiſhed for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raiſe the ſiege, though he
e was joined by the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, *Meſſenians*, and by fifteen veſſels ſent him by *Scardilaidas* [f].

Paleis *beſieged.*

Treachery of Leontius.

While *Philip* was thus employed at the ſiege of *Paleis*, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* marched at the head of a numerous army into the territories of *Meſſenia*, and *Dorimachus* the *Ætolian* with a ſtrong detachment into *Theſſaly*, both with the ſame deſign of obliging the king by this double diverſion to break up the ſiege. Whereupon embaſſadors were diſpatched to him from the *Acarnanians* and *Meſſenians*, the former adviſing him to make an inroad into *Ætolia*, and thereby oblige *Dorimachus* to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter entreating him to ſail directly to *Meſſenia*, where he might eaſily ſurprize *Lycurgus*, who was not under
f any apprehenſion of being attacked. *Leontius* ſtrongly ſeconded this advice, foreſeeing, that if the king followed it he would be obliged to ſpend the whole ſummer there, while the *Ætolians* would be at liberty to put all to fire and ſword in *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*; for during the ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, which continued moſt part of the ſummer, it was impoſſible to return back, as they were not in thoſe days very expert mariners. *Aratus* therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, ſhewing how advantagious it would be to fall on the *Ætolians*, while their country was unfurniſhed with troops, and adding, that the opportunity of making deſcents was not to be neglected now, that *Dorimachus* with the *Ætolian* troops was employed

[f] Idem, ibid. p. 350. 365.

employed elsewhere. The king, who, ever since the cowardly behaviour of *Leontius* a
at *Paleis*, began to suspect his fidelity, followed the advice of *Aratus*, and having
wrote to *Eperatus* the *Achæan* prætor to assemble his troops and march to the relief
of the *Messenians*, he himself weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at *Leucas*.
There he landed his forces, and having caused his vessels to be carried over the isth-
mus of *Dioryctus*, he passed into the gulph of *Ambracia*, which runs far up into
Ætolia, and came before day-break to *Lemnæa*. Here he commanded the soldiers to
take a short refreshment, and to be in a readiness to march without any baggage but
what was absolutely necessary. While the king was on the point of setting out from
Lemnæa, *Aristophontes* the *Acarnanian* general came to join him with all his forces;
for that people, having been great sufferers by the *Ætolians*, greedily embraced so b
fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and on this occasion not only
such as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even those who were exempted,
in regard of their age or long services, took the field. The *Epirots* incited by the
like motives were not less forward, though, by reason of the extent of their country
and the sudden arrival of king *Philip*, they had not been able to draw all their forces
together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from *Lemnæa* in the close of
the evening, leaving the baggage under a strong guard, and arrived by day-break at
the river *Achelous*, intending to surprize the important town of *Thermæ*. *Leontius*,
foreseeing that this enterprize would be attended in all likelihood with success, advised
the king to encamp on the banks of the *Achelous*, and allow the army some rest af- c
ter so fatigueing a night's march, being willing that the *Ætolians* should have some
time to bethink themselves and provide for their defence. But *Aratus*, being now
sensible that *Leontius* opposed all promising designs, pressed *Philip* by no means to
consent to any delay, nor upon any reason whatsoever respite his march, the success
whereof lay in dispatch. The king followed his advice, and setting out that instant
marched directly to *Thermæ*, through a very rugged and almost impracticable road,
cut between two steep rocks and exceeding narrow. *Thermæ* was the capital of *Æto-*
lia, and the place where their yearly assemblies and fares were held. As it was
reckoned impregnable by reason of its situation, and no enemy had ever before dared
to approach it, the *Ætolians* had lodged in it all their most valuable effects. So d
great therefore was their surprize when they saw *Philip* all on a sudden appear before
it, that they had not so much presence of mind as to shut the gates or make the least
resistance. The *Macedonians* and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which
abounded with all sorts of provisions, military stores, and valuable moveables. The
army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chusing out
of the booty what was most valuable and easy to be carried away, they made a heap
of the rest and burnt it before the camp. They likewise saved the best arms which
were found in their armories, exchanging them with such of their own as were less
serviceable, and burning the rest to the number of fifteen thousand suits[g].

Thermæ, *the metropolis of* Ætolia, *surprized and plundered.*

The *Macedonians* did not stop here; but calling to mind what the *Ætolians* had e
done at *Dium* and *Dodona*, they set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and levelled
that magnificent structure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking
in pieces to the number of two thousand statues of exquisite workmanship, and at that
time greatly esteemed even in *Greece*. They respected, however, such as were
known, either by their form or the inscription, to represent any of the gods. The
desolation was such as to strike the king himself and those about him with a kind of
terror, though at the same time they believed, that they had not over-acted their re-
venge for the sacrilegious impieties of the *Ætolians* at *Dium*.

Philip having plundered the town marched back the same way he came; the
booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the *Acarnanians* f
and mercenaries were posted in the rear, and the king himself with a body of light-
armed *Macedonians* ready to face the enemy in what part soever they should appear;
for he was extremely solicitous to pass the straits before the *Ætolians* could draw toge-
ther a body of troops to oppose his passage. But he had scarce begun his march
when three thousand *Ætolians*, headed by *Alexander* the *Trichonian*, fell on his rear and
put them in great confusion. This *Philip* had foreseen, and accordingly placed a de-
tachment of *Illyrians* in ambush behind a rising ground. These, unexpectedly ap-
pearing,

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 365. & seq.

a pearing, fell on the enemy who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many priſoners, obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near *Stratus*, but having repulſed the enemy with great courage and reſolution, he arrived ſafe and unmoleſted at *Lemnæa*, where he had left his baggage and veſſels. Here he ſacrificed to the gods by way of thankſgiving for the ſucceſs that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the ſame time to expreſs his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were preſent, but every one ſoon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their maſter. During the whole entertainment they could no help throwing out
b againſt *Aratus* the moſt injurious and ſhocking railleries. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, they purſued him with ſtones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the *Achæans*, but the *Macedonians* themſelves, running from all quarters to his aſſiſtance. The noiſe ſoon reached the king's ears, who, after a ſtrict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned *Megaleas*, for *Leontius* abſconded, in a fine of twenty talents and put him under arreſt. The next day he ſent for *Aratus*, and after expreſſing his ſenſe of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new aſſurances of his protection. *Leontius*, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with *Megaleas*, came boldly with a crowd of ſoldiers to the royal
c tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into ſome apprehenſion, and awe him into another reſolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's preſence, *Who has been ſo bold*, ſays he, *as to lay hands on* Megaleas? *It was I*, replied the king in a majeſtic tone, *and whatever has been done is by my expreſs command.* This reſolution in the king ſo frightened *Leontius*, that he immediately retired from his preſence. He no ſooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alledged againſt *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and their accomplices. *Aratus* charged them with all thoſe criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and diſcovered the whole conſpiracy of *Apelles*. As he urged nothing againſt them but was vouched by competent witneſſes, they were
d all found guilty. The king, however, by an unſeaſonable clemency, pardoned them, and even ſet *Megaleas* at liberty, *Leontius* binding himſelf for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him [h].

During *Philip*'s expedition into *Ætolia*, *Lycurgus* king of *Sparta* made an inroad into the territories of the *Meſſenians*, but did nothing worth recording. *Dorimachus* likewiſe, who had led a conſiderable body of *Ætolians* into *Theſſaly*, with a deſign to lay waſte the country and thereby oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege of *Paleis*, returned without compaſſing either, having found the *Theſſalians* ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains, till he heard that the *Macedonians* had invaded *Ætolia*, when he left *Theſſaly* and haſtened to the relief of his own coun-
e try. But before he arrived the king was retired [i].

The confederates enter the country of the Lacedæmonians.

In the mean time *Philip*, having embarqued his troops at *Leucas* and plundered the coaſt of *Hyanthes* in his way, arrived at *Corinth*, where landing his forces and ordering the veſſels to be carried over to *Lechæum*, he diſpatched meſſengers to the confederate towns of *Peloponneſus*, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at *Tegæa*. He then marched from *Corinth*, and came the next day to *Tegæa*, whence he proceeded with ſuch of the *Achæan* horſe as were there ready, holding his rout over the mountains, with a deſign to fall by ſurprize on the *Lacedæmonian* territories. After four days march through a deſart country, he gained the top of thoſe hills that command the city of *Sparta*, and thence advanced to *Amyclæ*, a town diſtant
f from *Sparta* about four miles. The *Spartans*, who had heard of the ſucceſs he met with at *Thermæ*, were ſtrangely alarmed, when they ſaw the young monarch appear ſo ſuddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought, in which *Philip* was always victorious; but we ſhall omit the particulars, which would ſwell the hiſtory to an undue length, and only ſay, that this expedition proved no leſs glorious to the king's arms than that of *Ætolia*; for he laid waſte the enemy's country far and near, took and deſtroyed ſeveral towns, beat *Lycurgus*, who with a body of two thouſand *Lacedæmonians* had attempted to cut off his retreat, and returned with an immenſe booty to *Corinth*.

Here

[h] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 368. 376. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049. [i] Idem, p. 372.

Here he found embaſſadors from *Rhodes* and *Chios*, who came to offer their mediation a and incline both parties to a peace. The king, diſſembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the *Ætolians* on reaſonable terms, and charged them on their return to diſpoſe his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a deſcent on the territories of the *Phocians*, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he haſtened to *Leontium*, propoſing to embarque his troops there.

Leontius, Megaleas, *and* Ptolomy *raiſe a tumult among the troops.*

But he was ſcarce gone, when *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who was alſo one of *Philip*'s chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at *Corinth*, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own intereſt. They repreſented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops b and the king's guards, that they, who were the firſt in all hazards and ſecured the reſt of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by any particular reward for their ſervice, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken, notwithſtanding the conſtant cuſtom in like caſes to the contrary. The ſoldiers, eſpecially the youth, were ſo inflamed by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, that aſſembling in parties they plundered the houſes of the king's chief favourites, and carried their inſolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to *Corinth*, and aſſembling the *Macedonians* made them ſenſible of their fault, in a long harangue intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity. The tumult being c appeaſed, ſome adviſed the king to ſeize on the authors of the ſedition and puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; others thought it more adviſeable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being ſtill young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the preſent, ſtifling his reſentment and pretending to be very well ſatisfied, he returned to *Lechæum*, after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing againſt the *Phocians*, who had drawn together their forces and were prepared to receive him.

In the mean time, *Leontius* being well appriſed, that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent d his juſt reſentment upon him, had recourſe to *Apelles*, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and preſſing him to leave *Chalcis* and haſten to court. *Philip* had been informed by *Aratus* of the whole conduct of *Apelles*, but had kept his thoughts ſo cloſe, that no body could diſcover from his behaviour any change in him with reſpect to his prime miniſter, who continued to govern at *Chalcis* more like a ſovereign prince than a ſubject (H). He therefore no ſooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left *Chalcis*, not doubting, but he ſhould be received at court after the uſual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleaſure. As he drew near to *Corinth*, *Leontius*, *Megaleas*, and *Ptolomy*, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet e him, and attend him by way of guard into the town; ſo that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace and had received orders to that effect, ſtopped him, and told him that he muſt wait, for the king was not then at leiſure. *Apelles* was thunder-ſtruck at ſo unexpected a reception, and after having waited ſome time in ſilence retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domeſtics, all the reſt having already deſerted him (I). *Megaleas*, ſeeing the prime miniſter, on whoſe protection he relied, fallen into diſgrace, made his eſcape to *Athens*, leaving *Leontius*, who was his ſurety for the ſum of twenty talents, to ſhift for himſelf. Hereupon

Apelles *how received by* Philip.

(H) *Apelles* during his reſidence at *Chalcis* governed all things with an arbitrary ſway, as if he, and not *Philip*, had been inveſted with the ſovereign power. Wherefore the magiſtrates, and ſuch as had charge of the affairs in *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the *Greek* towns had occaſion to publiſh new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was ſcarce ever any mention made of the king, but of *Apelles* (5).

(I) Behold the uncertain ſtate of mortal greatneſs, ſays our author; in one and the ſame moment men are raiſed to the higheſt preferments and ſunk to the loweſt ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where like counters, their value riſes and falls according to the place they are ſet in; for thoſe who follow the court are great and little at the pleaſure of their maſter, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(5) *Idem*, *l.* v. *p.* 350. *& ſeq.*

Idem, *ibid. p.* 351.

a upon the king having ſent the buckler-men, whoſe chief officer was *Leontius*, to *Triphalia* under the command of *Taurion*, pretending to have ſome extraordinary occaſion for their ſervice, cauſed *Leontius* to be arreſted, giving out that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſoldiery. The troops which he commanded no ſooner received notice of his arreſt, but they ſent a petition to the king, importing, that if the commitment of *Leontius* was on any other account than that of his being ſurety for *Megaleas*, the king would be pleaſed not to determine any thing againſt him during their abſence; and that they ſhould interpret any ſentence in his prejudice as an injury done to them and reſent it accordingly; but in caſe *Leontius*
b was under arreſt to ſecure the payment of the money due on account of *Megaleas*, they would readily contribute towards ſatisfying the debt. But their affection ſhewn to *Leontius* proved unſeaſonable, and was taken by the king ſo ill, that it became the occaſion of his death ſooner than was expected [k].

Leontius arreſted.

A thirty days truce granted to the Ætolians.

During this interval, the embaſſadors returned from *Ætolia*, bringing with them propoſals for a truce of thirty days; they aſſured the king, that the *Ætolians* were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general aſſembly to meet at *Rhium*, where they prayed the king to be preſent, promiſing all the advances poſſible on their part towards a general pacification. *Philip* accepted of the truce, and ſent his diſpatches to the confederates, requiring them to ſend their reſpective
c deputies to *Patræ*, to negotiate a peace with the *Ætolians*. He himſelf immediately ſet out from *Lechæum* in order to aſſiſt at it, and arrived the next day at *Patræ*. There letters were delivered to him directed by *Megaleas* to the *Ætolians*, encouraging them to purſue the war againſt *Philip* and the *Achæans*, ſince the king was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of money and proviſions. They contained likewiſe moſt reproachful and injurious reflections on the king, which ſhewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of *Apelles* ſought his deſtruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into cuſtody, together with his ſon and a youth his favourite, and ſo ſent to *Corinth*. At the ſame time he enjoined the magiſtrates of *Thebes* to proſecute *Megaleas*, who had retired thither from *Athens*;
d but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himſelf. Not long after *Leontius* received ſentence of death, and likewiſe *Apelles* with his ſon and favourite. Hiſtory can ſcarce furniſh us with a more remarkable example of the aſcendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his ſovereign, in order to ſatiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with the utmoſt difficulty, that *Aratus* rouſed the king from his irreſolution and ſervitude, and prevailed upon him at laſt to exert himſelf, after he had been ſo long deaf to the repeated complaints of his ſubjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite miniſter [l].

Megaleas *lays violent hands on himſelf.*
Leontius *and* Apelles *put to death.*

As to the *Ætolians*, they were ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had ſucceeded quite otherwiſe than they expected.
e They had flattered themſelves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, *Philip* not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found him an able and enterprizing leader, and well qualified both for counſel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops and the conſpiracy of *Apelles*, hoping theſe troubles would beget diſtractions at court, they poſtponed their meeting at *Rhium*. *Philip* and the confederates, who had a hopeful proſpect of the iſſue of the war, and wiſhed for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furniſhed them with, and accordingly animated each other to the proſecution of the war. As winter was drawing near, *Philip*, after engaging the al-
f lies to meet him with their forces early in the ſpring, weighed anchor and returned to *Corinth*. There he gave the *Macedonians* leave to return to their winter quarters in their own country; while he coaſting *Attica* went to *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, where *Ptolemy*, the only conſpirator that remained, was ſentenced to die and executed accordingly.

The confederates reſolve to purſue the war.

By this time *Eperatus*, who had been choſen prætor of the *Achæans* by the influence of *Apelles*, as we have related above, was become univerſally deſpiſed, as being no ways qualified for that truſt, which is commonly the caſe in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and the country being open and defenceleſs,

[k] Idem, p. 373, 374. [l] Idem, ibid. p. 376.

leſs, great havock was made in it by *Pyrrhias*, at the head of three thouſand *Eleans* a
and *Ætolians*. The *Achæan* troops, being in arrear of their pay, refuſed to obey
the prætor's orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the
relief of the country, and deſerted in great numbers. All this was owing to the in-
ſufficiency of *Eperatus*; but, happily for the *Achæans*, his authority was almoſt ex-
pired, and early in the ſummer *Aratus* appointed to ſucceed him [m]. The new præ-
tor found the *Achæan* mercenaries corrupted by an univerſal decay of military
diſcipline, and the cities no ways diſpoſed to contribute towards the carrying on of
the war. In the general aſſembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the
proſecution of the war, he wreſted from them a decree, empowering him to levy
eight thouſand mercenary foot and five hundred horſe, beſides three thouſand foot b
and three hundred horſe which were to be raiſed at home. By the ſame decree the
Megalopolitans were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horſe, and the *Argians*
the like number [n].

While the *Achæans* were thus preparing for the proſecution of the war, *Lycur-
gus* and *Pyrrhias*, prætor of the *Eleans*, taking the field, made an inroad into the ter-
ritories of the *Meſſenians*, but were ſoon forced to retire by *Aratus*, who advanced
with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of *Meſſene*, *Megalopolis*, *Tegæa*, and *Argos*,
which were moſt expoſed to the inſults of the *Lacedæmonians*. Not long after *Lycus*,
whom *Aratus* had appointed to command the troops while he aſſiſted at the general
aſſembly, gained a conſiderable victory over the *Eleans*, who, under the conduct of c
Euripidas their new prætor, had advanced as far as *Pharæa*, plundering and laying
waſte the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occaſion produced a
great ſum of money; ſo that the troops took better heart in proſpect of better pay,
and the people conceived hopes that they ſhould now be exempt from taxes and con-
tributions towards the war.

Thebes *of* Phthiotis *taken by the confederates. Year of the flood* 2786. *before Chriſt* 217.

In the mean time, *Philip*, having ordered ſuch ſtores and proviſions as he had pro-
vided during the winter to be brought from *Lariſſa*, ſet out on his march towards
Greece, with a deſign to begin the campaign with the ſiege of *Thebes* called *Phthiotis*
(L), whence the *Ætolians* uſed to make continual inroads into the territories of *De-
metrias*, *Pharſalia*, and even *Lariſſa*. Accordingly, having divided his army into d
three bodies, he inveſted the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults and
other engines for caſting of ſtones, began to batter the walls night and day without
intermiſſion. The inhabitants at firſt made a vigorous reſiſtance; but great numbers
of them being killed by the many darts and ſtones that had been caſt into the town,
and the reſt quite tired out by inceſſant attacks which kept them continually in action,
their reſolution began to fail, and the *Macedonians* advancing their mines, and now
preparing to give the aſſault, they thought fit to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Philip*
plundered the town, ſold the inhabitants, and, re-peopling it with a colony of *Mace-
donians*, changed the name of *Thebes* into that of *Philippopolis*.

Not long after the town had ſurrendered, new embaſſadors came to him from *Chios*, e
Rhodes, *Byzantium*, and from *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, to propoſe the concluding of
a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end
to the war, and that they needed but apply to the *Ætolians*, to know whether they
were willing to concur with him in reſtoring *Greece* to its former tranquility. *Philip*
was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to de-
clare his true intentions, he only told the embaſſadors, that in the mean time he was
determined to purſue his enterprizes.

He afterwards ſet out with his friends and favourites for *Argos*, to be preſent at the
Nemæan games. While he was one day aſſiſting at one of theſe public ſports, he was
interrupted by an expreſs ſent him from *Macedon*, with advice, that the *Romans* f
had loſt a great battle in *Tuſcany* near the lake *Thraſymenus*, and that *Hannibal* was
maſter of all the open country. This news *Philip* imparted to none but *Demetrius* of
Pharus, enjoining him all poſſible ſecreſy. *Demetrius*, glad of this opportunity,
adviſed him to put a period to the *Ætolian* war with what expedition he could, in
order

[m] Idem, p. 377.

[n] Idem, p. 378.

(L) This city was ſituate near the ſea about eight and thirty miles diſtance from *Lariſſa*; and was on the frontiers of *Magneſia* and *Theſſaly*, its territory bordering on *Magneſia* towards *Demetrias*, and on *Theſſaly* towards that tract which was inhabited by the *Pharſalians* and *Pheræans*.

a order to invade *Illyricum* (M), and afterwards croſs over into *Italy*. He added, that ſuch a deſign would gain him the affections of the whole *Greek* nation, that the *Achæans* would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the *Ætolians* through fear, after the calamities they had ſuffered in the preſent war; that ſuch an expedition would be his firſt ſtep to univerſal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himſelf; and that the preſent diſtreſs of the *Romans* offered him a favourable opportunity of executing ſo mighty a project. Such council as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, ſucceſsful in his exploits, bold, enterpriſing, and of a race which had always graſped at univerſal empire.

Philip *inclined to conclude a peace.*

However, as no man could better conceal his real intentions, a very rare quality in
b ſo young a prince, he did not ſhew that ſtrong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only diſpatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the aſſembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to *Loſion*, and, after taking a ſmall fortreſs which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Elea*. Both parties were grown ſo tired of the war, that his ſummons was received every where with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts haſtened to *Naupactus* which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious iſſue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and encamping within leſs than a league of the place attended there the reſult of their
c conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the *Ætolians*, by the embaſſadors of the confederate cities, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts; which article being agreed upon, the reſt met with no difficulty, ſo that the treaty was ſoon concluded and ratified by *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one ſide, and the *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Eleans* on the other [o].

The ſpeech of Agelas of Naupactus, at the opening of the aſſembly.

At the firſt opening of the aſſembly, *Agelas* of *Naupactus* made a ſpeech before
d the king and the confederates, which deſerves a place here, ſince *Polybius* has thought it worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He told them, that the *Greeks* ought above all things to ſhun all occaſions of war among themſelves, and render thanks to the gods, that, becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like thoſe who ford a river, they had a proſpect of uniting in a mutual defence of themſelves and their cities againſt the barbarians, whoſe deſigns they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. That, though they could not give perpetuity to the preſent union, it behoved them, at leaſt in that juncture, to agree as one man in the preſervation of their liberties, ſince none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever ſo little ſkilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, would not confine themſelves to the empire of *Italy* or *Sicily*, but extend their conqueſt further, even to *Greece* itſelf. Wherefore he exhorted them, eſpecially *Philip*, to keep a watchful eye on the danger
e that threatened them; ſaying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if, inſtead of impairing the ſtrength of the *Greeks*, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an eaſier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole *Greek* nation as if *Greece* were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the *Greeks*, who would be inviolably attached to him and concur in all his meaſures. That, if his mind was bent on great enterprizes and he thirſted after glory, he ſhould extend his proſpect towards the weſt, and keep an eye on the war which had ſet all *Italy* in a flame; that he ſhould watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generouſly aſpire to the dominion of the world. That if he had any diſputes with the *Greeks*, he
f ſhould leave the deciſion of them to another ſeaſon; for if he once ſuffered the ſtorm, that was gathering in the weſt, to reach *Greece*, it might juſtly be feared, that it would

[o] Polyb. ibid. p. 435.

(M) *Scerdilaidas*, a petty king of *Illyria*, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himſelf ill treated by *Philip*, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him, according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a ſquadron, with orders to take by repriſal what was due by agreement. This ſquadron being admitted into the port of *Leucas*, for *Scerdilaidas* was in alliance with the *Achæans*, ſeized there ſome *Macedonian* veſſels, and ſent them together with the *Macedonians* that were aboard into *Illyricum*. From thence they ſailed to *Malea*, taking all the king's veſſels they could meet with. A war with this prince *Demetrius* thought would prove very favourable to his preſent project.

would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage a their affairs as they pleased.

A peace concluded.

This speech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to *Greece*, inspired both the confederates and *Philip* with an eager desire of peace. And this is the first time that the affairs of *Italy* influenced those of *Greece*. For after this neither *Philip* nor the other powers of *Greece* regulated their conduct from the state of their respective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on *Italy*, as the only object of their attention. The *Asiatics* and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after, having no more recourse in their disputes to *Antiochus* or *Ptolemy*, to southern or eastern princes, but turning their eyes westward, and sending embassadors, some to the *Carthaginians*, others to the *Romans*. In like manner the *Romans*, awakened by the b growing power and enterprising genius of *Philip*, dispatched embassadors into *Greece*, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be seen in the sequel of this history [p].

Assoon as the peace was ratified, the *Achæans* raised *Timoxenus* to the prætorship, and then returned to their ancient manner and custom of life, after having re-edified the walls of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, established their worship, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had sustained during the war.

Philip changes his conduct.

But this happy state of tranquility was soon disturbed by that very prince who had procured it. *Philip*, having concluded an alliance with *Hannibal*, began to change c his conduct, and thinking it necessary to bring all *Greece* to an absolute subjection, before he made any attempts upon *Italy*, he began with the *Messenians*, who had been lately admitted into the *Achæan* confederacy. The city of *Messene* was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility striving to humble the people, and the people to lessen the power of the nobility. These contentions became so violent, that both factions agreed to call in *Philip* and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to *Messene*, with a design to make himself master of the city. On his arrival he found *Aratus* employing his best endeavours to compose their differences, in a manner that no ways suited his private

Disturbances at Messene.

ends. He therefore did not think fit to advise with him, but held private confe- d rences with such of the *Messenians* as resorted to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the insolence of the unruly rabble with the utmost severity of the laws; but used a quite different stile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for suffering themselves, being so many, to be oppressed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themselves against tyrants. Thus both parties, presuming on the king's assistance, thought it advisable to exert themselves before he was gone, since he seemed so well disposed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of some orators, who stirred up, said they, the people to sedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. *This* e was what *Philip* had proposed from the very beginning, being well apprised, that if one party were destroyed, it would be no hard task for him to get the better of the other. Neither did *Aratus* the younger forbear reproaching him with it, in very bitter and offensive terms. But the king, who on such occasions had a marvellous command of his temper, smothered his resentment, and taking *Aratus* the elder by the hand, he asked him, whether he would not attend him up to the castle of *Ithome* where he intended to sacrifice. This castle commanded the city of *Messene*, and kept the further parts of *Peloponnesus* in awe, as *Acro-Corinth*, which he was already possessed of, did the hither. *Ithome* was held by some of the popular faction, who, looking upon *Philip* as their deliverer, admitted him without the least jealousy. f While the sacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, according to custom, put into his hands, he shewed them to *Aratus*, and with a smile asked him, whether they prognosticated, that, being now in possession of so important a place, he should tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own use. *Aratus* made no reply, but *Demetrius Pharius*, though the king had not asked his advice, gave this officious answer: If you are a soothsayer you must quietly be gone from hence; but if you are a king you must not let slip so fair an opportunity, but hold the ox fast by both his horns; alluding thereby to *Ithome* and *Acro-Corinth*, which were

[p] Idem, ibid. p. 436, 437.

a were called the two horns of *Peloponneſus*. The king, however, would have *Aratus* by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it; but if by ſeizing of *Ithome* he muſt loſe the ſtrongeſt caſtle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviſeable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice *Philip* followed for the preſent, but ever after maintained a private grudge againſt *Aratus*, which he perceiving retired from court, and led a private life at *Sicyon*, where he had leiſure to repent his ever calling the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*. *Philip*, having now got rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, marched his forces into *Epirus*, where he ſeized on the town of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*, which he was ſoon forced to raiſe in a moſt ſhameful manner,
b his camp being ſurprized by the *Roman* prætor *Lævinus*, and he forced to make his eſcape half naked. After this diſappointment he returned to *Peloponneſus*, not haveing yet laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting the *Meſſenians*. But they, being now on their guard, refuſed to admit him into their city; whereupon calling them his enemies, he laid waſte the whole country, and retired without being able to reduce the city, the *Achæans*, who were his confederates, refuſing to lend him any help for ſuch an enterprize; for *Meſſene*, as we have obſerved above, was at that time a member of the *Achæan* body. This backwardneſs of his confederates he aſcribed to *Aratus*, and therefore, as he did not now ſcruple to commit the moſt heinous crimes, he reſolved to ſacrifice both the father and ſon to his reſentment. He dared not employ
c open force and violence, in regard of their great reputation and the reſpect which was univerſally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged *Taurion*, one of his officers, to diſpatch firſt the elder *Aratus*, ſecretly during his abſence. *Taurion* obeyed the wicked command, though not without ſome reluctance; he inſinuated himſelf into *Aratus*'s friendſhip and often invited him to dinner, which gave him an opportunity of poiſoning him with a poiſon, which was ſure, but ſlow in its operation. *Aratus* was not ignorant of the lingering diſtemper which he fell into; but, reflecting that complaints would only ſtir up the *Achæans* againſt him and create new diſturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural diſeaſe. One day only happening to ſpit blood before one *Cephalion*, who was his boſom friend and ſeemed ſomewhat ſur-
d prized, he ſaid, *Behold, my dear* Cephalion, *the effect of friendſhip with kings*. This brought him to his end in *Ægium*, being then in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and prætor of the *Achæans* the ſeventeenth time. The *Achæans* were for burying him in the place where he died; but the *Sicyonians* claimed this honour as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceaſed hero to *Sicyon*, dancing before it, and ſinging hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity in the higheſt part of the city, which was ever after called *Aratium*. The *Achæans* decreed, that divine honours ſhould be paid him, and appointed a prieſt for
e that purpoſe. *Plutarch* tells us, that in his time two ſolemn ſacrifices were ſtill offered him annually; the firſt on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this ſacrifice was called *Soteria*, the other on his birth day. During the ſacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar, ſinging odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the ſenate, crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the proceſſion. To this they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an oracle of *Apollo* [q].

Aratus was without all doubt one of the greateſt men of his time, and may juſtly be ſtyled one of the founders of the *Achæan* republic, he having brought it to that form and ſplendor by which it became one of the moſt powerful ſtates of *Greece*. However, his talent lay more in contriving a warlike ſtratagem, in forming and pro-
f jecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his adminiſtration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of *Macedon* to the aſſiſtance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wiſher to his country could approve of, and was the more diſhonourable in him as he was prompted to it out of jealouſy to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. For that prince, after having reduced the *Achæans* to the laſt extremity, was willing to reſtore them their priſoners and all the places he had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of *Achaia*. The *Achæans* were inclined to accept of a peace on theſe terms: But *Aratus*, thinking it would

Aratus *retires from* Philip's *court.*

Philip *cauſes him to be poiſoned.*

Year of the flood 2787. *Before Chriſt* 216.

[q] Polyb. lib. viii. p. 518, 519. Plut. in Arato.

would be very diſhonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief ſway in the republic, to be thus ſupplanted by a young man, uſed his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the *Achæans* from yielding to the conditions propoſed by *Cleomenes*; and becauſe they could no longer hold out againſt that warlike prince with their own ſtrength, he had recourſe to *Antigonus* king of *Macedon*, put him into poſſeſſion of *Acro-Corinth*, and thereby enabled him and his ſucceſſors to manage the affairs of *Greece* at their pleaſure[r]. But for this he atoned, both with his own death and with that of his ſon, which was more deplorable; for *Philip*, growing completely wicked, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it, commanded a kind of poiſon to be given him, which deprived him of his underſtanding, and prompted him to commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately and while he was in his ſenſes; inſomuch, that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greateſt bleſſing that could befal himſelf and his family[s].

THESE inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in *Philip* highly incenſed the *Achæans* againſt him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleaſed. At preſent they were not in a condition to ſupport themſelves without him, the *Ætolians*, their irreconcileable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the *Romans* againſt the king and his confederates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conqueſts ſhould belong to the allies, but the booty and ſlaves to the *Romans*. Their calling in thus the *Barbarians*, for ſo the *Greeks* ſtyled all nations except their own, provoked them more againſt the *Ætolians*, than all the miſchief *Philip* had done them. Wherefore they reſolved in their general aſſembly to join the king againſt the *Ætolians* and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in *Greece*, between *Philip* and the *Achæans* on one ſide, and the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Eleans*, king *Attalus*, and *Scerdilaidas* on the other. The *Ætolians* immediately began hoſtilities, invading and laying waſte the *Achæan* territories. Whereupon the *Achæans* diſpatched deputies to *Philip*, who was then in *Thrace*, imploring his aſſiſtance. *Philip* readily complied with their requeſt; but the *Ætolians*, being joined by ſome *Romans* and the forces which *Attalus* had brought with him out of *Aſia*, marched out to meet him before his conjunction with the *Achæans*. Both armies met near *Lamia* a city of *Theſſaly*. The *Ætolians* were commanded by *Pyrrhius*, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king *Attalus*. *Philip* profered him battle, and he thinking it would be diſreputable in him to decline it the very firſt year of his command, raſhly engaged and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the ſcattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing ſome worthy action before the end of the campaign: But *Philip* attacked him the ſecond time, cut moſt of his men in pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſhut themſelves up in *Lamia*. This double overthrow ſo diſheartened the *Ætolians*, that they ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans*; for the *Romans*, after having put the *Ætolians* in motion, were retired to *Corcyra*, fully perſuaded, that the king had ſo much buſineſs upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of *Italy* or *Hannibal*. *Philip* put off the negotiations of peace till the next aſſembly of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. When the aſſembly met, the *Ætolian* embaſſadors being introduced made ſuch unreaſonable propoſals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon *Philip* and the *Achæans*, being reſolved to purſue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having ſo many enemies to oppoſe at the ſame time. The king, leaving four thouſand men with the *Achæans* to defend their country, went to aſſiſt at the *Nemæan* games in the city of *Argos*, and from thence returning into *Achaia* marched, in conjunction with *Cycliadus* the *Achæan* prætor, againſt the city of *Elis*, which had received an *Ætolian* gariſon. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the *Ætolians* to an engagement. Accordingly they ſallied out, when *Philip* was greatly ſurprized to find, that the gariſon partly conſiſted of *Romans*. For *Sulpitius*, having left *Naupactus* with fifteen gallies and landed four thouſand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both ſides. In the heat of the combat *Damophantes*,

New troubles in Greece. *Year of the flood* 2792. *Before Chriſt* 211.

The Ætolians *defeated.*

[r] PLUT. in Cleom. & Arat [s] PLUT. ibid.

a *phantes*, general of the *Elean* horſe, ſpying *Philopœmen*, who commanded that of the *Achæans*, advanced againſt him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without ſtirring from his poſt, and having unhorſed him at the firſt encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with ſuch reſolution, that they quickly betook themſelves to flight. But the *Romans* charging the *Macedonians* with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which *Philip* obſerving ſpurred on his horſe, and ruſhed headlong into the midſt of the *Romans*, where his horſe being wounded threw him. The *Macedonians* then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party ſignalizing themſelves in a very extraordinary manner, the *Romans* with a view to take the king priſoner, and the *Macedonians* to ſave him. The king was carried off in ſpite of the
b utmoſt efforts of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians* obliged to retire at a greater diſtance from the town. The next day *Philip* inveſted and took a ſtrong hold of the *Eleans*, where he found a great booty conſiſting of twenty thouſand head of cattle, beſides four thouſand *Eleans* whom he ſold for ſlaves. This made amends for his diſappointment at *Elis* [t]: But in the mean time news was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had made an incurſion into *Macedon*; whereupon, he immediately ſet out to defend his own country, leaving with the *Achæans* a body of two thouſand five hundred men. At the ſame time *Sulpitius* ſailed back with his fleet to *Ægina*, where he joined king *Attalus* and paſſed the winter. During the king's abſence, the *Achæans* gained a conſiderable victory over the *Ætolians* and *Eleans* near the city of *Meſſene*.

Philopœmen's *gallant behaviour.*

c EARLY in the ſpring *Sulpitius* and *Attalus*, quitting their winter quarters, ſailed with their fleets to *Lemnos*, and thence advanced to *Oreum* a chief city of *Eubœa*, which was treacherouſly delivered up to them by *Plator* the *Macedonian* commander. *Attalus* laid ſiege to the city of *Opus* in *Achaia*, which *Philip* having notice of, advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of ſixty miles in one day. The city had ſurrendered a little before his arrival, but *Attalus* the inſtant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ſhips [u].

Oreum *in* Eubœa *betrayed to the* Romans. *Year of the flood* 2796. *Before Chriſt* 207.

WHILE *Philip* was thus employed againſt *Attalus* and the *Romans*, *Machanidas*, who had ſucceeded *Lycurgus* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, advanced at the head of a power-
d ful army to the borders of *Achaia*, with a deſign to lay waſte the country, and by that means oblige *Philip* to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have choſe a more improper ſeaſon for ſuch an expedition; for *Philopœmen* had been that year appointed for the firſt time commander in chief of the *Achæan* forces. As we ſhall often have occaſion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to ſay ſomething here of his extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all thoſe honours, that were afterwards heaped upon him by the *Achæan* republic. He was born in *Megalopolis* a city of *Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus*, and from his very infancy diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to the profeſſion of arms. He was nobly educated by *Caſſander* of *Mantinea*, a man of great probity and uncommon abi-
e lities. He was no ſooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the troops which the city of *Megalopolis* ſent to make incurſions into *Laconia*, and in theſe inroads never failed to give ſome remarkable inſtance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he uſed to employ his leiſure in hunting and ſuch other manly exerciſes. Thus he ſpent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta* attacked *Megalopolis*. We have ſeen what courage and greatneſs of ſoul he diſplayed on that occaſion. He ſignalized himſelf no leſs ſome time after in the battle of *Selaſia*, where *Antigonus* gained a complete victory over *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus*, who had been an eye-witneſs of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his
f intereſt. But he rejected them with ſcorn, having an utter averſion to a court life, which he compared to that of a ſlave, ſaying, that a courtier was but a ſlave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and unactive, he went over to the iſle of *Crete*, which was then engaged in war, and ſerved there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that iſland were in thoſe days accounted excellent warriors, being ſcarce ever at peace among themſelves. *Philopœmen*, having ſerved ſome years among the troops of that iſland, returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horſe, in

Philopœmen *appointed prætor of the* Achæans. *His character.*

[t] POLYB. l. x. p. 612 & ſeq. LIV. lib. xxvii. n. 29. 33. PLUT. in Philop. [u] LIV. ibid.

in which command he behaved ſo well, that the *Achæan* horſe, heretofore of no a
reputation, became in a ſhort time famous all over *Greece*. He was ſoon after
appointed general of all the *Achæan* forces, when he applied himſelf in good earneſt
to the re-eſtabliſhing of military diſcipline among the troops of the republic, which
he found in a very poor condition, and univerſally deſpiſed by their neighbours.
Aratus indeed was the firſt that raiſed the *Achæan* ſtate to that pitch of power and
glory to which it arrived. But the ſucceſs of his enterprizes was not ſo much owing
to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on
the friendſhip of foreign princes and their powerful ſuccours, he neglected the mili-
tary diſcipline at home. But the inſtant *Philopœmen* was created prætor or com-
mander in chief, as he was a great captain, he rouzed the courage of his countrymen, b
in order to put them in a condition to defend themſelves without the aſſiſtance of, or
dependence on, foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the
diſcipline, changing the manner of their exerciſe and likewiſe their arms, which
were both very defective. He had thus for the ſpace of eight months exerciſed his
troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions,
and accuſtoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was
brought him, that *Machanidas* was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade
Achaia. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his
diſcipline, and accordingly taking the field, met the enemy in the territories of
He defeats Machanidas *tyrant of* Sparta. *Mantinea*. *Machanidas* had brought into the field a vaſt quantity of military engines, c
to gall the *Achæans* during the engagement and diſorder their ranks. To prevent
this danger, *Philopœmen* ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before
the reſt of the army, which *Machanidas* obſerving, thought proper to ſend his light-
armed foot to make head againſt them and obſerve their motions. Thus the battle
Year of the flood 2797. *Before Chriſt* 206. began, and each general ſending new ſupplies, the mercenary foot came to a cloſe
engagement, being ſo far advanced before the main bodies of their reſpective
armies, that they could know only by the duſt they raiſed which party advanced,
and which gave ground. By this means the engines, which *Machanidas* chiefly relied
upon, were hindered from doing execution by the interpoſition of his own men. The
firſt onſet was very furious, and the ſucceſs a long time doubtful, but at laſt the merce- d
naries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers and the ſkill they had acquired,
by being ſo long inured to a military life, giving them the ſuperiority. The *Illyrians*
in *Philopœmen*'s army being but lately come, and not yet well exerciſed in the uſe of
their arms, could not withſtand ſo furious an onſet, and were therefore intirely broke,
and obliged to ſave themſelves with the utmoſt precipitation under the walls of
Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle. *Philopœmen* was ſo far from being
diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt attack, that turning to thoſe who were
about him, *The flight of our mercenaries*, ſaid he, *will give us a complete victory*. He
obſerved, that *Machanidas*, inſtead of making uſe of this diſadvantage and falling that
inſtant on the main body, ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the fire and im- e
petuoſity of his ſoldiers, in purſuit of thoſe who were flying. He was no ſooner out of
ſight, but *Philopœmen* advanced againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that were drawn up before
him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time and therefore eaſily
paſſable, eſpecially by the foot. The *Lacedæmonians*, elated with the ſucceſs of their
mercenaries and deſpiſing the *Achæans*, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but
as that put them into ſome diſorder, *Philopœmen*, taking advantage of their confuſion,
charged them with ſuch vigour, that they were drove into the ditch again; which ſo
diſordered their ranks, that not being able to make head againſt the *Achæans*, who pur-
ſued them cloſe and in good order, they betook themſelves to flight. *Philopœmen*,
who knew better how to uſe his victory than *Machanidas* had done, ſuffered only f
part of his army to purſue the flying enemy; a ſtrong body he kept with himſelf to
guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that *Machanidas* muſt return that
way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly diſ-
pirited when he found that the enemies were maſters of it, and his own army driven
out of the field. However, with a ſtrong body of horſe he attempted to make his way
through and join the reſt of his army; but he met with ſo warm a reception from
Philopœmen *kills* Machanidas. *Philopœmen*, that his horſe were at the firſt onſet put to the rout. *Machanidas* him-
ſelf, attended only by two horſemen, rode along the ditch, looking for a convenient
place to get over. He was eaſily known by his purple mantle and the coſtly trap-
pings of his horſe. *Philopœmen*, therefore appointing another to command at the
bridge,

a bridge in his room, followed *Machanidas* at a ſmall diſtance, waiting till he ſhould attempt to croſs the ditch, which he no ſooner did, than *Philopœmen* ſpurring on his horſe attacked him in the ditch, and there ſlew him with his own hand. His head he ſtruck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious *Achæans*, who continued the purſuit with great ſlaughter and incredible ardor to the city of *Tegea*, which they entered together with the fugitives. The *Lacedæmonians* loſt on this occaſion above eight thouſand men, of which four thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and as many taken priſoners. The loſs of the *Achæans* was very inconſiderable, and thoſe that fell were moſtly mercenaries [w].

The *Achæans*, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing
b to the conduct of their general, caſt a brazen ſtatue, repreſenting *Philopœmen* in the ſame attitude in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

A general peace concluded. Year of the flood 2799. Before Chriſt 204.

This victory over the *Lacedæmonians*, and the many advantages gained by *Philip* over the *Ætolians*, inclined the *Ætolian* faction to ſue for a peace in good earneſt. King *Attalus* was returned home to defend his own kingdom, againſt *Pruſias* king of *Bythinia*, who had invaded it. The *Romans* had ſo much buſineſs on their hands at home, *Aſdrubal* being ready to enter *Italy* and join his brother, that they concerned themſelves very little with the affairs of *Greece*, leaving their friends there to ſhift for themſelves. The *Ætolians* therefore, finding themſelves thus deſerted by their moſt
c powerful allies, concluded a peace with *Philip* and the *Achæans* upon very diſadvantagious conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on when *P. Sempronius* the proconſul arrived with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty-five gallies, to ſuccour the *Ætolians*. When he heard how affairs went in *Greece*, he was very much offended at the *Ætolians*, for concluding a peace without the conſent of the *Roman* ſenate, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty. However, he was eaſily prevailed upon to come into their meaſures, and in the name of his republic ſtrike up a peace with *Philip* and his allies. For the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the *Epirots* and *Acarnanians*, that the *Romans* and *Philip* ſhould be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. *Philip* cauſed the king of *Bythinia*, the *Achæans*, the
d *Bœotians*, the *Theſſalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*, to be included in the treaty; the *Romans* on their ſide named king *Attalus*, *Pleuratus* a petty prince of *Illyricum*, *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta*, the people of *Elis*, the *Meſſenians*, and the *Athenians*. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to *Philip*, that he might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the *Romans*, that they might carry on the war againſt the *Carthaginians* with more vigor [x].

The peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. *Philip*, having ſettled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the *Carthaginians* his friends in the weſt declined apace, began to ſtudy how he might enlarge his dominions in the eaſt. Accordingly he invaded at the ſame time the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians*, and king
e *Attalus*, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared againſt him by the *Romans*, and *Sulpitius* the conſul appointed to carry it on. The *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* joined with *Philip*; the former he gained over to his intereſt by reſtoring to them the cities of *Orchomenos*, *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himſelf. He likewiſe put the *Megalopolitans* in poſſeſſion of the city of *Aliphera*, to which they laid claim, and by theſe means kept them for ſome time in his alliance [y]. The *Romans* watched all opportunities of engaging ſo powerful a people in their intereſt, and at laſt found a very favourable one. When the *Roman* conſul *Sulpitius* arrived firſt in *Greece*, one *Cycliades* was prætor of the *Achæans*, a man entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* party, being ſupported in his tyrannical
f government by the protection of *Philip*. The *Achæans*, ſuſpecting that he aimed at an abſolute power, and was concerting meaſures with the *Macedonians* to bring their republic under ſubjection, as *Nabis* had lately done at *Sparta*, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of *Ariſtenes*, who, on all occaſions, had given ſignal proofs of his affection to the *Romans*. This opportunity the conſul laid hold of to bring *Achaia* into an alliance with *Rome*, but left the execution of the deſign to his brother *Quinctius*, who immediately ſent a deputation to the *Achæans*, offering to put them in poſſeſſion of *Corinth*, which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the *Romans*. This was a powerful attractive. However, as *Philip* had done them

The Achæans join Philip againſt the Romans.

The Achæans ſollicited by Quinctius to declare for the Romans.

[w] Polyb. l. xi. p. 629. 631. Plut. in Philop. [x] Liv. l. xxix. n. 12. [y] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 5.

them many important ſervices, they were unwilling to diſoblige him. Beſides, they a
were under no ſmall apprehenſion of *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had openly
declared for *Philip*. At the ſame time they were afraid of the *Romans*, who ſeemed
to be an over-match for the *Macedonians*. Theſe were the diſpoſitions of the *Achæans*,
when they aſſembled at *Sicyon* to hear the *Roman* embaſſadors, who came attended
with deputies from king *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, on purpoſe to
diſpel their fears, and make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the minds of ſo wary a people.
Philip likewiſe ſent an embaſſador to the aſſembly, named *Cleomedon*, whoſe intrigues
the *Romans* had reaſon to fear, he being a man of great intereſt in *Achaia*. The
embaſſadors being introduced, *L. Calpurnius*, who ſpoke for the *Romans*, was firſt
heard; after him the deputies from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; and then *Cleomedon*. b
What the latter ſaid was heard with great attention; but the *Athenians*, who ſpoke the
laſt, effaced in a great meaſure the prejudices which *Cleomedon* had raiſed. All theſe
different ſpeeches divided the *Achæans* more than ever; inſomuch, that they broke up
the ſeſſion, which had laſted the whole day, without coming to any reſolution.

The next day the aſſembly met again, the deputies only of the *Achæan* cities being
admitted to give their opinions, and come to ſome final reſolution. An herald, as
was the cuſtom, invited thoſe to ſpeak who had a right of voting; but they all con-
tinued in a deep ſilence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in ſo per-
plexed an affair. At laſt *Ariſtenes*, preſident of the aſſembly, broke ſilence, and
addreſſed the deputies in this manner: What is become of that warmth and vigour, c
with which you uſed to diſpute at your banquets, ſometimes contending for *Philip*
againſt the *Romans*, and ſometimes for the *Romans* againſt *Philip*? You were then
deciſive, and now in an aſſembly ſummoned for no other purpoſe, after hearing the
ſpeeches and reaſons on both ſides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot
extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party looſe your
tongues? eſpecially as you know that it will be too late to ſpeak after the reſolution
ſhall be once taken [z].

These reproaches, however reaſonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of
the members to give their opinion. There was an univerſal ſilence in the aſſembly,
till *Ariſtenes* reſumed the diſcourſe, and in a long harangue repreſented to them the d
ſituation of their affairs, urging the neceſſity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he
ſaid, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had conde-
ſcended to requeſt. But his diſcourſe did not bring the *Achæans* to an agreement
among themſelves. The diſputes grew warm, ſome applauding what *Ariſtenes* had
ſaid, and others oppoſing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the
deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with
the *Romans*. The other five proteſted againſt it, declaring, that it was againſt law to
decree any thing in the aſſembly with relation to their alliance with *Philip*. And
indeed that prince had cauſed a clauſe to be inſerted in his treaty with the *Achæans* to
this effect, that the affair of his alliance ſhould no more be canvaſſed in the general e
aſſembly. The aſſembly was to ſit but one day longer, and even this ſhort time was
ſpent in warm diſputes, the father diſagreeing with the ſon, and the deputies of one
and the ſame city being ready to fall upon one another. *Memnon* of *Pellene* was
ſteady for *Philip*; and his father, whoſe name was *Rhiaſius*, no leſs ſanguine for
Rome. The father conjured him a long time not to oppoſe the welfare of his country;
but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly proteſted, that he would treat
him as an enemy, and put him to death in caſe he did not yield to his opinion.
Such menaces, uttered by a father, made ſo deep an impreſſion in the mind of
Memnon, that he immediately came over to the party of *Rome*. At laſt the majo-
After long debates the Achæans *conclude an alliance with the* Romans.
rity were for the *Romans*; but before the decree was paſſed, the deputies of *Dyme*, f
and *Megalopolis*, and ſome of the *Argians* withdrew from the aſſembly; which no one
took offence at, becauſe they had particular obligations to *Philip*. The deputies
of the other cities followed the moſt prudent advice, and immediately concluded an
alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred the entire concluſion of that
with the *Romans*, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſent to *Rome* to obtain the
ratification from the ſenate [a].

[z] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 22. [a] Liv. ibid.

But

a But in the mean time the *Achæans* lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quinctius*, at the gate of *Sicyon* by the *Achæans*, and on the side of the port *Lechæum* by *Attalus*. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would soon arise between the garison and the inhabitants. But *Androsthenes*, who commanded in the place for *Philip*, had gained the affection of the *Corinthians*, and being supplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many *Roman* Deserters, who expected no quarter if the city should be taken, he obliged the besiegers to drop the enterprize [b].

Corinth besieged by the Romans and Achæans.

They were no sooner retired than *Philocles*, one of king *Philip*'s generals, marched his troops into the heart of *Achaia*, which had so lately joined the *Romans*, and drew b near the city of *Argos*. He was not ignorant that the citizens still retained an affection for the *Macedonian* party; for they had very lately given a signal proof of it. It had long been a custom among the *Argians* to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the first day of their assembly, and add to the names of these gods that of the king of *Macedon*. But after the *Achæans* had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit *Philip*'s name. This omission displeased the *Argians*, who loudly demanded, that the king's name should be joined to those of the tutelary gods of their country. *Philocles* therefore, depending on this affection for his master, advanced his troops near *Argos*, and in the night posted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a c strong garison, which the *Achæans* had placed there under the command of one *Æneside mus*, who was greatly attached to the *Roman* interest. To him therefore *Philocles* sent a messenger, summoning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend against the *Macedonians* without and the citizens within the walls, who were all of the same mind, and determined to shake off the *Roman* yoke. This summons did not move the brave commander, who thought himself in a condition to withstand the menaces of the *Macedonian*, though his garison consisted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little surprised, when he saw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. *Æneside mus* well knew it was a rash and fruitless attempt to oppose the multitude d with such an handful of men; he had also compassion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they should march out unmolested, continued himself in the city with a small number of his friends and clients. *Philocles*, surprised to see the commander remain in his post after the soldiers were gone, sent to ask him, *Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achæan* answered, *To die in the place committed to my care*; whereupon *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to discharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the *Achæans* had concluded with the *Romans*, *Philip* still possessed two of their strongest cities, *Corinth* and *Argos* [c].

The siege raised.

The Macedonians possess themselves of Argos.

Year of the flood 2806. *Before Christ* 197.

e It was of the utmost importance for *Philip* to preserve the city of *Argos*; but the difficulty was how to continue master of a place in the heart of *Achaia*, and at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous *Nabis*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Lacedæmon*, and was in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he should possess it as his own, if *Philip* lost his life in the war, but restore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with these conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himself with the spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*, who, foreseeing what must befal them, refused to admit the *Lacedæmonians* within their walls. But *Nabis*, by the help of *Philocles*, was f brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware, had possessed himself of all the advantagious posts, and caused the gates to be shut. Some of the chief magistrates made their escape in the tumult, and this the tyrant made use of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiscated the estates of those that had fled; and then, knowing that no body was able to oppose him, set no bounds to his oppressions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, silver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like slaves, such as he suspected to conceal any part of their riches. He assembled the magistrates, and at their first meeting notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to pass; by the first, he cancelled

Argos *delivered up to* Nabis.

[b] Liv. ibid. n. 25. [c] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

celled all old debts; and by the second ordered a new division to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen should have an equal share. Thus he set the rich against the poor, and put the whole city in a flame [d].

Nabis *joins the* Romans.

Nabis was sensible he could not keep *Argos* without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, embassadors were sent to *Flaminius* and *Attalus* inviting them to an interview. The proconsul and *Attalus* accepted of the invitation, without examining over-nicely into the injustice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near *Argos* was appointed for their conferences. In the interview *Flaminius* insisted upon two conditions; first, that *Nabis* should put an end to the war in *Achaia*; and secondly, that he should furnish the confederates with his contingent of troops to act against *Philip*. The tyrant agreed to the second article, but would allow only a four months truce with the *Achæans*. The treaty, however, was concluded, and *Nabis*, who was so infamous for his cruelty and injustice, joined in confederacy with the *Romans*, which reflected no small dishonour on their general [e].

The *Achæans* continued steady in the *Roman* interest during the whole course of this war, and their prætor *Nicostratus* signalized himself on the following occasion. *Philip* had left one *Androsthenes* with a body of six thousand men in *Corinth*, to protect that city and its districts, from the insults of the *Achæans* and other *Greeks* of the *Roman* faction. *Androsthenes*, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the *Corinthian* territory, marched out at the head of his little army, and over-run great part of *Achaia*. *Nicostratus* the *Achæan* prætor had but two thousand men under his command, and these were too few to oppose the superior forces of the *Macedonian*, who advanced to the very walls of *Sicyon*, to insult the prætor there in garison. As *Androsthenes* was under no apprehension of being attacked by so contemptible a foe, his troops were often dispersed in small bodies, and his army scarce ever in one place. This gave *Nicostratus* hopes of being able to surprise him. And accordingly he sent orders to the garisons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called *Apelaurum* in *Argolis*. His orders were obeyed, and the prætor set out from thence at the head of five thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred horse. The horse he detached to observe the enemies motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river *Nemea* (N), between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and that the *Macedonian*, having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene* (O), and the third towards *Phlius* (P). Upon this advice *Nicostratus* placed his mercenaries in a forest, through which the *Macedonians* were to pass in their return to *Corinth*; while he led the rest in two bodies to attack *Androsthenes* in his camp. The *Macedonians* were greatly surprised when they saw the *Achæans* making directly to their camp. *Androsthenes*, ordering the trumpets to give the signal for assembling the troops that were straggling about in the villages, drew up the small body he had with him on the banks of the river. But, the parties that were out not returning soon enough to join him, he was easily defeated. This advantage encouraged *Nicostratus* to fall upon the *Macedonians* that were laying waste the territory of *Sicyon*; there few of them escaped, being surrounded on all sides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for those who were ravaging the country about *Pellene* and *Phlius*, they were either murdered by the inhabitants, or cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the forest. This action freed *Achaia* from all fear of the *Macedonians*, and doubled *Philip*'s concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of *Cynocephalæ* [f].

The Macedonians *defeated by the* Achæans.

These

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 28. [e] Liv. ubi supra. Polyb. l. xiii. sub finem. Plut. in Flamin. [f] Liv. ibid.

(N) The river *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponnesus*, and discharged itself into the gulph of *Corinth*. It is now called the *Largia*.

(O) *Pellene*, called by *Stephanus Pellina*, was a city of *Achaia Propria*, and bordered upon the territory of *Sicyon*. *Geniustus* calls it *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* gives it the name of *Zaracka*. The natives now call it *Diacopton*. It is about sixty furlongs distant from the gulph of *Corinth*.

(P) This city *Livy* calls *Phlasius* (7). We must take care not to confound it with another bearing the same name in *Argolis*. The *Phlius* here spoke of was in *Achaia*.

(7) *Liv. lib.* xxxiii. *c.* 14

a THESE repeated losses obliged *Philip* at length to accept of a peace, on such conditions as *Rome* and her allies were pleased to impose. The main article relating to *Greece* was, that *Philip* should evacuate all the places he possessed in *Greece*, and withdraw his garisons before the celebration of the *Isthmian* games (Q). Pursuant to this article, ten commissioners were sent from *Rome*, to settle the affairs of *Greece* and restore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All *Greece* received the news of this peace with the greatest transports of joy. The *Ætolians* alone were discontented, and inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, because among the cities that were to be set at liberty, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreos*, *Eretria*, and *Demetrias*, which were all in the hands of the *Romans*.

b The *Ætolians* suspected, that *Rome* designed to appropriate them to herself, in which case *Greece*, said they, would indeed change its masters, but not its condition. The suspicion of the *Ætolians* was not ill grounded; for the ten commissioners, pursuant to the instruction of the senate, had omitted the names of these cities with a design to keep them, as they were the keys of *Greece*, and thereby prevent *Antiochus* from entering that country. But the proconsul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in *Greece*, not one excepted. By this means the *Achæans* were put in possession of *Corinth*. Nevertheless, it was resolved in the council of the ten commissioners, that the citadel of *Corinth*, and the two cities of *Demetrias* and *Chalcis*, should be held by the *Romans*, as long as they were under any apprehensions

c of a war with *Antiochus* [g].

AND now, the time of the *Isthmian* games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be transacted there kept every body in suspense. The decree of the *Roman* commissioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of *Greece* was the topic of all conversations. Some, but very few, hoped well; most of that numerous assembly could not be persuaded, that the *Romans* would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconsul *Flaminius*, attended by the ten commissioners, took his place; silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the usual form of words;

d but the *Greeks* to their great surprize heard him pronounce the following words: *The senate and people of* Rome, *and* Quinctius Flaminius *proconsul, after having overcome* Philip *and quieted* Macedon, *declare the* Corinthians, *the* Phocians, *the* Locri, *all the* Eubœans *in the island, the* Magnesians, *the* Thessalians, *the* Perrhœbi, *the* Achæans, *and* Phthiotes, *free from all kind of servitude. All these nations shall live in an independent state, and be governed only by their own laws.* In this vast assembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reason of the noise and confusion which immediately arose. Such as were at a greater distance left their places to ask those who were nearer what they had heard. At last there was an universal outcry from all corners of the stadium, demanding that the herald should repeat the proclamation.

e Then the trumpet sounded again, and the herald, with a more distinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the *Greeks* without exception. He was heard with the most profound silence, and not a single word of the decree was lost. And now, being fully assured of their happiness, they expressed their satisfaction with such transports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crouded round *Flaminius*, calling him the *deliverer* of *Greece*, and pressing to kiss his hand. The croud was so great, and they threw so many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being stifled, had not the vigour of his age, being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which so glorious a day raised in his breast, enabled him to undergo so great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the spectators

f could look at nothing but the protector and restorer of their liberties, admiring the disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the conduct of the proconsul in particular.

A peace concluded with Philip. *Year of the flood* 2807. *Before Christ* 196.

The Greeks *declared free by the* Romans.

g LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 30. 35. POLYB. excerp. Legat. p. 795. 800. PLUT. in Flam.

(Q) On the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* some games were annually celebrated, and thence called *Isthmian*. They are said to have been instituted by *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*. The most skilful athletæ in *Greece* came thither to dispute the prize in running, leaping, wrestling, &c. This was one of the most numerous assemblies in *Greece*.

(R) *Plutarch* tells us, that the air was put into such a violent agitation by the acclamations and shouts of so numerous a body of people, that some crows which were accidentally flying over the assembly, fell down in the arena (S)

(S) *Plut. in Flam.*

ticular [h]. But after all, *Rome* found her account in these acts of generosity; for they gained her the hearts of the *Greek* nation, and by that means increased her power without enlarging her dominions.

Demetrias, Chalcis, *and* Acro-Corinth *evacuated by the* Romans.

After this the proconsul, to complete the work, convened a general assembly at *Corinth*, and there declared, that he would evacuate *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and *Acro-Corinth*, which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to *Rome*. The *Greeks*, with tears in their eyes, assured him, that they should ever retain a grateful remembrance of so gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure some pledge of their affection, they sought for all the *Romans* that were reduced to slavery on the coasts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thousand in number, the greatest part of them having been taken by *Hannibal* in *Italy* and sold to the *Greeks*. The *Achæans* alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconsul, after having withdrawn the *Roman* forces from *Acro-Corinth*, *Demetrias*, and *Chalcis*, embarked at *Oricum* on his return to *Italy*, leaving *Greece* to enjoy the happiness which he had procured it [i].

Nabis *left in possession of* Sparta.

The only thing that reflected some dishonour on *Flaminius* and stained his reputation was, his leaving the usurper *Nabis* in possession of *Lacedæmon*, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy *Agesipolis*, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the *Roman* standards. *Plutarch* accounts for this strange proceeding, and tells us, that *Flaminius* proposed only such conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to *Rome*, because the reputation of *Philopœmen* began to eclipse his. They were both in the same camp and in the same confederacy, and the soldiers in their discourses often compared them together, always preferring the *Greek* general to the *Roman*. They imputed the proconsul's successes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimously agreed, that *Philopœmen*'s victories were entirely owing to himself. And truly, says our author, no one understood better than *Philopœmen* how to draw up an army, seize advantageous posts, suit the disposition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack seasonably, or judge of the critical time for a retreat [k]. *Flaminius* on the other side, though inferior to the *Achæan* in the art of commanding armies, yet far surpassed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheless he was very uneasy to see himself surpassed by a *Greek*, in that character which most dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him so zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the most judicious among the *Greeks*, who were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities, knowing, that *Greece* would never enjoy a lasting peace, so long as *Nabis* enjoyed the crown of *Lacedæmon*.

The Achæans *declare war against* Nabis *tyrant of* Sparta. *Year of the flood* 2812. *Before Christ* 191.

What they foresaw was soon brought to pass: For, not long after the departure of the *Romans*, *Nabis* began to raise insurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garisoned by the *Achæans*, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid siege to *Gythium*, an important maritime city, which *Flaminius* had taken from him. These hostilities obliged the *Achæans* to have recourse to the *Romans*, who sent the great *Flaminius* again into *Greece* to enquire into the state of affairs on the spot. At his arrival he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*, and the *Achæans* assembled at their general diet which was held at *Sicyon:* They had immediately recourse to him and desired his advice. The assembly were for taking up arms immediately and invading the *Lacedæmonian* territories; but *Flaminius* advised them to wait till the *Roman* fleet arrived, which the prætor *Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their assistance. Nevertheless the assembly was still in suspense what part to act, and the leading men were divided among themselves; some were for following the advice of *Flaminius*, others for falling on the *Lacedæmonians* without loss of time; they only waited for the decision of *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor and presided in the assembly. But that prudent general was not in haste to give his opinion: *It is a wise institution of ours*, said he, *that our prætors shall not deliver their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your business to determine what to do, and mine to execute your orders; and I will take all possible care that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war or peace.* These words inclined the assembly more powerfully to a war, than if he had openly declared for it; and a decree was issued, ordering troops to

[h] Plut. in Flam. [i] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 4. Plut. in Flamin. [k] Plut. in Flamin. & Philopœm

a to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to *Philopœmen* [1].

THE brave *Achæan*, being inveſted with this power, was at firſt in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, according to the advice of *Flaminius*; on the other ſide he judged it might be dangerous to ſuffer *Nabis* to purſue the ſiege of *Gythium*, and expoſe the *Achæan* gariſon to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the *Achæan* ſhips with a deſign to give the beſieged ſome relief, and ſuſpend the attacks of the enemy, at leaſt towards the ſea. But this deſign required a man of ſome experience in maritime affairs, whereas *Philopœmen*, tho' not
b inferior to any land-officer whatſoever, had never been on board a ſhip, but in order to go over to *Crete* as a paſſenger. However, he took upon him the command of the *Achæan* fleet, imagining that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land. But he found to his coſt, how uſeful experience is on all occaſions; for *Nabis*, who had fitted out a few ſhips filled with rowers and ſoldiers uſed to ſea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very firſt onſet diſperſed his fleet, took ſome of his ſhips, and ſunk others. *Philopœmen* himſelf was very near being taken, but, as he had the caution to go on board a light veſſel before the engagement, he made his eſcape, and, though purſued cloſe by the enemy, got ſafe into the port of *Patræ* [m].

Philopœmen defeated by ſea.

THE ſhame of this ill-concerted expedition did not diſcourage the brave *Philo-*
c *pœmen*, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. *Nabis*, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would be made to throw any ſuccours in *Gythium*, and therefore turning the ſiege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the reſt guarded the paſſes through which ſuccours might be brought to the beſieged city, eſpecially a port called *Pleiæ*. In this camp *Philopœmen* reſolved to attack the *Lacedæmonians*; and accordingly having gathered together ſome boats, and manned them with *Achæans*, he ordered them to advance towards *Pleiæ*, while he himſelf marched along the ſhore to the ſame place. Both the boats and *Philopœmen* with his army arrived at *Pleiæ* in the dead of the night, and found the enemy faſt aſleep without any watch, as thinking
d themſelves in a ſecure place. Upon the firſt ſignal firebrands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the *Achæan* general at the ſame time ſurrounded the camp to fall on thoſe who made their eſcape. As the *Lacedæmonians* were not furniſhed with tents, they had made barracks of branches of trees, which taking fire obliged them to fly in great confuſion. But ſuch as eſcaped the flames were cut in pieces by the *Achæans*, who had ſeized on all the paſſes; ſo that very few got ſafe to the camp before *Gythium*. *Philopœmen* having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been ſomewhat leſſened by his maritime expedition, aſſembled the *Achæans*, in order to conſult with them about the meaſures he ſhould take for the relief of *Gythium*. It was reſolved in the aſſembly, that he ſhould advance to *Lacedæmon*, as if he deſigned
e to lay ſiege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diverſion, and force *Nabis* to raiſe the ſiege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the *Achæan* army appeared before *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* therefore, without loſs of time, hastened to *Lacedæmon*, and found the *Achæans* marching through a narrow paſs, their ſeveral bodies being at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. *Philopœmen* was not a little ſurprized at the ſudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowneſs of the place doubled his concern. However, without ſhewing any uneaſineſs, he drew up his men in the moſt artful manner poſſible. He poſted his *Achæans* in the firſt line, and behind them the *Cretan* auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the ſide of
f a brook for the convenience of watering their horſes. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this diſpoſition he waited till the enemy came up, without fearing the conſequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the ſame poſture. *Philopœmen* in the night-time poſted a ſtrong body of his beſt troops in a valley, ordering his horſe to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuſcade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horſe engaged firſt; the *Achæan* cavalry was commanded by *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the hiſtorian. At firſt the diſpute was warm, and the advantage equal. But *Lycortas*, according to the orders he

He gains a complete victory over Nabis *by land.*

[1] PLUT. in Philop, LIV. lib. xxxv. c. 13. [m] PLUT. & LIV. ibid.

he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and, retiring a
in good order, drew the enemy into the ambuſcade; and then facing about attacked
them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible
fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry betook
themſelves to a precipitous flight, and moſt of them would have been cut to pieces,
had not the *Achæan* general, who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the
enemy, ſounded a retreat. *Nabis*, ſuſpecting that *Philopœmen* deſigned to ſeize the
paſſes leading to *Lacedæmon* and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part
of his troops to prevent him. This report *Philopœmen* had cauſed to be ſpread in the
Lacedæmonian camp, by one of his own men who fled thither as a deſerter; and accord-
ingly took his advantage of it. For *Nabis* was no ſooner gone, but he attacked his b
ſon-in-law *Pythagoras* who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches
poſſeſſed himſelf of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in
the enemies camp, and with the reſt of the army purſued the fugitives with great
ſlaughter. The *Lacedæmonians* being now entirely diſperſed, he divided his army
into a great many ſmall bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that
led to the gates of *Lacedæmon*, being well appriſed, that by the favour of the night
ſuch as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His deſign
ſucceeded, and the *Lacedæmonians* were either cut in pieces or taken priſoners, as
they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant loſt
the flower of his troops, and *Philopœmen*, after having laid waſte great part of *Laco-* c
nia, returned home loaded with ſpoils and glory [n].

Sparta *joined to the* Achæan *league.* *Year of the flood* 2812. *Before Chriſt* 191.

But what moſt of all raiſed the fame and reputation of *Philopœmen* was, his join-
ing the powerful city of *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæan* commonwealth, by which means
the *Achæans* came to eclipſe all the other ſtates of *Greece*. This memorable event
we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore ſhall only add here
one circumſtance, which in our opinion reflects greater luſtre on *Philopœmen* than all
his warlike exploits. The *Lacedæmonians*, overjoyed to ſee themſelves delivered from
the oppreſſions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of
Nabis to be ſold, and the ſum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and
twenty talents, to be preſented to *Philopœmen* as a token of their gratitude. Depu- d
ties therefore were to be appointed, who ſhould carry the money and deſire *Philopœ-*
men in the name of the ſenate to accept of the preſent. And on this occaſion it was,
ſays *Plutarch*, that the virtue of the generous *Achæan* appeared in its greateſt luſtre;
for ſo great was the opinion which the *Spartans* had of his probity and diſintereſtedneſs,
that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the preſent. Struck
with veneration and fear of diſobliging him, they all begged to be excuſed. At laſt
they obliged by a public decree one *Timolaus*, who had formerly been his gueſt, to go
to *Megalopolis*, where *Philopœmen* lived, and offer him the preſent. *Timolaus* with
great reluctance ſet out for *Megalopolis*, where he was kindly received and enter- e
tained by *Philopœmen*. Here he had an opportunity of obſerving the ſeverity of
his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the
regularity of his manners, which ſtruck him with ſuch awe, that he did not dare
once to mention the preſent he was come to offer him; inſomuch, that, giving
ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the preſent. The *Lace-*
dæmonians ſent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himſelf now, than the
firſt time, to mention the true cauſe of his journey. At laſt going a third time, he
ventured with the utmoſt reluctance to acquaint *Philopœmen* with the offer he had to
make to him in the name of the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philopœmen* heard him with great
calmneſs; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking he ſet out with him to *Sparta*, where,
after expreſſing the greateſt obligations to the *Spartans*, he adviſed them to lay out f
their money in corrupting and purchaſing the wicked, and ſuch as divided the citi-
zens, and ſet them at variance with their ſeditious diſcourſes, to the end that, being
paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government.
For it is much more adviſeable, ſaid he, to ſtop an enemy's mouth than a friend's;
as for me, I ſhall always be your friend, and you ſhall reap the benefit of my friend-
ſhip without expence [o]. Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of this brave *Achæan*.

A great inſtance of Philopœmen's *diſintereſtedneſs.*

The *Achæan* republic was now become formidable; the addition of *Lacedæmon*
had greatly increaſed its power; but, at the ſame time diviſions ariſing among the
confederate

[n] Plut. ibid. Liv. l. xxxv. c. 28. [o] Plut. in Philop.

a confederate cities, the *Romans* began to let them know, that the republic of *Achaia* was in ſome degree ſubject to that of *Rome*. *Meſſene* and *Elis*, two cities of *Achaia*, had ſided with *Antiochus* and refuſed to come to the *Achæan* diet. Whereupon *Diophanes* at that time prætor raiſed ſome troops, and advanced at the head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waſte the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourſe to *Flaminius*, who then reſided at *Chalcis*, proteſting, that they had rather ſurrender themſelves up to the *Romans*, than live ſubject to the *Achæans*. *Flaminius* immediately left *Chalcis*, and haſtening to *Megalopolis* ſent orders from thence to *Diophanes*, enjoining him to deſiſt from hoſtilities and meet him at *Megalopolis*. The prætor obeyed, and *Flaminius*, after
b having gently reproved him for diſturbing the peace, adviſed him to diſband his troops, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he would ſettle the affair of the *Meſſenians* and *Eleans* to the ſatisfaction of the *Achæans*. Accordingly he ſubjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the *Achæan* exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of *Flaminius* was greatly applauded by the *Achæans*, for the *Meſſenians* earneſtly entreated him to put a *Roman* gariſon into the city, proteſting that they had rather be ſubject to *Rome* than to *Achaia*. But *Flaminius* in ſo doing had another point in view, which was to perſuade the *Achæans* to deliver up to him the iſland of *Zacynthus* (S) which they had lately purchaſed. *Diophanes* could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon *Flaminius* ordered
c the aſſembly to be called, and there gave a ſignal proof of his abilities, convincing the *Achæans*, that the parting with an iſland which they had lately purchaſed would prove very advantagious to their republic. The ſpeech he made on this occaſion is entirely accommodated to the genius of the *Greeks*. "I look on *Achaia*, ſaid he, "as a ſort of tortoiſe which nature hath guarded with its ſhell. If it thruſts out its "head or feet ever ſo little beyond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon "and hurt. The frontier cities, which ſurround you, *Achæans*, are your ſhell and "your natural defence. But as to any acquiſitions beyond the continent, thoſe are "parts of your ſtate which are expoſed to inſults, and which you cannot ſecure "without being at a greater charge than they are worth." This ſpeech, which
d was founded on good ſenſe, convinced the *Achæans*, that their new purchaſe would prove rather prejudicial than uſeful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimouſly voted, that it ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans* [q].

Meſſene and Elis revolt from the Achæans.

IT was not long, ere new diſputes aroſe among the *Achæans*, which gave the *Romans* a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies and thoſe very nations which they had declared free. The general aſſembly of the *Achæans* had been held time out of mind at *Ægium*; but *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages, which thoſe aſſemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the *Achæan* league, and had named *Argos* for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of
e *Ægium* oppoſed this regulation, and had recourſe to *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, after having reduced the *Ætolians* and made himſelf maſter of *Cephalenia*, reſided in that iſland to decide, as he ſaid, ſuch diſputes as ſhould ariſe between any of the *Greek* cities or republics. Thus, under the character of a peace-maker, he was in reality the ſovereign of *Greece*, and gave laws to the whole country. The iſland of *Cephalenia* being now in the hands of the *Romans*, a way was open for the legions into *Peloponneſus*, which was only divided from it by a ſmall arm of the ſea about twenty-four miles over. *Fulvius* therefore, upon the firſt notice of this diſpute, croſſed over into *Peloponneſus*, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of *Ægium*; but ſeeing that the
f other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the aſſembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the diſpute had been brought to his tribunal [r].

New diſputes among the Achæans.

THE

[q] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

[r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28---30.

(S) *Zacynthos*, now *Zante*, is a pretty conſiderable iſland in the *Ionian* ſea. It is ſaid to be twenty-five miles in length, twenty in breadth, and ſixty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had given it up to *Amynander* king of the *Athamanes*. This prince made the famous *Philip* of *Megalopolis* governor of it, and he transferred it to *Hierocles* of *Sicily*, who after the defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ* ſold it to the *Achæans*.

The Lacedæmonians *attempt to withdraw themselves from the* Achæan *league.*
Year of the flood 2814.
Before Christ 189.

The quarrel that arose between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* was of more a consequence. *Flaminius* had given all the places on the coast of *Laconia* to the *Achæans*, who kept garisons in them, even after *Lacedæmon* had acceded to the *Achæan* league. This some of the leading men among the *Lacedæmonians* could not brook, and therefore, to deliver themselves from this slavery, they attacked in the night a small city on the coast called *Las* (T), but were repulsed by the inhabitants and the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of *Achaia*. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the *Achæans*. *Philopœmen*, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for opposing the tyrant, was then prætor. He represented to the assembly the attempt upon *Las* as an insult offered to all *Achaia*, and caused a b decree to be enacted, commanding the *Lacedæmonians* to deliver up the authors of that enterprize, on pain of being treated as enemies. Embassadors were sent to *Lacedæmon* to give them notice of this decree; but this served only to exasperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of those who were known to be in the *Achæan* interest, dissolved their alliance with *Achaia*, and sent embassadors to *Fulvius* the proconsul, entreating him to come and take possession of their city. But these proceedings, and the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter *Philopœmen* from declaring war against *Lacedæmon*. However, as the season was far advanced, the *Achæans* contented themselves with plundering part of the *Lacedæmonian* territory and harassing the inhabitants with frequent incursions. c

At the return of the spring, both parties made preparations for war, and hostilities were carried so far, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephalenia* and come into *Peloponnesus*. On his arrival he ordered an assembly to be convened at *Elis*, to discuss the pretensions of *Achaia* over *Lacedæmon*. But, after hearing both parties, he was so perplexed that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore advised them to send embassadors to *Rome*, and while the cause was trying there to suspend all hostilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately dispatched to *Rome*. The *Achæans* appointed two great men to plead their cause, who were of a very different character. These d were *Diophanes*, a man of moderation and of a tractable disposition, and *Lycortas* the father of *Polybius*, a man entirely addicted to *Philopœmen*. *Diophanes* referred the decision of the cause to the arbitration of the senate. *Lycortas* maintained the decree of *Philopœmen*, and urged, that it could not be reversed without making void the regulations of *Flaminius*, who had committed the care of the coast to the *Achæans*. The senate was unwilling to disgust the *Achæans*, but at the same time thought the *Lacedæmonians* worthy of compassion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous answer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The *Achæans* pretended, that it gave them full power to inflict on the *Lacedæmonians* the punishment they deserved. Whereupon *Philopœmen*, who was continued in his prætorship, take- e ing the field, marched to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there summoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon *Las*, promising that they should not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promise all those, whom *Philopœmen* demanded by name, set out for the *Achæan* camp, attended by the chief citizens of *Lacedæmon*, who looked upon their cause as their own. Being arrived at the camp their malcontent countrymen crouded round them, and with an insulting air began to vent the most injurious expressions against them. Nay, from words they came to blows, and the *Achæan* officers had occasion to exert all their authority to appease the tumult. As the *Lacedæmonian* exiles continued complaining of their hard treat-

Lacedæmon relieved by the Achæans.

ment, they engaged the *Achæan* soldiers in their quarrel, and all on a sudden fell upon f the *Lacedæmonians* with such fury, that seventeen of them were killed upon the spot. Seventy-three were with the greatest difficulty rescued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. *Philopœmen* did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it should be said that they had been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without scarce suffering them to answer for themselves, condemned and executed them all. This severe proceeding struck all the *Lacedæmonians* with such terror, that they surrendered at discretion; and *Philopœmen*,

(T) *Las* was situated on the *Laconic* gulph south of *Sparta*, on a stony soil and in a country full of rocks, whence it borrowed its name; the word Λᾶς signifying in *Greek a stone*.

a *pœmen*, whoſe main point in view was to humble the *Lacedæmonians*, treated them as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. He commanded them to demoliſh their walls, diſband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the ſlaves whom the tyrants had ſet at liberty, receive the exiles, and laſtly renounce the laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future govern themſelves only by thoſe of *Achaia* [s]. *Hard conditions impoſed upon the city by* Philopœmen.

THE *Lacedæmonians* readily demoliſhed their walls; for *Lacedæmon* had long ſubſiſted without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were moſt averſe to; but *Philopœmen* and the *Achæans* were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-inſtated in their ancient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants. But the moſt fatal
b blow was the abolition of the laws of the wiſe *Lycurgus*, which, ſevere as they were, the *Lacedæmonians* had obſerved for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years [t]. Such was the fate of one of the moſt illuſtrious cities of *Greece* (U).

THE *Lacedæmonians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of this cruel treatment; and *Lepidus*, who was then conſul, writ a letter to the *Achæan* confederacy, acquainting them, that the ſenate did not at all approve of ſuch inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the *Achæans* immediately diſpatched *Nicodemus* of *Elis* to *Rome* to juſtify their conduct. Upon his return he acquainted his republic, that *Rome* was not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of *Sparta*, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death ſo many of the inhabitants; but at the ſame time did
c not annul the decrees which the aſſembly had enacted. *Rome* had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the diſcuſſion of this point to a more proper ſeaſon [u]. *The Lacedæmonians carry their complaints to* Rome.

THE *Achæan* league was at this time in great repute all over the eaſt, and the friendſhip of ſo powerful a ſtate courted by all the princes of *Aſia*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* ſent embaſſadors to renew his ancient alliance with the *Achæans*, and to offer the republic ſix thouſand ſhields and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and *Lycortas* with two others deputed to thank him for the preſent and renew the alliance. King *Eumenes* alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the intereſt of which ſhould be ſettled on the members of
d the public council. Embaſſadors came likewiſe from *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, offering the republic in the name of their ſovereign ten ſhips of war completely equipped, and deſiring to have the ancient treaty of alliance confirmed by the aſſembly. All theſe embaſſadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ſhips which the latter offered. As for *Eumenes*, *Apollonius* of *Sicyon* exhorted in a long ſpeech the *Achæans*, not only to reject the preſent that was offered by his embaſſadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, ſince he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable aſſembly; which he would not have done, if he had not ſomething in view prejudicial to their true intereſt. His ſpeech was heard with great applauſe,
e and the renewing of the alliance poſtponed till a farther opportunity [w]. *The friendſhip of the Achæans courted by the princes of Aſia.*

THE *Romans*, having now got the better of all their enemies in the eaſt, reſumed the cauſe of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a deſign to humble the *Achæans*, whoſe great power began to raiſe no ſmall jealouſy at *Rome*. Three commiſſioners were therefore named, of which *Q. Cæcilius* was the chief, to go firſt into *Macedonia*, and from thence into *Achaia*, to examine matters on the ſpot. Theſe having ſettled the affairs of *Macedon*, purſuant to their commiſſion, haſtened to *Peloponneſus*. *Ariſtenes*, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, aſſembled all the chiefs of the republic at *Argos*, and invited *Cæcilius* with his collegues thither. *Cæcilius*, being introduced to the council, began his ſpeech by commending the zeal of the *Achæans*
f for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wiſdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the *Lacedæ-* *The Romans jealous of their power.*

[s] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30—34. [t] Liv. ibid. [u] Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 850, 852.
[w] Polyb. ibid.

(U) This cruel treatment of ſo renowned a city as *Sparta* reflects no great honour on *Philopœmen*. *Plutarch*, who juſtly ranks him among the greateſt commanders of *Greece*, ſeems in a certain manner to palliate this action, ſince he could not juſtify it. His inſiſting upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles was no way blameable; for moſt of them had been baniſhed by *Machanidas*, *Lycurgus*, and *Nabis*, for attempting to place on the throne *Ageſipolis*, to whom the kingdom of *Sparta* of right belonged. But all the other ſteps *Philopœmen* took on this occaſion betrayed a great deal of paſſion and a revengeful temper, which could not be ſatisfied but by the utter deſtruction of his enemies

Lacedæmonians had been very much cenſured at *Rome*; and therefore he exhorted them a
to atone ſome way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occaſion. *Ariſtenes*, who acted under-hand in concert with *Cæcilius*, did not make any reply. *Diophanes* of *Megalopolis*, who was a profeſſed enemy to *Philopœmen*, made other complaints againſt him; but took no notice of his proceedings at *Lacedæmon*. Upon this *Philopœmen*, *Lycortas*, and *Archon* ſpoke in their turns, and their ſpeeches in defence of the late proceedings at *Sparta* made ſuch an impreſſion on the council, that when *Cæcilius* withdrew, they came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this anſwer ſhould be given to the *Roman* commiſſioners. When *Cæcilius* heard it, he deſired that the general aſſembly might be convened. But they replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of b
Rome, whereby the *Achæans* ſhould be deſired to meet. As *Cæcilius* had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly that they would not aſſemble. This exaſperated the *Roman* to ſuch a degree, that he left *Achaia* without making any further enquiries [x].

On his return to *Rome*, he acquainted the ſenate with what he had tranſacted in *Peloponneſus*. Whereupon *Apollonidas*, whom the *Achæans* had ſent to plead their cauſe before the ſenate, was introduced. He endeavoured to juſtify the conduct of *Philopœmen* and his countrymen, with reſpect to the *Lacedæmonians*, and told them for what reaſon they had refuſed to call, at the inſtance of *Cæcilius*, a general aſſembly. After the *Achæan* embaſſador, thoſe from *Sparta* were admitted. *Philopœmen*, as we have obſerved above, reſtored the *Spartan* exiles; and theſe very exiles were c
the men, who ſince their return had moſt zealouſly contended for the recovery of the ancient ſplendor and liberty of their native country. Two of theſe, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, were, on this occaſion, appointed by the *Lacedæmonians* to implore the juſtice of the *Roman* ſenate. They repreſented, with great eloquence and in a very moving manner, the miſerable condition to which *Sparta*, once miſtreſs of *Greece*, was reduced; how its walls were demoliſhed, and the citizens dragged into *Achaia*, and there ſold for ſlaves (W); how the ſacred laws of *Lycurgus*, to which *Sparta* owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely aboliſhed, *&c.*

The ſenate, after hearing and weighing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered *Appius Claudius* and two others, who were ſoon to ſet out for *Macedon*, to put an end to d
this diſpute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they ſhould give on the ſpot in the aſſembly of the *Achæans*. In the mean time they required the *Achæans* to convene their general aſſembly whenever the *Roman* embaſſadors ſhould deſire it; ſince the *Roman* ſenate admitted them as often as they required an audience [y].

Sometime before the arrival of the *Roman* commiſſioners in *Peloponneſus*, *Lycortas*, at that time prætor, ſummoned the general aſſembly to examine the affair of the *Lacedæmonians*, that he might be ready to anſwer the queſtions which the commiſſioners ſhould aſk him, and at the ſame time know how his own countrymen ſtood affected. He repreſented to them ſuch things as they might fear from the *Romans*, e
who ſeemed to favour the intereſt of *Lacedæmon* more than that of *Achaia*; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the *Achæans*, had yet been ſo baſe as to ſpeak in the ſenate againſt them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his ſpeech with theſe words: "But after all they are our ſubjects, "and it is rebellion in them to bring a proceſs againſt their maſters. What puniſh-"ment then have they deſerved?" At theſe words loud cries were heard from all parts of the aſſembly, deſiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote, and, nothing being liſtened to but paſſion, a decree paſſed, condemning *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their embaſſy, to be put to death. But in the mean time the F
Roman commiſſioners arrived, and the ſcene was changed. The aſſembly of the *Achæans* was then ſitting at *Clitor*, a little city of *Arcadia*, and as ſoon as *Appius* appeared there he took the higheſt place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began diſcovered his intentions, and made

The Romans *eſpouſe the cauſe of the* Lacedæmonians.

x Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

y Polyb. ibid c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) *Philopœmen* ordered thoſe ſlaves, who had been ſet free by the tyrants, to be ſought out and ſold; and with the money ariſing from the ſale he rebuilt a portico, which the *Lacedæmonians* had deſtroyed at *Megalopolis* his native city.

a made the *Achæans* fear the worſt. He told them, that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the *Lacedæmonians*, and could not but diſapprove of all the ſteps that had been taken on that occaſion. He inveighed againſt the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of thoſe who had maſſacred the envoys from *Lacedæmon*, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed againſt the abolition of the laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been ſo much admired by all the nations in the world. *Lycortas* the prætor, who was a friend to *Philopœmen* on whom the accuſation fell, undertook to defend the common cauſe of the republic and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His ſpeech, for which we refer our readers to *Livy* [z], was very appoſite and well becoming the head of a nation. But *Appius* was little affected
b with it; without deſcending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments *Lycortas* had produced to juſtify their conduct, he deſired them to reſtore *Lacedæmon* her ancient rights and privileges voluntarily, leſt *Rome* ſhould force them to it. Theſe words drew ſighs from the whole aſſembly; but fear had got the better of their reſentment. They deſired the commiſſioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the *Achæans* to break their oath, by annulling themſelves the decree which they had ſwore to obſerve. This ſubmiſſion appeaſed the anger of *Appius*, who contented himſelf at preſent with only repealing the ſentence that was juſt before pronounced againſt *Areus* and *Alcibiades*. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the ſeſſions, and leaving *Greece* returned to *Italy* [a].

c THE commiſſioners having made their report in the ſenate, it was decreed; that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the *Achæans* ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences pronounced in the aſſembly of *Achaia* againſt *Lacedæmon* ſhould be repealed; and laſtly, that for the future the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould be deemed members of the *Achæan* body and treated accordingly. *Pauſanias* adds an article that is not mentioned by *Livy*, *viz.* that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt [b]. *Q. Marcius* was appointed to go into *Greece*, and ſee this ſentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and ſign the decree.

The city of Meſſene *withdraws itſelf from the* Achæan *league.*

BUT this ſtorm was ſcarce appeaſed, when a new one aroſe. The city of *Meſſene*
d had been a member of the *Achæan* body ever ſince the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one *Dinocrates*, who had a particular enmity to *Philopœmen*, drew it off from the league, and was arming the *Meſſenians*, his countrymen, in order to defend the city againſt *Philopœmen*, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave *Achæan* no ſooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haſte he could to ſeize the city of *Corone* (X), before the rebe had made himſelf maſter of it. But as he was ſick and actually kept his bed with a fever when the firſt news was brought him of the diſturbances at *Meſſene*, *Dinocrates* got to *Corone* before him. Then the *Achæan* general aſſembling the *Megalopolitan* youth, who had offered to follow him as voluntiers, and making a counter-march, advanced towards *Meſſene*, with
e a deſign to fall upon the revolters, while *Dinocrates* was buſy at *Corone*. But on his march he met with *Dinocrates*, attacked him, and put him to flight at the firſt onſet. *Philopœmen* on this occaſion forgot his ſickneſs and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from *Argos* to *Megalopolis*, which was above ſixty miles, in twelve hours. While the *Megalopolitans* were purſuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men, whom *Dinocrates* had had the precaution to leave in the open country about *Meſſene* to defend it, came and joined him. The *Meſſenians*, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The *Megalopolitans*, though led on by *Philopœmen* and *Lycortas*, were too weak to make head
f againſt ſuch a body of freſh men; *Philopœmen* therefore made it his chief buſineſs to retire in good order, which branch of the military art he underſtood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed *Lycortas* and the *Megalopolitans* in the van, and brought up the rear himſelf, facing about from time to time, and

Philopœmen *marches againſt the rebels.*

But is defeated.

[z] LIV. l. xxxix. c. 35—37. [a] LIV. ibid. [b] PAUS. in Achaic. p. 414.

(X) *Coron* or *Corone* was a city of *Meſſenia*, and is ſtill in being in the province of *Belvedere*, and known by the ſame name. *Plutarch* (9) inſtead of *Corone* puts *Colonis* or *Colone*, which was alſo a city in the territory of *Meſſene*, as appears from *Ptolemy*.

(9) *Plutarch in Philop.*

and keeping the enemy at ſome diſtance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile and ſurrounded by the enemy. However, they durſt not even then attack him, but keeping at a diſtance drove him with ſhowers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horſe. Yet ſtill he ſupported himſelf, though quite worn out with ſickneſs, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in his ſeventieth year. He ſpurred on his horſe croſs the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his ſmall army, when his horſe ſtumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head, and lay ſenſeleſs, till the enemies thinking him dead began to ſtrip him. He then opened his eyes and ſeemed to revive, when *Dinocrates*, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and in that condition carried him to *Meſſene*. When the *Meſſenians* received the news of this victory, and heard that *Philopœmen* was taken priſoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to ſee what they could no otherwiſe believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of thoſe very *Meſſenians* who had taken him. But upon the ſight of the hero of *Greece*, reduced to captivity more, by an accident than any want of valour, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much touched with compaſſion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppreſſions of the tyrant *Nabis*. As many had not been able to ſee him by reaſon of the croud, they deſired he might be carried to the theatre and there ſhewn to the multitude. But the magiſtrates, fearing leſt the eſteem and love which the *Meſſenians* had formerly ſhewn him ſhould revive, did not ſuffer the illuſtrious priſoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a ſudden to a vault called the *treaſury*, without doubt, becauſe the public money had been formerly kept there. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was ſtopped by a large ſtone raiſed up and let down by a crane. In this cavern *Philopœmen* wounded, ſick, and fatigued, ſpent a miſerable night. Early in the morning the ſenate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their priſoner, and ſending him back to his own country. But the ſenators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and conſequently were afraid they ſhould find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay ſent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the priſoner to drink a doſe of poiſon. The moment the illuſtrious *Megalopolitan* ſaw him carrying a cup in his hand, he gueſſed what he was bringing him, and raiſing himſelf up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he aſked the executioner with great tranquility, *Whether* Lycortas *and the* Megalopolitan *youth had got into a place of ſafety. Not one of them is killed*, anſwered the executioner, *they have all made their eſcape. That is enough*, replied *Philopœmen*, *I die content*. He then took the cup of poiſon with great chearfulneſs, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died one of the greateſt heroes that *Greece* or any other country ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boaſted heroes of *Rome*. Had *Achaia* been nearer to an equality with *Rome*, he would have preſerved his country from the yoke which the *Roman* republic forced it to bear. Both the *Greek* and *Roman* writers put him upon the level with *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, who were his contemporaries and happened to die the ſame year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greateſt commanders, but one of the greateſt ſtateſmen, of his age. To his valour and prudence *Achaia* owed all her glory, which upon his death began to decline, there being none after him in that republic able to oppoſe her enemies, with the like ſteadineſs and prudence; whence *Philopœmen* was called the laſt of the *Greeks*, as *Brutus* was afterwards ſtiled the laſt of the *Romans* [c].

Philopœmen *taken priſoner*

Philopœmen *put to death by the* Meſſenians. *Year of the flood* 2820. *Before Chriſt* 183.

When the news of his death was ſpread among the cities of the *Achæan* league, the rage of the people againſt his aſſaſſins was as great as their grief for the loſs of ſo great a man. The general aſſembly was immediately convened at *Megalopolis*, and *Lycortas*, at that time the moſt famous general in *Achaia*, put in the room of the deceaſed. The new general without loſs of time entered the *Meſſenian* territory at the head of an army which was ſoon raiſed, all the young men, that were fit to bear

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366, 368. Polyn. in legat. c. 52, 53.

a bear arms, ſhewing a great eagerneſs to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its ſplendor. *Lycortas* had been his particular friend, and therefore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his death to condign puniſhment. Thus both the general and ſoldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of *Meſſene*, after having laid waſte the whole territory, and ſummoned the rebellious city to ſurrender. The people, in ſpite of the prætor and ſenate, opened the gates to the *Achæan* troops, and put them in poſſeſſion both of the city and caſtle. This ſubmiſſive behaviour aſſwaged the wrath of *Lycortas*, who did not think it adviſeable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He only inſiſted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and ſuch
b as were any ways concerned in the death of *Philopœmen*. They readily complied with his requeſt, and the aſſaſſins loaded with irons were brought before him; but *Dinocrates*, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himſelf; the reſt were afterwards carried to *Megalopolis*, in order to be ſacrificed at the tomb of the deceaſed hero [d].

Meſſene *ſurrenders to the* Achæans.

And now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of *Philopœmen*, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp, burnt according to cuſtom on a funeral pile, and his aſhes depoſited in an urn adorned with feſtoons and fillets. *Lycortas*, being now to leave the conquered city, did not diſband his troops and ſend them to their reſpec-
c tive homes as uſual. They all marched out of the city in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched firſt crowned with laurel to ſhew their victory, but ſhedding floods of tears for the deceaſed hero. Next came the urn carried by *Polybius the hiſtorian*, ſon of *Lycortas*, ſurrounded by the prime nobility of *Achaia*, and the *Meſſenian* priſoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richeſt apparel and capariſons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the ſolemn proceſſion; but it was viſible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occaſion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*, *Philopœmen*'s native city, and arriving there paid him the laſt honours, with the utmoſt
d pomp and magnificence. The *Meſſenian* captives were ſtoned at his tomb, and each city of *Achaia* gave ſome ſignal proof of the eſteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loſs of ſo great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in moſt cities of *Greece* with noble inſcriptions. The magiſtrates of *Megalopolis* paſſed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly ſacrificed at his tomb; during which ſacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children ſung hymns in his praiſe [e] (Y).

Philopœmen's *aſhes carried in great pomp to* Megalopolis.

When news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Achæans* had reſtored the city of *Meſſene* to the league, their embaſſadors there were addreſſed in quite different terms from thoſe which had been uſed before. The ſenate told them, that they had been careful not
e to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from *Italy* to *Meſſene*. This plainly ſhews the inſincerity of the *Romans*, and the little regard they had to truth in their tranſactions with other nations. For when the *Achæans* demanded the ſuccours which they were obliged to furniſh them according to the treaty, and deſired, at leaſt, that they would not ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of *Italy* to *Meſſene*, it was anſwered, that, when any city broke off from the *Achæan* league, the ſenate did not think themſelves obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes, nor concern themſelves with the claims and pretenſions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the *Achæan* league to take up arms, and ſeparate as they pleaſed from the alliance. But now they endeavour to perſuade the
f *Achæans* that they had prohibited the ſubjects of the republic from lending any kind of aſſiſtance to the *Meſſenian* rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The *Achæans* at this time were maſters of all *Peloponneſus*, *Philip* king of *Macedon* was preparing a-new for war, the *Ætolians* were diſguſted with *Rome*, and *Antiochus*

[d] Liv. Plut. Polyb, ubi ſupra. [e] Idem, ibid.

(Y) Several years after when *Corinth* was taken and deſtroyed by *Mummius*, a *Roman* brought articles of impeachment againſt *Philopœmen*, in order to have the ſtatues and monuments, erected all over *Greece* to the memory of this great man, thrown down and aboliſhed. He accuſed him of having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and ſhewn on all occaſions his hatred to the republic. The cauſe was heard in council before *Mummius*, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and ſolidity by *Polybius*.

Antiochus ready to pass over into *Greece*. No wonder then, that *Rome* was very a
cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in so critical a juncture.

We have observed above, that the *Roman* senate had decreed, among many other articles, that *Sparta* should be admitted into the *Achæan* league, and that *Marcius* had been sent into *Greece* to see this decree put in execution. However, the *Achæan* embassadors on their return from *Rome* acquainted the assembly, that the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and consequently might be driven a-new from the city without disobliging the senate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithstanding the strong opposition made by *Diophanes*, who undertook to defend their cause. Being thus reduced to their former state of misery, they sent b
embassadors to *Rome* imploring the protection of the senate. The senators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of *Achaia*, desiring them to give the *Lacedæmonian* exiles leave to settle again in their native country. These letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of *Achaia*, which returned no other answer, than that the matter should be considered after the arrival of the *Achæan* embassadors from *Rome*. Not long after the embassadors returned, and declared before the council, that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themselves from their importunities [f].

The Lacedæmonian exiles recur to the Romans.

After the embassadors had been heard, *Lycortas* was of opinion, that no notice c
should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote; but *Hyperbates*, who was then prætor, and *Callicrates* were of a different opinion. *Lycortas*, however, carried it, and it was resolved, that embassadors should be sent to acquaint the *Roman* senate with the reasons which had moved them to adhere to their former resolutions, notwithstanding their recommendation. *Callicrates*, *Lysiades*, and *Aratus*, were appointed embassadors, and instructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at *Rome*, *Callicrates* acted in direct opposition to his orders; for being introduced to the senate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his stubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the *Greeks* paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themselves for d
it, such a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. In our commonwealth, said he, "there are two parties, one of which maintains, that an "implicit obedience should be paid to all your orders; the other party pretends, "that the laws of the country should prevail over your will; and this suits best "with the genius of the *Achæans*, and has a great influence over the populace. "Hence such as blindly comply with your ordinances are hated by the people, "while those who oppose them are honoured and applauded. We see at this pre-"sent time the first employments of our republic filled by men, whose only merit "consists in a pretended zeal for the laws of their country, in contradiction to *the* "express orders of this august assembly. If you continue to shew such an *indiffe-* e
"rence on this head, all the chief men will certainly oppose you, this being a sure "way to preferment. But if you shew favour to those only who espouse your in-"terest, the leading men in all the republics of *Greece* will declare for you, and "the populace soon follow their example. What I have said is plainly confirmed "by the present conduct of my countrymen. How long is it since you desired "them to recal the *Lacedæmonian* exiles? Nevertheless they are so far from com-"plying with your request, that they have bound themselves by oath never to re-"store them [g]." Thus the *Greeks* began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men prostitute to their private interest that liberty which their ancestors had purchased and maintained at the expence of their lives. *Callicrates* was so transported with f
ambition, that he chose rather to betray and ruin his country, than suffer any other to have more authority in it than himself.

Callicrates betrays his country, to ingratiate himself with the Romans.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of *Rome* could not but be very agreeable to the senate. As *Callicrates* had treacherously pointed out the methods by which they might easily weaken and crush the *Greek* republics, it was concluded, that they should exert themselves in heaping favours upon such as maintained the authority of *Rome*, and humbling those who presumed to oppose it. Our historian observes, that this was the first time the fatal resolution was taken of depreciating those,

[f] Polyb. in Legat. c. 54. [g] Polyb. in Legat. c. 58.

a thoſe who in their reſpective countries, had the moſt noble way of thinking, and raiſing ſuch as declared right or wrong for the *Romans*; a reſolution which in all countries leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. Henceforth it was a conſtant maxim of the *Roman* policy, to increaſe the power and authority of ſuch as favoured their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and conſtitutions of their reſpective countries, and oppreſs by all poſſible methods thoſe who were ſincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their anceſtors. This ſingle maxim is ſufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and moderation which the *Romans* diſcovered on ſome occaſions.

The Achæans commanded to reſtore the Lacedæmonian exiles.

FROM this period *Rome* began to treat the *Achæans* in a quite different manner b from what ſhe had done in former times. Peremptory orders were ſent them to reſtore the *Lacedæmonian* exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the ſenate. Letters were at the ſame time directed to the *Ætolians*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and other free ſtates of *Greece*, enjoining them to ſee the orders of the ſenate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their reſpective commonwealths men only of ſuch noble ſentiments as *Callicrates*. Thus the *Romans* requited the eminent ſervices which the *Achæans* had done them in their wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they had adhered to them, when they were deſpiſed by the other ſtates of *Greece* (Z). *Callicrates*, on his return to *Peloponneſus*, ſpread ſo artfully the terror of the *Roman* name, and intimidated the people to ſuch c a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he reſtored the *Lacedæmonian* and *Meſſenian* exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the *Romans*.

BY theſe violent methods *Rome* got numbers of flatterers, but loſt many of her beſt friends; and on the other ſide *Perſes*, who had ſucceeded *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, ſpared no pains to win over to his party ſuch as were diſſatisfied with the *Romans*. That prince, being determined to ſhake off the yoke which the *Romans* had laid on him, made it his whole buſineſs to draw off the *Greek* cities and nations from their alliance with *Rome*. To this end, thinking his preſence neceſſary among nations, who would perhaps ſooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a diſtant d republic, he advanced towards *Delphos* under pretence of diſcharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in *Greece*. With this view he croſſed mount *Oeta*, and ſurprized the *Greeks* with his ſudden appearance among them. The terror ſpread into *Aſia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perſes* after conſulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, paſſing through *Phthiotis* and *Theſſaly*, without committing any hoſtilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all thoſe countries, and therefore the ſon not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but ſent deputies to all the free ſtates, or circular letters, remonſtrating, that they ought not to continue the hatred, they might have conceived againſt the father, to the ſon who courted their friendſhip [h].

Perſes endeavours to gain over the Achæans. Year of the flood 2825. Before Chriſt 178.

e THE *Macedonian*'s chief attention was to gain over the *Achæan* republic, which had carried its hatred ſo far againſt the *Macedonians*, that they were not ſuffered upon any pretence to enter *Achaia*. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make ſuch a decree. For though *Philip* had greatly diſobliged them, eſpecially by putting the two *Aratus*'s to death, yet he had proved in many other reſpects very beneficent to them; whence they were with much ado prevailed upon to forſake him; and even after they had entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſome of their leading men ſtill favoured their ancient ally. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, for the preſervation of concord among themſelves, to uſe great circumſpection, leſt by his agents he ſhould foment diviſions in the ſtate. Beſides, by hearkening to his meſf ſages they might give jealouſy to their new allies. On theſe conſiderations the general aſſembly of *Achaia* had enacted a decree, forbidding any *Macedonian*, on what pretence ſoever,

h Liv. l. xli. c. 12.

(Z) *Polybius* aſcribes this violent proceeding of the *Romans* to the compaſſion which the *Spartan* exiles raiſed in the breaſts of the ſenators. The *Romans*, ſays he, are eaſily moved to pity by the complaints of the miſerable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Lacedæmonian* exiles. But we muſt remember, that this (in other reſpects impartial) hiſtorian wrote this in *Rome*, and under the eyes of the *Romans*, after they were abſolute lords of *Greece* (10).

(10) *Polyb. legat.* c. 58.

ſoever, to enter into *Achaia*, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the ſtate. This a
decree cut off all intercourſe and means of reconciliation with the *Macedonians*, and
thereby quaſhed at once the *Macedonian* faction. But at the ſame time it proved
very prejudicial both to the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*; for the ſlaves on both ſides
uſed to fly to the enemies of their maſters, where they found a ſure aſylum, knowing
they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However,
Perſes made the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, by ſending back to the *Achæans*
ſuch of their ſlaves as had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable
preſent he ſent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for
preventing their ſlaves from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This
was courting their friendſhip, and tacitly demanding the re-eſtabliſhment of their b
ancient commerce. One *Xenarchus*, who was then prætor of *Achaia*, read the king's
letter in a full aſſembly; it was heard with great applauſe, eſpecially by thoſe who
had received their ſlaves, and moſt of the leading men were for annulling the decree
forbidding all commerce with *Macedon*. But *Callicrates* repreſented to them the
bad conſequences of repealing the decree in ſo critical a juncture; he told them,
that the *Romans* deſigned to make war upon *Perſes*, that *Perſes* had nothing elſe in
view by ſending back their ſlaves than to involve them and all *Greece* in this war,
and that to enter into the leaſt engagement with *Perſes* was to renounce their alliance
with *Rome*, and draw all the weſt upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as
they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuſe the dangerous preſents, live as c
utter ſtrangers to *Macedon*, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of com-
merce with her.

Arcon Xenarchus's brother ſpoke after *Callicrates*, and endeavoured to prove, that
the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, ſince *Perſes* had renewed
his alliance with the *Romans*, was honoured by them with the title of friend and
ally, and had lately entertained their embaſſadors with great demonſtrations of kind-
neſs; why then might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Epirots*, *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*,
and the other nations of *Greece*, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood? Why
might not the *Achæans*, like the other free ſtates, ceaſe to be enemies to *Perſes*,
without ceaſing to be friends to *Rome*? He concluded, that it would be time enough d
to declare againſt the *Macedonians* when they were come to an open rupture with
Rome; but till then they had no reaſon to be more zealous for their friends, than
their friends were for themſelves [i].

Arcon's diſcourſe would have determined the aſſembly to comply with the requeſt
of *Perſes*, had not *Callicrates* obſerved, that the king had not vouchſafed to treat
with them otherwiſe than by a ſhort letter. This want of reſpect, as *Callicrates*
ſtiled it, being artfully repreſented, made the aſſembly poſtpone the determination,
and refuſe for the preſent the king's offer. Aſſoon as *Perſes* was acquainted with
what had paſſed at the diet, he ſent embaſſadors to make the ſame offers. But the
advocates of *Rome* found means to render all their negotiations fruitleſs [k]. e

Some years after, a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Perſes*, great
diviſions aroſe in all the cities and free ſtates of *Greece*, ſome favouring the *Mace-*
The Achæans declare for the Romans. *donians*, and others adhering to the *Romans*. The aſſembly of *Achaia* was not ex-
Year of the flood 2834. empt from theſe diſturbances; but *Arcon* wiſely prevented the ill conſequences that
Before Chriſt 169. might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of *Achaia* to eſpouſe the cauſe of the
Romans. *Arcon* was not, as we have ſeen above, greatly inclined to the *Romans*,
but rather favoured in his heart the *Macedonian* faction; however, as he foreſaw
that *Rome* would at laſt prevail, he was no ſooner choſen prætor, but he got the
diet to paſs a decree, impowering him to raiſe what forces he pleaſed and march f
with them to join the *Romans*. In the ſame aſſembly it was reſolved, that embaſ-
ſadors ſhould be ſent to *Marcius* the *Roman* conſul, who had already penetrated into
Theſſaly, to acquaint him with the reſolution of the republic, and to know, when, and
where, the *Achæan* army ſhould join him. *Polybius* the hiſtorian being named for this
embaſſy, he immediately ſet out for the *Roman* camp, in order to ſuppreſs the reports that
were ſpread, as if *Achaia* intended to aſſiſt the *Macedonians*. When he arrived he was
received by the conſul with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. The good will of ſo
powerful a nation, at a time when ſo many others were wavering in their fidelity,
could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindeſt terms,
and

[i] Liv. ubi ſupra. c. 27. [k] Liv. ibid. c. 28.

a and told them, that they might ſpare themſelves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, ſince in the preſent poſture of affairs he did not want any foreign ſuccours. With this anſwer *Polybius* ſent back his collegues, but remained himſelf in the *Roman* camp. In the mean time the *Achæans* acquainted *Polybius*, that *Appius*, who commanded the *Roman* troops in *Epirus*, had demanded of their republic five thouſand men, which body they were ready to ſend into *Epirus*, if the conſul approved of it. But *Marcius* was ſo far from conſenting that any ſuccours ſhould be ſent to *Appius*, that he immediately diſpatched *Polybius* home with orders not to ſuffer any troops to be ſent to *Appius*, nor his republic to be put to ſuch uſeleſs expences. It is difficult, ſays our hiſtorian, to diſcover the real motives that
b induced *Marcius* to act in this manner. Was he for ſaving the *Achæans* the trouble and charges of ſo long a march? or did he intend to put it out of *Appius*'s power to undertake any thing, ſince he had not been able to undertake any thing himſelf? Whatever was his motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the inclinations of the conſul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of *Achaia*, difficulties were ſtarted by *Polybius*'s friends and thoſe of his party. For as he was ſure to incur the diſpleaſure of the conſul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge; ſo on the other other hand orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not ſeem ſufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refuſing ſuccours to *Appius*, who really wanted them. In this caſe therefore they had recourſe to a
c decree which had been lately publiſhed, in all the cities of *Greece*, by two commiſſioners ſent for that purpoſe from *Rome*. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the *Roman* generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with *Rome* without an expreſs order from the ſenate, and prohibiting the allies to ſubmit to any exaction or even demands of the conſuls, prætors, tribunes, *&c.* without ſuch an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the *Roman* fleets and armies exerciſed over their moſt faithful allies, gave occaſion to this decree. For want of an order from the ſenate, the meſſenger ſent by *Appius* was diſmiſſed without the ſuccours he demanded. Thus *Polybius* made his court to the conſul, and at the ſame time conſulted the intereſt of his country [l].

d The enſuing year *Paulus Æmilius*, who ſucceeded *Marcius* in the command of the army in *Macedon*, being informed, that *Perſes* was drawing together a mighty army with a deſign to come to a deciſive battle, ſent to ſollicit ſuccours from the allies, eſpecially the *Achæans*, who upon the firſt ſummons ſent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the moſt experienced commanders they had. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of *Pydna*, which put an end to the *Macedonian* war, *Perſes* being entirely defeated, and ſoon after reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to deliver up himſelf and all his children to the conquerors. And now the *Romans*, having by this victory triumphed over their enemies in the eaſt, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from
e what they had uſed while they ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the affairs of *Macedon* and inſpect thoſe of *Greece*, that is to proſecute and puniſh, without any regard to juſtice and equity, all thoſe who during the war had betrayed any inclination to the *Macedonians*. Theſe haughty judges ſummoned all the heads of the *Greek* nations to appear before their tribunal at *Amphipolis*, in order to compoſe their differences, as they gave out, and reſtore *Greece* to its ancient tranquility. The *Ætolians* appeared firſt, in mourning habits and making great lamentations. The ſubject of their complaints was, that two members of their aſſembly, *Lyſiſchus* and *Tiſippus*, whom the protection of the *Romans*, to whoſe intereſt they were devoted, rendered very powerful in *Ætolia*, had
f ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers lent them by *Bæbius*, who commanded in that country for the *Romans*, and put to death five hundred and fifty of the ſenators for no other crime, but becauſe they were thought to favour *Perſes*. The commiſſioners after hearing their complaints confined their enquiries to this point alone, whether thoſe who had been thus maſſacred were for the *Romans* or *Perſes*, and having found that they had ſpoke in the ſenate for *Perſes*, the council paſſed a decree, by which the murderers were acquitted, and thoſe who had been put to death declared to have ſuffered juſtly. *Bæbius* alone was blamed, for employing the *Roman* ſoldiers in an execution which had no relation to military affairs [m].

The haughty behaviour of the Romans *after the defeat of* Perſes.

THUS

[l] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. c. 77. [m] Liv. l. xlv. c. 28, 31.

Year of the Flood, 2836. *Year before Christ*, 167.

This sentence spread great terror among those who had shewn any affection for *Perses*, and increased beyond measure the pride and insolence of the partisans of *Rome*. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The first, and without doubt the most numerous, adhered to the *Macedonians*; the second was devoted to the *Romans*, and the third in opposition to the other two were neither for the *Macedonians* nor the *Romans*. The latter, whose party was least numerous, as it consisted only of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party should prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preserve their country both from the *Macedonian* and *Roman* tyranny. These were in great esteem and beloved in their respective cities, and had acted prudently in all the measures they had taken. But this was not sufficient, as we shall see, to screen them from the vengeance of the *Romans*. The commissioners first wreaked their anger on those who had favoured *Perses*, for the emissaries of *Rome* flocked to *Amphipolis* from all the countries of *Greece* to accuse them before the council. These treacherous men informed the commissioners, that, besides those who had openly espoused the cause of *Perses*, there were many others, who were no less averse from the *Romans* in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly settled in *Greece*, till they had utterly destroyed both the favourers of *Perses* and those who had affected to stand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commissioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quash in all the *Greek* cities not only the *Macedonian*, but the neutral, party, and confer honours on those only who preferred the interest of *Rome* to all other regards whatsoever. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to treat all those as criminals who were not of the *Roman* party, and confer employments on such only as declared themselves their accusers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the so much boasted equity of the *Romans*. They were just and honest when they found their account in justice and honesty, but ever ready to sacrifice both to their boundless ambition.

a

b

c

The most sanguine of these informers were *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*, both *Achæans*, and greatly attached to the *Roman* party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themselves in them with the assistance of the *Romans*. With this view they informed against all those among their countrymen who were in a condition to dispute the highest posts with them; and their accusations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partisans of *Perses* before his overthrow. Besides the *Achæans*, *Callicrates* accused a great many others, and gave in a long list of such as had either declared for the *Macedonian*, or stood up for the defence of their own rights and privileges in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*. All these were ordered by *Paulus Æmilius* to follow him to *Rome*, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the *Achæans*, the commissioners thought it advisable to judge them in their own country, and to send two of the chief members of the council into *Achaia* to try them there; and accordingly *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were named and set out for *Achaia*. Three reasons induced them to act in this manner: the first was, because they apprehended, that the *Achæans*, who were very powerful and no less jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders should they be commanded to justify themselves at *Rome*; the second, because they had not found any of their letters among *Perses*'s papers; and the third, because it was necessary to protect *Callicrates* and the other informers against the insults of their countrymen [u].

d

e

Unwarrantable proceedings of the Romans.

One of the two commissioners sent into *Achaia*, *Pausanias* does not say which, a man of a most vile character, complained in the assembly of the *Achæans*, that many of the chief men of the league had assisted *Perses* against the *Romans*, and therefore desired that all those might be condemned to die, whom he should name after sentence given. *After sentence given*, cried out the whole assembly, *What justice is that? Name them first, and let them answer for themselves; which if they cannot do we engage to condemn them. Since you promise to condemn them*, replied the haughty *Roman* with an assuming air, *all your prætors, all who have bore any office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are guilty of this crime.* At these words *Xenon*, a person of great credit, and highly respected by the whole league, spoke to this effect: *I have commanded*

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[u] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416.

a *commanded the army, and have had the honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest I have never done any thing contrary to the interest of* Rome; *and if any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now stiled, let him appear; I am ready to clear myself, either in the assembly of the* Achæans, *or before the* Roman *senate.* The *Roman* took hold of this expression, and said, that since *Xenon* had named the senate, he and the rest could not appeal to a more impartial judge; then he began to name all those who had been accused by *Callicrates*, as more in the *Macedonian* than the *Roman* interest, ordering them to appear and plead their cause before the senate. They were above a thousand, all men of distinguished merit, and who had nothing so much at heart as the welfare of their country; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their b charge. This sentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of *Achaia*. That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all those who had shewn any zeal for the preservation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under *Philip* and his son *Alexander*; for neither of these princes ever thought of causing those who opposed them to be sent into *Macedon*, but referred their trials to the council of the *Amphictyons* their natural judges. Upon the arrival of these unhappy men at *Rome*, they were banished into different towns of *Italy*, and kept there close prisoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the assembly of the *Achæans*. When news of these tyrannical proceedings was brought into *Achaia*, the assembly sent embassy after embassy to acquaint the senate, that their banished countrymen had not been c tried at home, but referred for their trial to the *Roman* senate; they begged, that they would give them a hearing, condemn such as they should find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable; she obstinately insisted upon their having been found guilty in *Achaia*, and sent to *Rome* only to hear what punishment she was pleased to inflict upon them. Hereupon the *Achæans* sent a solemn embassy to the senate, to protest that the pretended guilty persons had never been tried, or even heard, by their assembly. *Euratas*, who was at the head of this embassy, being introduced to the senate, declared the orders he had received, earnestly entreating the senate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the persons accused, and not suffer them to perish without being condemned. "It were to be wish-
d "ed, said he, that the *Roman* senate, that august and venerable assembly which has ne-
"ver been known to swerve in its decisions from the strictest rules of equity, would take
"the cause of these unhappy men into their own hands; but if affairs of greater impor-
"tance do not allow them leisure to examine the matter themselves, let them refer it to
"the assembly of the *Achæans*, who are ready to punish with the utmost rigour such as
"they shall find guilty of any crime that may be laid to their charge." As this demand was very equitable, the senate was greatly puzzled what to answer. They did not think it advisable to try the cause, as knowing that the accusation was groundless. On the other hand, to dismiss the exiles and suffer them to return to their own country was to disoblige their partisans in *Greece*, who placed all the hopes of their preferment
e in the ruin of those who had a better title to favour than themselves. After several consultations, the senate for want of a better answer returned this, "that they did not think
"it expedient for the welfare of *Achaia* that these men should return home." Such tyrannical proceedings caused an universal consternation in *Achaia*, all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loss of their countrymen no otherwise than if they had been their dearest relations. *Callicrates* and *Androsidas* became more than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never mentioned in the assemblies but with horror and detestation. Even the children fell upon them in the public streets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay the *Achæans* carried their rage so far, that when the two informers had one day gone into a public
f bath at *Sicyon*, no body would wash with them, or even after them, till the water was let out and the place purified. This general uneasiness made *Achaia* still the more suspected by the *Roman* senate, who kept the prisoners more closely confined than ever. These were the first seeds of a war, which we shall soon see break out between *Rome* and *Achaia*; the first sparks of that fire which consumed *Corinth* °.

A thousand Achæans *commanded to appear before the* Roman *senate.*

The *Achæans*, however, did not give over soliciting the senate for the release of the exiles. They sent new deputies to beg their return as a favour, lest in taking upon them their defence they should seem to oppose the will of the senate. The deputies appeared at *Rome* in the attire of suppliants, and took care not to say any thing, in the harangue

° Liv. l. xlv. c 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 417. Polyb. legat. 107.

harangue they made before the ſenate, that could give offence. Their ſpeech was a
modeſt and extremely reſerved; but the conſcript fathers continued inexorable,
declaring, that they would not upon any account whatſoever alter the meaſures they
had taken. The *Achæans* on the other hand would not give over ſoliciting and im-
portuning the ſenate in behalf of their countrymen. They ſent ſeveral embaſſies at
different times, and made what intereſt they could among their friends at *Rome* and
elſewhere, to get their petition backed by perſons who were better received than them-
ſelves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to ſuffer
Polybius, who was one of the exiles and kept under cloſe confinement at *Rome*, to
appear before the ſenate and plead the common cauſe. This is the ſo much vaunted
equity of the *Romans*; theſe the civilizers of barbarous nations, the aſſerters of the b
rights and liberties of mankind.

Seventeen years were already paſt, and the far greater part of the unfortunate
exiles dead in their confinement, when the ſenate at laſt was prevailed upon to ſuffer
thoſe few who were ſtill alive to return home. *Polybius*, as we have hinted above,
was one of theſe unhappy *Achæans*; but had been kept at *Rome*, whither his reputa-
tion had reached before him and procured him that diſtinction. During his confine-
ment in that city, his merit, wiſdom, and learning, gained him the love and eſteem of
the greateſt men in the ſenate. He was particularly dear to the two ſons of *Paulus*
Æmilius; the eldeſt of theſe had been adopted into the family of the *Fabii*, and the
youngeſt into that of the *Scipios*. The latter, who afterwards deſtroyed *Carthage* c
and *Numantia*, at the requeſt of his friend ſollicited *Cato* the cenſor to ſpeak in the
ſenate in favour of the *Achæans*, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight
with the members of that aſſembly. *Cato*, out of complaiſance to young *Scipio*, pro-
miſed to back the Petition of the new deputies that were then come from *Achaia* to
intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates aroſe,
as uſual, among the ſenators, ſome few being for ſending them home, and the others
oppoſing it, when *Cato* roſe up, and with great gravity ſaid, "that to ſee the *Roman*
"ſenate diſpute with great warmth, whether ſome poor old *Greeks* ſhould be buried
"in *Italy* or in their own country, would make one think that they had nothing at
"all to do." This pleaſantry, coming from ſo grave a man as *Cato*, made the ſena- d
tors aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and determined them at laſt to ſend back the exiles
into *Peloponneſus*. *Polybius* was for ſupplicating the ſenate, that they might be rein-
ſtated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their baniſhment; but
before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thought proper to hear *Cato*'s opi-
nion, who told him ſmiling: "*Polybius*, you do not imitate the wiſdom of *Ulyſſes*.
"You are for returning into the cave of the *Cyclops* for ſome poor tatters you have
"left there." Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their num-
ber was much diminiſhed; for of the thouſand and upwards that came from *Achaia*,
no more than three hundred returned thither. The reſt had periſhed in *Italy* with
hunger and grief, and ſome had ſuffered like criminals for attempting to make their e
eſcape [p]. Such inhuman proceedings deſerve no other name but that of the moſt
wanton and oppreſſive tyranny. The republic of *Achaia* was not ſubject to, but upon
a level with, that of *Rome*. Thoſe brave *Achæans*, who were thus barbarouſly treated,
had moſt of them ſerved under the *Roman* ſtandards, and greatly contributed to that
very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

The Achæans after ſeventeen years confinement are ſent home.

As for *Polybius*, he made no uſe of this permiſſion, but remained in *Rome*, where
that very virtue which had brought him into diſtreſs was not only the means of his
relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than thoſe he loſt. He attended
Scipio Æmilianus in all his military expeditions, and ſignalized himſelf no leſs in the
ſervice of *Rome*, than he had formerly done in that of *Achaia*. f

The exiles on their return found *Achaia* rent into different factions, and the minds
of the common people entirely eſtranged from the *Romans*. They only wanted an
opportunity to make *Rome* repent of the rigorous treatment ſhe had ſhewn to the
Achæan priſoners. This averſion was artfully fomented by their chief magiſtrates
and the leading men in the republic, who were for the moſt part profeſſed enemies
to the *Romans*. Such an univerſal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds
of moderation; it ſoon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire re-
duction of *Achaia* and the diſſolution of the *Achæan* league.

[p] Pausan. in Achaiac. Plut. in Cat. cenſore. Polyb. in legat. 129. [illegible]

What gave rise to the war with the Romans.

a To trace this war back to its first origin: a certain dispute arising between the *Athenians* and the inhabitants of *Oropus* (A), the latter had recourse to the *Achæans*. *Menalcidas*, by birth a *Lacedæmonian*, was then prætor of *Achaia*; to him the *Oropians* applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he presided, to espouse their cause and assist them with troops. The *Lacedæmonian*, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the proposal, and, in order to gain his point, promised to divide the money with *Callicrates*, if he could by his interest extort from the general assembly their consent to send troops to the defence of *Oropus*, *Callicrates*, allured with this bait, prevailed on the assembly to take the city of *Oropus* under their protection; and accordingly *Menalcidas* was
b immediately dispatched, with a strong body of chosen troops, to make head against the *Athenians* who had already taken the field. But *Menalcidas* came too late, the *Athenians* had already plundered *Oropus* and retired with an immense booty; however, the avaricious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his assistance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himself to divide them with *Callicrates*: he first put him off with fair promises, and at last told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole sum to himself. *Callicrates*, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accused him, as soon as he was out of his office, of having used his utmost endeavours with the *Roman* senate to withdraw his country from the *Achæan* league. The process was carried on with such rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have been sen-
c tenced to death, if he had not by a present of three talents prevailed upon *Diæus*, who succeeded him in the prætorship, to acquit him in spite of all the evidences that were produced against him. This drew on *Diæus* the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewise were inclined to the *Lacedæmonians*. This was a great stain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold step. He maintained in the general assembly, that the *Lacedæmonians* were subject to the *Achæan* league even in criminal cases. *Rome* had decreed the contrary; but this screened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring *Menalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. When news was brought to *Lacedæmon*, that *Diæus* was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general assembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the *Roman*
d senate had in express terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private assemblies; they were for sending deputies to *Rome*, but *Diæus* pretended, that only the general assembly of the whole nation had a right of sending embassadors thither [q].

New troubles in Peloponnesus.

These arbitrary proceedings greatly exasperated the *Lacedæmonians*; but, as they were no-ways in a condition to make head against the whole strength of *Achaia*, they humbled themselves so far as to send deputies to *Diæus*, who was advancing at the head of a considerable army, intreating him not to use force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitless. The prætor answered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the *Lacedæmonians* in general, but only with a few disturbers of the
e public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of *Lacedæmon* assembled, when *Agesistbenes*, a man of great authority, moved, that those who had been named by *Diæus* should of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been banished, and carry their complaints to *Rome*. The motion was applauded by the whole assembly, and the persons that had been named withdrew without delay from their native country. When the council of *Lacedæmon* heard that they were got out of *Laconia*, sentence of death was pronounced against them in a full assembly, which assuaged the anger of *Diæus* and his *Achæans*. But when they heard that the exiles, together with *Menalcidas*, were embarqued for *Italy* to lay their complaints before the senate, *Diæus* and
f *Callicrates* made what haste they could after them to plead the cause of the *Achæans* against the *Lacedæmonians*. But they did not both reach *Rome*; *Callicrates*, who had great interest in that city died at *Rhodes*, whither his affairs had called him. *Diæus* therefore and *Menalcidas* only appeared before the senate, and by their *Greek* eloquence disguised the truth with such artifice, that the senators could not come to any determination. Commissioners were therefore appointed to determine the dispute on the spot.

[q] Pausan. in Achaic.

(A) The ancient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by *Aristotle Græca*, stood in the island of *Eubœa*; another, the native city of *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*; the third, which is the city we are now speaking of, stood in *Bœotia*, near the borders of *Attica*, forty-four miles north of *Athens*. It is now a village called by the natives *Repo*.

ſpot. But, as they were too dilatory in ſetting out, *Menalcidas* and *Diæus*, arriving a
in *Peloponneſus* long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they on their
arrival could not extinguiſh. *Diæus* aſſured the *Achæan* aſſembly, that every thing
would be determined by the commiſſioners in their favour. On the other hand,
Menalcidas brought the *Lacedæmonians* word, that in a ſhort time their city and ter-
ritory would be ſeparated from the *Achæan* league and declared an independent ſtate.
The *Achæans* hearing this reſolved to take up arms and force the *Lacedæmonians* to
change their language [r].

Metellus endeavours to compoſe them.

Metellus, who was then buſy in ſettling the affairs of *Macedon*, being informed of
the troubles in *Poloponneſus*, deſired the embaſſadors, which *Rome* was ſending into
Aſia, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon* in their way, in order to perſuade the *Achæans* b
to ſuſpend all hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners, who had been nomi-
nated to compoſe their differences in an amicable manner. Theſe embaſſadors
arriving in *Achaia* found *Democritus*, who had ſucceeded *Diæus* in the office of prætor,
in full march with a deſign to fall upon the *Lacedæmonians*. They exhorted him to
diſband his men and return home, but the prætor, deſpiſing their advice, advanced
to the very walls of *Lacedæmon*, and there gained a conſiderable advantage over the
Lacedæmonians, who, having loſt a thouſand of their men, retired with ſuch preci-
pitation into the city, that if *Democritus* had warmly purſued them, he might have
entered *Lacedæmon* with the fugitives. But he was over-haſty in ſounding a retreat,
contenting himſelf with the advantage he had gained; which ſo diſpleaſed the c
general aſſembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, which ſum he not being able
to raiſe, he was obliged to lay down his office and ſave himſelf by flight out of the
Achæan territories. Then *Diæus*, who had been the author of all the troubles, and
was a declared enemy to *Lacedæmon*, was again elected prætor. *Metellus* no ſooner
heard of his promotion, but he ſent a deputation to him, intreating him to forbear
hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners. *Diæus* complied with his requeſt,
but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the *Achæans* by ſecret
negotiations all the cities that bordered upon *Laconia*, and having fortified them,
kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this diſtreſs the *Lace-*
dæmonians thinking no man ſo proper to extricate them out of theſe difficulties as d
Menalcidas, who had governed the whole *Achæan* republic, appointed him com-
mander in chief of their troops. *Menalcidas* was a man of great valour, but betrayed
want of prudence in the very firſt ſtep he took. For, to give ſome reputation to his
arms, he immediately took the field, and ſurpriſing the city *Faſos*, which was within
the borders of *Laconia* but ſubject to the *Achæans*, plundered it, and divided the
booty among his ſoldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by
the *Achæans* at the inſtance of *Metellus*, and drawing upon himſelf the reſentment of
the *Romans*. The *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were well appriſed, that ſuch unwar-
rantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cauſe, and therefore would have
puniſhed their general with the utmoſt ſeverity, had he not prevented them by lay- e
ing violent hands on himſelf [s].

Commiſſioners ſent from Rome into Achaia.

Not long after the death of *Menalcidas*, the *Roman* commiſſioners arrived in *Pelo-*
ponneſus. As they were ſent to put an end to a civil war which was kindled in the
heart of *Achaia*, they landed at *Corinth*, which was looked upon as the capital of the
Achæan league. There they ſummoned the aſſembly, which *Aurelius Oreſtes*, who
was at the head of the commiſſioners, opened with a ſpeech calculated rather to create
than compoſe diviſions. *Polybius* is of opinion, that he exceeded the inſtructions he
had brought from *Rome*, and changed the menaces of the ſenate into abſolute orders [t];
for he told them, that *Rome* had been long endeavouring to eſtabliſh a happy union
among the free cities of *Greece*, but was at laſt convinced, that ſuch an union could ne-
ver be effected ſo long as their preſent form of government ſubſiſted. f
" *Flaminius*,
" ſaid he, ſet your cities at liberty, a bleſſing which they might have enjoyed ſeparately;
" but you choſe to form a league among yourſelves, a league which ſhould depend
" on a general aſſembly, and be governed by a prætor choſen by a plurality of
" voices. In this you endeavoured to ſecure your common ſafety; but your pre-
" caution has only produced troubles and diviſions. Your deputies do not agree
" among themſelves; your aſſemblies make laws which every particular city will
" not

[r] Pausan, ubi ſupra. p. 421, 428. Polyb. legat. 143, 144. Id. in excerpt. de virt. & vit. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16. [s] Pausan. Polyb. &c. ibid. [t] Polyb. legat. 143.

a "not obſerve. This obliges you to have recourſe to arms; and hence theſe eternal "diviſions, hence theſe hoſtilities, which makes it neceſſary for you to be always "under arms, and to look upon your confederates as enemies. *Rome* is concerned "to ſee ſo many inteſtine wars kindled among you, knows the cauſe of theſe evils, "and is reſolved to put a ſtop to them. When you are leſs united you will be "more happy, and will never be completely ſo till you make the neceſſary ſepa- "rations. Attend then to the orders of the ſenate, which I am going to declare, "and put them in execution with readineſs. It is the will and pleaſure of the "*Roman* ſenate and people, that all the cities which were not formerly of the "*Achæan* league, that is, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* (B), and *Orcho-*
b "*menos* (C), be ſeparated from the general alliance, and governed by their own "laws independently of the confederacy [u]".

No ſooner had *Aurelius* pronounced theſe words, but the *Achæan* deputies, without giving him time to end his ſpeech, left the aſſembly, and calling together the people of *Corinth* in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commiſſioners had brought from *Rome*. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude, being enraged to the higheſt degree, fell upon all the *Lacedæmonians* they could find in the city, and either ſtript them or put them to death. Even thoſe who fled to the houſe of the commiſſioners for refuge were dragged from thence, and treated like the reſt. *Aurelius* and his collegues in vain cried out, that
c their republic would revenge the injuries done to the *Lacedæmonians*; the incenſed multitude was deaf to their remonſtrances; nay, they would have treated the commiſſioners themſelves in the ſame manner, had they not ſaved themſelves by a timely flight [w]. *The commiſſioners ill uſed and inſulted. Year of the flood 2856. Before Chriſt 147.*

The commiſſioners on their return to *Rome* not only ſet the inſults they had received at *Corinth* in the ſtrongeſt light, but are ſaid to have exaggerated them beyond meaſure; they repreſented the tumult, not as a ſudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The ſenate was highly incenſed at ſuch proceedings, but thought it adviſeable to uſe moderation: *Carthage* was not yet taken, nor the two pretended ſons of *Perſes* entirely ſubdued; they thought it therefore neceſſary to
d be very cautious in treating with ſo powerful a republic, as that of *Achaia*, in ſo critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for ſending three new commiſſioners into *Achaia*, inſtructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the *Achæans* not to give ear to bad counſel, leſt by their imprudence they ſhould draw upon themſelves a war, which it was in their power to avoid by puniſhing thoſe who had expoſed them to it. The commiſſioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in *Peloponneſus* met a deputy ſent by the *Achæans* to acquaint the ſenate with their proceedings againſt *Oreſtes*; but the commiſſioners carried him back with them to *Ægium*, where the diet of the nation had been ſummoned to aſſemble. *Sextus Julius*, a man of great prudence and moderation, was
e at the head of this new deputation; when he was introduced to the aſſembly, he ſpoke with that air of mildneſs which was natural to him, ſeaſoning his reproaches with the moſt tender expreſſions. We can excuſe, ſaid he, "The firſt commo- "tions of a multitude led aſtray by a miſtaken zeal for their country; we are "ſenſible that the magiſtrates cannot govern them on ſuch occaſions. If our em- "baſſadors have ſuffered any ill treatment in thoſe blind tranſports, the fault may "be eaſily repaired. The *Romans* will be appeaſed with the leaſt ſigns of repen- "tance. All the ſatisfaction *Rome* requires of you is, that you leave *Lacedæmon* in "peace, and reſtore tranquility to *Peloponneſus* [x]". *New commiſſioners ſent into* Achaia.

These moderate remonſtrances, in which *Julius* deſignedly omitted ſaying one
f word of ſeparating any cities from the *Achæan* league, were received with great applauſe by the major part of the aſſembly. But *Critolaus* and *Diæus* endeavoured to efface the impreſſions, which *Julius*'s ſpeech had made on the minds of the aſſembly, by inſinuating, that it was dangerous to truſt the ſeeming moderation of the *Romans*; that *Rome* only ſuſpended her revenge till *Carthage* was deſtroyed; that they would Critolaus *and* Diæus *ſtir up the people againſt the* Romans.

ſoon

[u] Idem ibid. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem Legat. 144.

(B) This city of *Heraclea* ſtood in *Phthiotis*, a province of *Theſſaly*, near the paſs of *Thermopylæ*. It was called *Heraclea Trachinea*, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities bearing the ſame name.

(C) *Orchomenos* was one of the largeſt cities of *Bœotia*, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the moſt antient and wealthy of *Greece*.

ſoon ſee her legions laying waſte *Peloponneſus*, as they had done *Africa*, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary to prevent ſuch hoſtilities, by raiſing up enemies againſt the *Romans* and utterly deſtroying their friends. Such were the diſcourſes of *Critolaus* and *Diæus* in their private conventicles among men of their own ſtamp and devoted to their faction. But in public they ſpoke a very different language, and treated the commiſſioners with great civility. *Critolaus*, who was then prætor, invited them to *Tegæa* to meet an extraordinary aſſembly, in which the affairs of *Lacedæmon* ſhould be amicably adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Accordingly *Julius* and his collegues went with the *Lacedæmonians* to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies: but no *Achæan* appeared. While the *Romans* were thus attending in a corner of the province, b
Critolaus was ſending expreſſes from city to city, forbidding them to ſend their deputies to the congreſs. *Julius* began to be impatient and expreſs his uneaſineſs, when *Critolaus* came all alone to *Tegæa*, and to the great ſurpriſe of the *Romans* told them, that the diſpute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* was of too great importance to be decided in a private aſſembly; that it was neceſſary to refer it to the general diet, which could not be aſſembled according to law in leſs than ſix months.

Julius was highly affronted at ſuch deceitful proceedings; he diſmiſſed the *Lacedæmonians*, and returning to *Rome* complained, that the republic had been inſulted and her embaſſadors perſonally ill uſed and derided. On the other hand, the prætor c
gloried in having mortified *Rome* in her envoys, and took no one ſtep to appeaſe her wrath. He was out of hatred to the *Romans* deſirous of war, but would not commit hoſtilities the firſt, for fear of being cenſured by his own nation. He therefore treated the embaſſadors in the manner we have related, being well appriſed, that contempt would as effectually exaſperate that haughty people as open hoſtilities.

Metellus endeavours in vain to bring Critolaus *to reaſon.*

However, *Rome* was not in haſte to come to an open rupture; notwithſtanding the loud complaints of *Julius* and his collegues, the ſenate would not reſolve on a war, but contented themſelves with referring the affair to *Metellus*, who was ſettling the province of *Macedon*, after having conquered the two falſe pretenders to d
that crown. The orders ſent him were to treat with *Critolaus*, as of himſelf, in order to bring him to reaſon. *Metellus* immediately diſpatched four *Romans* of diſtinguiſhed birth, *viz.* *Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius* into *Peloponneſus*, enjoining them to lay before the aſſembly of *Achaia* the evils which *Critolaus* and his partiſans were by their raſh behaviour drawing upon them.

In the mean time *Critolaus* ran from city to city, ſummoning aſſemblies under colour of communicating to them what had paſſed in the conferences at *Tegæa*; but in fact to vent invectives againſt the *Romans*, and put an odious conſtruction upon all they had done. In order to encreaſe his party, he publiſhed an edict, forbid- e
ding all judges to proſecute or impriſon any *Achæan* for debt, till the diſpute between the aſſembly and *Lacedæmon* was at an end. By this means he diſpoſed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making ſuitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the paſſions of a madman, who neither foreſaw his own misfortunes nor thoſe of his nation.

His deputies inſulted and abuſed.

During theſe tranſactions the four deputies ſent by *Metellus* landed at *Corinth*, where the general aſſembly was then ſitting. This new embaſſy ought to have been received with reſpect, as it came from a victorious general, whoſe army was encamped in *Macedon* within reach of *Greece*. But *Critolaus* treated them worſe than thoſe who had been ſent from *Rome*. He would not ſuffer them to appear f
before the aſſembly, but commanded them to declare their buſineſs to the populace aſſembled in the market-place. To this factious aſſembly, conſiſting of artificers and the refuſe of the people of *Corinth*, *Cn. Papirius* ſpoke, with, at leaſt, as much moderation as *Julius* had done before the heads of the nation. His diſcourſe tended to ſhew, that it was the intereſt of *Achaia* to keep up a good correſpondence with *Rome*; he took care not to mention the ſeparation of *Lacedæmon* and the other cities from the *Achæan* league. This was interpreted by *Critolaus* as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great croud of artificers fell upon the embaſſadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with

a with all manner of affronts out of the market-place [y]. All the cities of *Achaia* were at that time ſeized, we may ſay, with a kind of madneſs, but *Corinth* was more furious than the reſt. They were perſuaded, that *Rome* intended to enſlave them and abſolutely deſtroy the *Achæan* league, which perſuaſion made them deaf to all the remonſtrances of thoſe who diſapproved the wild meaſures of *Critolaus*.

THE turbulent prætor, finding all things ſucceed to his wiſh, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them againſt ſuch of the nobility as refuſed to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accuſing them of informing the *Roman* embaſſadors of all that paſſed in the national aſſemblies. b One of theſe by name *Strategius* immediately gave the prætor the lie, and ſteadily inſiſted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor and *Strategius* condemned, notwithſtanding he called the gods to witneſs that he had never diſcovered any thing tranſacted in the aſſemblies. This notorious piece of injuſtice convinced *Critolaus* that he had gained an abſolute aſcendent over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmoſt extremity, in the ſame aſſembly he cauſed war to be declared with *Lacedæmon*, and conſequently with the *Romans* [z].

War declared with the Lacedæmonians and Romans.

UPON the declaration of war the embaſſadors parted; *Papirius* repaired to *Lacedæmon* to watch the enemies motions; *Ælius* ſet out for *Naupactus*, and the other two for the camp in *Macedon*, to excite *Metellus* not to delay revenging the c affronts offered to *Rome* in her embaſſadors. Accordingly *Metellus*, without waiting for the orders of the ſenate, put himſelf at the head of his army, and began his march towards *Achaia*, with a deſign to enter it by *Theſſaly*.

THE cities of *Thebes* in *Bœotia* and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, having been diſobliged by *Metellus* ſince his abode in *Macedon*, joined the *Achæans*. The inhabitants of *Thebes* had been condemned by *Metellus* to make the *Phocians* ſatisfaction for the loſſes the latter had ſuffered by their frequent incurſions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of *Amphiſſa* in *Locris* (D) the third part of their harveſt, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of *Chalcis* had ravaged part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had obliged them d to make reſtitution. Upon theſe motives the two cities entered into the raſh meaſures of *Critolaus*, and joined him with their troops. With ſuch feeble aids the *Achæan* prætor believed himſelf able to cope with the moſt powerful ſtate in the world; ſo far had his rage and hatred againſt the *Romans* got the better of his reaſon. Both *Critolaus* and *Diæus* had been of the number of thoſe exiles, whom the *Romans* had kept ſo long in *Italy* in a kind of ſlavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themſelves even at the expence of their country.

Critolaus, being joined by the troops of *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, took the field, and marched againſt *Heraclea*, a city of the *Achæan* league, which refuſed to ſend its contingent to the prætor. While he was beſieging this town, news was brought e him that *Metellus* was drawing near, which ſtruck him with ſuch terror that he immediately broke up the ſiege and withdrew into *Achaia*. He might eaſily have ſeized the paſs of *Thermopylæ*, and there ſtopped at leaſt, if not defeated, the *Roman* army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. *Metellus* purſued him cloſe, and at laſt came up with him, and routed him. Hiſtorians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it coſt the *Achæans* dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thouſand of them taken priſoners. *Critolaus* himſelf loſt his life on this occaſion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle: ſome ſay, he poiſoned himſelf in ſome remote corner of f *Greece*, others, that he threw himſelf down from mount *Oeta* into a marſh and was drowned [a].

Heraclea *beſieged by the* Achæans.

The ſiege raiſed and the Achæans *defeated.*

IT was an eſtabliſhed law among the *Achæans*, that when their prætor died during his office, his immediate predeceſſor ſhould ſucceed him, and govern the republic till the next general aſſembly, which met at a ſtated time. By this law *Diæus* took upon him the government of the republic and the command of the ſcattered

Diæus *ſucceeds* Critolaus, *and makes great preparations for the war.*

[y] FLOR. in Epit. FLOR. l. 2. c. 16. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. OROSIUS, &c. [z] POLYB. Legat. 144. PAUSAN. in Achaic. [a] POLYB. PAUSAN. ibid.

(D) *Amphiſſa* ſtood on the banks of a little river bearing the ſame name, and was one of the greateſt cities in *Locris*. Some think it ſtood where *Solona* now ſtands; but *Niger* thinks, its antient ſituation agrees better with that of a little village now called *Lambino*.

ſcattered army. But ſcarce was he inveſted with this dignity, when news was a
brought him, that a body of above a thouſand *Arcadians*, who had joined the
Achæans and after the battle retired to *Elatea* in *Phocis*, had been all to a man
cut in pieces by *Metellus*. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he
had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it; he therefore
ſent deputies to all the cities of *Achaia*, enjoining them to raiſe new troops with
all poſſible expedition, and cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in all the places that
were ſubject to the *Achæan* league, to this purport; That no leſs than twelve thou-
ſand ſlaves, who had been born in the country, ſhould be enliſted; and that, if it
was neceſſary, ſome of the ſlaves that had been brought from foreign countries,
ſhould be taken into the ſervice to complete that number; that all thoſe who were b
fit to bear arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, ſhould repair to *Corinth*, and there
take the military oaths; that all perſons of ſubſtance, whether men or women,
ſhould bring all the gold or ſilver into the public treaſury. This convinced all
Achaia of the danger that threatned them; but, as they were imbarked in a war
with an enemy whom they had ſo highly provoked, they blindly purſued the mad
ſcheme. The cities of *Elea*, *Meſſene*, and *Patræ*, were ſo terrified, when they heard
that a conſular army was coming from *Rome*, and that a conſul with new legions
was to take place of the prætor *Metellus*, that the inhabitants gave themſelves up
to deſpair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themſelves,
through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. Theſe cities were expoſed c
to the firſt attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the moſt ſevere
treatment. Some had recourſe to the clemency of *Metellus*, flying to his camp
for refuge. There they informed againſt the moſt factious among their countrymen,
though no enquiry was yet made after them [b].

Thebes *taken by* Metellus.

In the mean time the *Roman* prætor entered *Arcadia*, and drew near *Thebes*,
which had openly declared for the *Achæan* league. *Pythias*, the chief magiſtrate of
that city, had ſtirred up all the inhabitants againſt the *Romans*, and treated with
great ſeverity ſuch as were unwilling to enter into his meaſures. It was chiefly with
a view to ſeize him that *Metellus* turned his arms againſt *Thebes*; but *Pythias* had
retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the d
army. Moſt of the citizens had followed his example and abandoned the city,
which *Metellus* entered without oppoſition. The few citizens that remained he
treated with great clemency, and ſaved the temples and houſes from being plun-
dered, but ſet a price on *Pythias*'s head. This mixture of mildneſs and ſeverity
was very pleaſing to the people, but ſtruck the magiſtrates with new terror.

Megara *ſubmits.*

From *Thebes* the *Roman* general marched to *Megara*, which important poſt was
guarded by one *Alcamenes*, with a detachment of four thouſand men. But the
cowardly governor at the approach of the prætorian army left the place, and
retired to *Corinth* where he joined *Diæus*. The inhabitants of *Megara* opened their
gates to the *Romans*, and put them in poſſeſſion of the moſt fruitful territory of e
Achaia.

Metellus *ſends new deputies to treat of a peace.*

And now *Metellus*, ſeeing moſt of the *Achæans* ſtruck with terror and inclined
to peace, thought that ſuch a favourable opportunity of gaining *Diæus* and his
faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the conſul *Mum-
mius* was charged with the war in *Achaia*, and had already ſet out from *Rome*,
with orders from the ſenate to ſettle affairs in *Greece* by the deſtruction of *Corinth*.
To deprive therefore *Mummius* of this glory, and at the ſame time ſave that noble
city, he ſent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embaſſy he did not chuſe
Romans, but three *Achæans* of great diſtinction and credit in their own country, who
had taken ſanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Theſe were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and f
Archippus, men well affected to the *Romans*, but ſtrongly touched with the misfor-
tunes which threatened their country. Upon their arrival at *Corinth* they found

They are treated as enemies.

the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever
bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into priſon, after he had pro-
duced them before the aſſembly of the people and declared them traitors and
enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his meaſures,
either by the remonſtrances of *Philo*, an *Achæan* of great authority who came on
purpoſe from *Theſſaly*, or by the entreaties of *Stratius*, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit
and his particular friend. In ſpite of all their efforts the mad prætor ſentenced the
three

[b] Polyb. & Pausan. ibid.

a three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjuſt ſentence; nay, they joined with them in the ſame condemnation one *Soſicrates*, a venerable ſenator, whoſe only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the *Romans*. *Soſicrates* was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture ſpared to extort from him ſuch a confeſſion as *Diæus* wanted; but he maintained to the laſt, that peace was preferable to war, and this inflexible conſtancy made no ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. As for *Andronidas* and his collegues, the avaricious prætor ſold them their deliverance at a great price. A few Days before, *Diæus* had cauſed one *Phillius* and his children to be put to death, only becauſe they were ſuſpected of
b correſponding with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedæmon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* faction. Thus were the unfortunate *Achæans* governed by magiſtrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their paſſions, and no other talent for war, but a ſavage fierceneſs, and a blind deſire of revenge [c].

An account of the many advantages gained by *Matellus* being tranſmitted to *Rome* by one *Poſthumius*, without the general's knowledge, the conſul *Mummius* haſtened his departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his lot. Why the ſenate would not ſuffer *Metellus* to finiſh a war, which he had proſecuted ſo far, is what we find no where recorded. When the conſul landed the numerous army he brought with him, *Metellus* was advancing to *Corinth*, with a deſign to uſe his utmoſt
c efforts, in order to bring *Diæus* to accept of a peace before the arrival of the conſular army, and thereby deprive *Mummius* of the glory of finiſhing the war. But the obſtinate prætor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous ſoever, which gave *Metellus* great concern, and made him loſe all hopes of ſettling *Achaia* in peace before the arrival of the conſul.

The conſul Mummius arrives in Greece. Year of the flood 2857. Before Chriſt 146.

This was the poſture of affairs in *Achaia*, when *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with a conſular army, conſiſting of three thouſand five hundred horſe, and twenty-three thouſand foot, beſides a body of *Cretan* archers, and the *Pergamean* troops ſent by *Attalus* the ſon of *Eumenes*. His firſt care was to ſend back *Metellus* and his forces into *Macedon*, leſt he ſhould ſhare with him the glory of concluding the war. He then
d drew near the city, and encamped on the iſthmus of *Corinth*, poſting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the *Achæan* army being ſhut up in the city, the *Romans* ſtraggled about the fields, and neglected their poſts; which the *Corinthians* obſerving made a vigorous ſally, fell upon the legionaries, and purſued them with great ſlaughter to their camp. This ſmall advantage encouraged the *Achæans*, and inſpired *Diæus* with hopes of conquering the conſul, who on his ſide did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his fooliſh perſuaſion; he kept his legions cloſe in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the ſight of the enemy. *Diæus*, now becoming audacious and ſure of victory, aſſembled all thoſe who were able to bear arms and formed them into a phalanx, which
e with the auxiliaries from *Chalcis* made up an army equal, if not ſuperior, in number to that of the *Romans*. They wanted experience and diſcipline; but *Diæus* thought that deſpair and the importance of their cauſe would ſupply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops and offered the conſul battle, which he declined, in order to draw the *Achæans* into a valley called *Leucopetra*, at the extremity of the iſthmus which joined *Attica* to *Peloponneſus*. Accordingly the prætor fell into the ſnare, and repaired thither long before the conſul. *Diæus* was ſo ſure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of *Corinth* to be ſpectators from the neighbouring hills of the ſlaughter he was going to make of the enemy;
f he had alſo ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army, which were to be loaded with the ſpoils of the *Romans* [d].

The Achæans *defeated by* Mummius.

Never was there a more raſh and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of *Diæus* had removed from the ſervice and from the publick councils all thoſe who were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs, and had ſubſtituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns: the ſoldiers had never before ſeen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military diſcipline; and nevertheleſs the raſh prætor promiſed himſelf victory, over a conſular army inured to the greateſt dangers. While the *Achæans* were thus triumphing in the plains of *Leucopetra*, and only ſolicitous leſt the conſul ſhould find means to make his eſcape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn up

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Paus. ubi ſupra. Auth. de vir. illuſtr.

up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuſcade a ſtrong body of a horſe, with orders to ſally out in the heat of the action, and attack the *Achæan* phalanx in flank. The *Achæans* advanced furiouſly, but their cavalry was ſoon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous reſiſtance; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and diſperſed. The ſlaughter then was dreadful; we are told, that the two ſeas, which were divided by the iſthmus of *Corinth*, were dyed with blood. If *Diæus* had retired into *Corinth*, he might have held it a long time, notwithſtanding the loſs of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from *Mummius*; for *Corinth* was at that time one of the ſtrongeſt places in the world, and the conſul's ſole aim was to deſerve a triumph by putting a ſpeedy end to the war. But b
Diæus abandoning himſelf to deſpair rode full ſpeed to *Megalopolis* his native country, and entering his houſe ſet fire to it, threw his wife into the flames leſt ſhe ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poiſon [e].

After this defeat all things were in the utmoſt confuſion at *Corinth*. The inhabitants, finding themſelves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for ſafety, leaving the city deſerted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The conſul hearing this could ſcarcely believe it, and fearing ſome ambuſcade reſtrained the ardour of his ſoldiers, who were very eager to enter *Corinth*, and enrich themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy a city. *Mum-* c
mius was thus in ſuſpenſe for the ſpace of three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly obſerved all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his ſoldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themſelves to forſake their native country, were all put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. Then the town was ranſacked by the greedy ſoldiers; and who can reckon up the immenſe treaſures they found? There were more veſſels of all ſorts of metals, more fine pictures, and ſtatues of the greateſt maſters in *Corinth*, than in any city in the world. All the princes of *Europe* and *Aſia*, who had any taſte in painting and ſculpture, furniſhed d
themſelves here with their richeſt moveables; here were caſt the fineſt ſtatues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greateſt perfection. Many ineſtimable pieces of the moſt famous painters and ſtatuaries fell into the hands of ſoldiers, who not knowing their value either deſtroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. *Polybius* was an eye-witneſs of the want of taſte in the *Romans* of thoſe days. This brave *Achæan*, upon the firſt news that his countrymen had taken up arms againſt *Rome*, left *Africa*, where he was attending *Scipio* at the ſiege of *Carthage*, and haſtened to *Achaia* to do his country what ſervice he could. He was in the *Roman* army when *Corinth* was plundered, and had the mortification to ſee the *Roman* ſoldiers playing at dice on a picture of *Ariſtides* (E), which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They e
ſet no value on that maſter-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the ſpoils of *Corinth* were put up to ſale, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* offered for it ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is near five thouſand pounds of our money. The conſul, ſurprized that the price of a picture ſhould be carried ſo high, thought there was ſome magical virtue in it, and therefore interpoſing his authority retained it, notwithſtanding the complaints of *Attalus*. He was not actuated in ſo doing by his private intereſt, for he did not appropriate it to himſelf, but placed it in the temple of *Ceres*, where *Strabo* had the pleaſure of ſeeing it before it was conſumed in the fire which reduced that f
temple to aſhes [f]. *Mummius* was a great warrior, but ſeems to have had no taſte for painting or ſculpture; for when he put the pictures and ſtatues he had taken in *Corinth*

Mummius *enters* Corinth, *and plunders it*

[e] Pausan. in Achaic. Zonaras l. 9. c. 31. [f] Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 35. c. 4. & 10. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 76, 77.

(E) *Ariſtides*, who was contemporary with *Apelles*, flouriſhed at *Thebes* about the 122d Olympiad. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that attempted to repreſent the paſſions of the ſoul in colours. The piece here ſpoke of was a *Bacchus*, ſo exquiſitely done, that it was proverbially ſaid of any extraordinary performance; *It is as well done as the* Bacchus *of* Ariſtides (11).

(11) *Plin. l.* 35, *c.* 4. & 10.

a *Corinth* on board the tranſports, he told the maſters of the veſſels very ſeriouſly, that if any of them were either loſt or ſpoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt. As if any other pieces could have ſupplied the loſs of thoſe ineſtimable originals, done by the moſt celebrated maſters in *Greece* [g]. Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays the hiſtorian who has tranſmitted this fact to poſterity, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taſte for ſuch rarities which prevails in the preſent age [h]? He ſpoke at a time when the governors of the provinces uſed all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themſelves and their families with ſuch valuable moveables.

Corinth being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to aſhes, purſuant Corinth *reduced to aſhes.*
b to the decree of the Senate, which the conſul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was ſet to all the corners of the city at the ſame time, and the Flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at laſt united there, and made one general conflagration, which is ſaid to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, ſilver, and braſs, which the *Corinthians* had concealed, were melted and ran down the ſtreets in ſtreams. Some of the greedy ſoldiers in attempting to ſave part of thoſe metals periſhed in the flames. When the fire was extinguiſhed, a new metal was found compoſed of ſeveral different ones (F), and greatly eſteemed in the following ages. The walls of the city were demoliſhed and razed to the very foundations. Thus was *Corinth* deſtroyed the ſame year that
c *Carthage* was laid in aſhes. By the deſtruction of two ſuch cities the *Romans* intended to ſtrike terror into the reſt of the world, and keep all nations ſteady in their obedience to *Rome*. *Corinth* was deſtroyed nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by *Aletes* the ſon of *Hippotes*, ſixth in deſcent from *Hercules*. *Cicero*, who approved of the deſtruction of *Carthage* and *Numantia*, wiſhed that *Corinth*, where the arts of painting and ſculpture ſeemed to have taken up their habitation, had been ſpared [i].

It does not appear, that the *Achæans* had any thoughts of raiſing new troops for the defence of their country, or ſummoned any aſſembly to deliberate on the meaſures it was neceſſary to take. No one took upon him to propoſe any remedy for
d the public calamities, or endeavoured to appeaſe the *Romans* by ſending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the *Achæan* league had been buried under the ruins of *Corinth*; ſo much had the dreadful deſtruction of this city alarmed and univerſally diſmayed the whole confederacy.

It was now neceſſary to determine the fate of the *Achæans* in general. As to the *Corinthians* and ſuch ſlaves as had taken up arms againſt *Rome*, they were all condemned to ſlavery, and carefully ſought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to aſſemble in the open fields, where they were ſurrounded by the *Roman* legions; and becauſe they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the
e natives of *Corinth*, and ſuch ſlaves as had ſerved in the Troops, ſhould be made captives and be ſold. The conſul granted the reſt of the inhabitants of *Achaia* their liberty, and ſold the lands of the citizens of *Corinth*, which were in great part purchaſed by the *Sicyonians*. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and ſome other cities, that had joined the *Achæans*, were by the conſul's orders diſmantled. *Achaia* was condemned to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred talents for the damages they had ſuffered during the war. Soon after ten commiſſioners arrived from *Rome* to regulate the affairs of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular, in conjunction with the conſul. *The* Achæan *league diſſolved, and* Achaia *reduced to a* Roman *province.*
Theſe, aboliſhed popular government in all the cities, and eſtabliſhed magiſtrates, who were to govern each city according to their reſpective laws under the ſuperin-
f tendency of a *Roman* prætor. Thus the *Achæan* league was diſſolved, and *Greece* reduced to a *Roman* province, called the province of *Achaia*, becauſe at the taking of *Corinth* the *Achæans* were the moſt powerful people of *Greece*. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to *Rome*, and the prætor, who was ſent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

[g] Vel. Pat. l. 1. c. 13 [h] Idem ibid. [i] Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.

We

(F) *Pliny* tells us, that there were three ſorts of *Corinthian* braſs, *viz.* the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, ſilver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) *Plin. l. 7. c. 38.*

We have obſerved above, that *Polybius* on his return into *Peloponneſus* had the a
mortification to ſee the city of *Corinth* reduced to aſhes, and his country become
a *Roman* province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on ſo
mournful an occaſion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of
Philopœmen, his maſter in the ſcience of war. A *Roman* out of ſome private grudge
to that great hero accuſed him before *Mummius*, as if he had been ſtill alive, of
having been an enemy to the *Romans*, and always oppoſing their deſigns to the
utmoſt of his power. What the accuſer propoſed by this new proſecution was,
that all the ſtatues and monuments erected to the memory of *Philopœmen* in moſt cities
of the *Achæan* league ſhould be deſtroyed, and his glorious feats buried in obli-
vion. The accuſation was not without foundation; for as that brave *Achæan* was a b
true friend to his country, ſo he was an enemy in his heart to the *Romans*, being
well appriſed, that nothing but the abſolute ſubjection of *Greece* could ſatisfy their
pride and ambition. However, *Polybius* boldly took upon him his defence, and
repreſented him as the greateſt man *Greece* had produced in latter times; he owned,
that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little
too far; but that he had rendered the people of *Rome* conſiderable ſervices on
various occaſions. The ten commiſſioners, at whoſe tribunal he pleaded ſo noble a
cauſe, moved with his reaſons, but more with the gratitude he ſhewed in defending
his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of *Philopœmen* ſhould not be touched, and
that his monuments ſhould remain till they were over-turned by the deſtroyer of all c
things. *Polybius*, taking the advantage of *Mummius*'s good diſpoſition, begged of
him the ſtatues of *Aratus* and *Achæus* the founder of the nation, which were
granted him, though they had been already tranſported out of *Peloponneſus* into
Acarnania. At the ſame time he gave a ſignal proof of his diſintereſtneſs, which
gained him as much eſteem among his countrymen, as his defending the memory
of *Philopœmen*. After the deſtruction of *Corinth*, the effects of thoſe who had
been the authors of the inſults offered to the *Roman* embaſſadors were ſold by
auction. When thoſe of *Diæus* were put up, the commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor
who ſold them, to let *Polybius* have out of them whatever he pleaſed, without taking
any thing from him on that account. But *Polybius* refuſed the offer, ſaying, that d
he looked upon it as a very diſhonourable thing to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils
of his fellow citizens [k].

This action gave the commiſſioners ſuch an idea of his virtue and probity, that,
upon their leaving *Peloponneſus*, they appointed him to viſit all the cities of *Greece*,
and every-where ſettle the new form of Government. A very honourable commiſ-
ſion, which he diſcharged both to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate of *Rome* and the
people of *Achaia*, who erected many ſtatues in honour of their benefactor, and
among others one with this inſcription: *To the memory of* Polybius, *whoſe counſels
would have ſaved* Achaia, *if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her
diſtreſs* [l]. e

Mummius on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which was embel-
liſhed with all the fineſt paintings and ſculptures that *Greece* had ever produced;
and as he had made an abſolute conqueſt of *Achaia*, he ever after bore the ſurname
of *Achaicus*. Thus the *Romans* deſtroyed every thing that gave them umbrage,
and plundered other nations to enrich themſelves; which was making war, not-
withſtanding their boaſted politeneſs, after the manner of *Barbarians*. From this
time *Achaia* was governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor ſent thither
annually from *Rome*, till the reign of *Nero*, who reſtored all *Greece* to the enjoy-
ment of its ancient liberties, reducing at the ſame time *Sardinia* to a *Roman* pro-
vince, and laying on that wealthy iſland the tribute which *Achaia* had paid [m]. By f
this means he favoured the *Greeks* without impairing the revenues of the empire.
But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindneſs, being ſoon after reduced by
Veſpaſian to their former ſtate of ſubjection. This misfortune they brought anew
upon themſelves by their domeſtic broils and diſcord, which could no otherwiſe be
compoſed, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they no longer knew
how to enjoy [n]. Under *Nerva* ſome ſhadow at leaſt of their liberty was reſtored
to them; but they were ſtill governed by a *Roman* prætor, and alſo in *Trajan*'s
time,

[k] Polyb. in excerpt. p. 190, 192. Achaic. Plin. l. 4. c. 6. Eutrop. c. 4.
[l] Pausan. in Achaic.
[m] Suet. in Nero. Pausan in
[n] Pausan. ibid.

a time, as appears from a letter of *Pliny* the younger to *Maximus*, who was ſent to govern *Achaia*, wherein, after having exhorted him to uſe his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the *Achæans* of that faint image, that ſhadow which remained of their ancient liberty[o]. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of *Conſtantine* the great, who in his new partition of the *Roman* provinces ſubjected *Achaia* to the *Præfectus prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Upon the diviſion of the empire, *Achaia* with the reſt of *Greece* fell to the emperors of the eaſt. Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius* all thoſe provinces ſuffered greatly by the incurſions of the *Goths*, who under their king *Alaric* laid waſte the whole country, reducing the ſtately and magnificent ſtructures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins[p]. From that time we find no account of any thing that paſſed among them till the reign of the emperor *Emanuel* or *Manuel*,
b who, in the twelfth century parcelling *Peloponneſus* out into ſeven principalities, divided it among his ſeven ſons, ſtiling them *deſpotes* or lords of *Morea*. Its reſemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in *Greek Morea*, and in *Latin Morus*, gave occaſion to this appellation. In proceſs of time theſe dynaſties were not only beſtowed on the emperors children and the princes of the blood, but alſo on ſuch others as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. In the thirteenth century, when *Conſtantinople* was taken by the weſtern princes, the maritime cities of *Peloponneſus*, with moſt of the iſlands, were allotted to the *Venetians*. In
c the fifteenth century *Conſtantine Dracoſes*, *deſpote* of *Morea*, being raiſed to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, beſtowing *Sparta* on the former, and *Corinth* on the latter. Theſe princes falling out and making war upon each other, *Mohammed* II. took advantage of their diviſions, and, under pretence of aſſiſting the one againſt the other, ſtripped them both of their dominions. *Thomas* fled to *Rome*; but *Demetrius*, who had implored the aſſiſtance of the *Barbarians* againſt his brother, was carried captive to *Adrianople*. The *Mohammedans*, having thus got footing in *Morea*, ſoon drove the *Venetians* from the cities they poſſeſſed on the coaſt, and made themſelves abſolute maſters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn
d driven out by the *Venetians*, under the conduct of general *Moroſini* in 1687. By the treaty of *Carlowits* in 1699. the *Barbarians* yielded it up to the republic of *Venice*; but retook it in 1715. and in their hands it ſtill continues, being governed by a *Sangiack*, under the *Beglerberg* of *Greece*, who reſides at *Modon*[q].

[o] Plin. l. 8. epiſt. 24. [p] Synesius epiſt. 235. Claudian, in Ruffin. l. 2. [q] Vide P. Coronelli deſcrizion di Morea, Alassandro Locatelli. raconto della Veneta guerra in levante.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Ætolia.

THE republic of *Ætolia* (G) was, in the times we are now writing of, next in power to that of *Achaia*, and formed much upon the ſame plan, being governed by a general aſſembly, a prætor, and other magiſtrates of an inferior rank and authority. The general aſſembly, called by the ancients *Panætolium*, met uſually only once a year, and that in autumn; but the prætor was empowered to ſummon it out of the ſtated time upon any extraordinary occaſion, the whole power of enacting laws, declaring war, making peace, and concluding alliances, being lodged in that court. Beſides the *Panætolium* or great council of the nation, which conſiſted of members choſen by each city of the *Ætolian* alliance, there was another called the council of the *Apocleti*; this was compoſed of the moſt eminent men in the nation, their office anſwering that of the *demiurgi* among the *Achæans*, which we have ſpoke of above: but as to their number we are quite in the dark. *The Ætolian confederacy.*

(G) Under the name of *Ætolia* was formerly comprehended that country, which is now called the *Deſpotat*, or *Little Greece*. It was parted on the eaſt by the river *Evenus*, now the *Fidari*, from the *Locrenſes Ozolæ*; on the weſt from *Acarnania* by the *Achelous*; on the north it bordered upon the country of the *Dorians* and part of *Epirus*, and on the ſouth extended to the bay of *Corinth*. See the account we have given of the country and its inhabitants, p. 409 & ſeq.

dark. Their chief magiſtrates after the prætor were the general of the horſe, a the public ſecretary, and the *Ephori*. The two firſt were held in great eſteem; for in the laſt alliance they concluded with the *Romans*, they allowed them to chuſe forty hoſtages out of the whole nation, without excepting any but the general of the horſe and the ſecretary, as if the republic could not ſubſiſt without them. The *Ephori* were introduced in imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were many Ages ſtraitly united, as *Thucydides*, *Xenephon*, and *Polybius* inform us; but as to their number the ancients are quite ſilent; their office was much the ſame as that of the *Spartan* ephori, but they acted in ſubordination both to the general diet and the prætor. The *Ætolian* confederacy was formed ſome time after that of the *Achæans*, whoſe example they followed, uniting ſeveral cities, which were b before independent of each other, into one republic, and thereby inabling themſelves to withſtand the attempts of the *Macedonian* princes, who aſpired to the ſovereignty of all *Greece*[r].

Character of the Ætolians.

The *Ætolians* were a reſtleſs and turbulent people; ſeldom at peace among themſelves, and ever at war with their neighbours; utter ſtrangers to all ſenſe of friendſhip or principles of honour; ready to betray their friends upon the leaſt proſpect of reaping any advantage from their treachery; in ſhort, they were looked upon by the other ſtates of *Greece* no otherwiſe, as our author informs us[s], than as out-laws and public robbers. On the other hand, they were bold and enterpriſing in war; inur'd to labour and hardſhips; undaunted in the greateſt dangers; c jealous defenders of their liberties, for which they were on all occaſions willing to venture their lives and ſacrifice all that was moſt dear to them. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the other nations of *Greece* in oppoſing the ambitious deſigns of the *Macedonian* princes, who, after having reduced moſt of the other ſtates, were forced to grant them a peace upon very honourable terms. But the gallant behaviour of this warlike people, in defending the common liberties of *Greece* againſt thoſe powerful invaders, we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors, as in a more proper place; our preſent province being confined to thoſe occurrences only that happened after they had formed themſelves into a republic. The conſtitution of the *Ætolian* republic was, as we d have hinted above, copied from that of the *Achæans*, and with a view to form, as it were, a counter-alliance. For the *Ætolians* bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Achæans*, and had conceived no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power of that ſtate. The *Cleomenic* war and that of the allies, called the *ſocial* war, which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Achaia*, were kindled by the *Ætolians* in the heart of *Peloponneſus*, with no other view, but to humble their antagoniſts the *Achæans*. In the latter they held out, with the aſſiſtance only of the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, for the ſpace of three years, againſt the united forces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*; but were obliged at laſt to purchaſe a peace, by yielding up to *Philip* all *Acarnania*. As they parted with this province ſore againſt their will, they watched all oppor- e tunities of wreſting it again out of the *Macedonian*'s hands; and one very favourable for their deſign ſoon offered.

M. *Valerius Lævinus* had been appointed by the *Roman* ſenate to guard the coaſts of *Italy*, on the ſide of *Greece*, and to watch the motions of *Philip*, who, after concluding an alliance with *Hannibal*, was preparing to paſs over into *Italy*. The *Roman* had under his command a fleet of fifty ſhips of war, and a legion for land-ſervice. But as he was no-way in a condition with ſo ſmall a force to oppoſe the deſigns of *Philip*, he caſt his eyes on the *Ætolians*, who were highly diſſatisfied with the peace they had lately concluded with the *Macedonians* and their allies. This general diſcontent *Lævinus* reſolved to improve to the advantage of his f republic; and by ſtirring up the *Ætolians* againſt *Philip* to divert him from any attempts upon *Italy*. As he was therefore then cruiſing with his ſquadron on the coaſts of *Greece*, he invited ſome of the *Ætolians* on board, and entering into private conference with them, found, that it would be no difficult matter to engage the whole nation in the intereſts of *Rome*. To this end he went to their general aſſembly, where he gave them an account of the victories *Rome* had lately gained over *Hannibal*, and the conqueſts of *Marcellus* in *Sicily*; he extolled the great generoſity and conſtant fidelity of the *Romans* towards their allies; adding, that the *Ætolians*

[r] Polyb. l. 2. [s] Polyb. l. 4.

a *Ætolians* might expect to be ever lookt upon with an eye of diſtinction by *Rome*, if they were the firſt nation beyond the ſeas that joined her; that *Philip* was a dangerous neighbour, and his over-grown power would prove fatal to them, unleſs they were ſupported by ſome more potent ſtate; that the *Romans* in conjunction with the *Ætolians* would eaſily oblige him to quit *Acarnania*, which he had uſurped, and keep himſelf upon the defenſive in his own dominions. He concluded his ſpeech by aſſuring them, that if they entered into engagements with *Rome*, *Philip* ſhould never obtain a peace, without reſtoring *Acarnania* to its former owners [t].

Scopas, at that time prætor of the *Ætolians*, and *Dorimachus*, a man of great
b authority, ſtrongly enforced the arguments and promiſes made by *Lævinus*, expatiating in commendation of the *Romans*, with all the eloquence which they were maſters of; for *Lævinus* out of modeſty had ſaid but little in commendation of his republic. Theſe two chiefs were not only for entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, but for ſending deputies to the neighbouring ſtates, inviting them to accede to the ſame alliance. Accordingly they ſent embaſſadors to *Elis* (H), *Lacedæmon*, and *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* (I); to *Pleuratus* (K), and *Scerdelaidas* king of the beſt part of *Illyricum*. In the ſenate of *Lacedæmon* two orators, *Chlæneas* and *Lyciſcus*, made long harangues, the firſt in favour of the *Ætolians* and *Romans*, the other in favour of king *Philip* [u]; but the *Ætolians* carried their point, and *Lace-*
c *dæmon* with *Elis* declared for *Rome*; the kings *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas* followed the examples of *Lacedæmon*; ſo that the treaty was drawn up in theſe words: "If the inhabitants of *Elis*, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdelai-*
"*das* think fit to enter into an alliance with the *Romans*, let them immediately arm
"and make war upon *Philip*. The *Romans* ſhall furniſh the confederates with
"twenty ſhips at leaſt: all the conqueſts that ſhall be made between the confines
"of *Ætolia* and the ſea of *Corcyra* ſhall belong to the confederates, and the
"captives and booty to the *Romans*. The latter ſhall do their utmoſt to put the
"*Ætolians* in poſſeſſion of *Acarnania*. The *Ætolians* ſhall not conclude a peace
"with *Philip*, but upon condition that he withdraw his troops from the terri-
d "tories of *Rome* and her allies, nor the *Romans* with *Philip*, but upon the ſame
"terms [w].

The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans.

THESE articles were not ſigned till two years after, when they had been confirmed by the *Ætolians* at *Olympia*, and the ſenate at *Rome*. This delay was occaſioned by the dilatorineſs of the *Romans* in ſending embaſſadors into *Ætolia*. When they were ratified and confirmed by both nations, the ſenate ordered them to be placed in the capitol, as a laſting monument of their firſt alliance with the *Greek* nation. However, hoſtilities began aſſoon as the treaty was concluded: *Lævinus* ſeized on the iſland and city of *Zacynthus* (L), took *Æniadæ* and alſo *Naſus* (M), two cities of *Acarnania*, and reſtored them to the *Ætolians*. After this
e he returned with his Fleet to *Corcyra*, where he wintered, fully perſuaded, that the king would now give over all thoughts of invading *Italy*.

Year after the flood 2791. *Before Chriſt* 212.

THE king was at *Pella*, making preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, when news was brought him of the new treaty concluded by the *Ætolians*. Whereupon

[t] Faſt. capit. Liv. l. 26. c. 24—26. [u] Vide POLYB. l. 9. c. 22—23. [w] LIV. l. 26. c. 24. [x] LIV. ibid.

(H) See an account of this country *p.* 405. The greateſt part of this province bears now the name of *Belvedere*, as does *Elis* its capital. This country was antiently dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, whence to commit there any acts of hoſtility was deemed a great profanation.

(I) *Attalus* mentioned here is *Attalus* the firſt, who ſucceeded his father *Eumenes* the firſt brother to *Philetærus*. *Philetærus* was treaſurer to *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*; but afterwards acquired the dominion of *Pergamus*, which he erected into a little ſtate, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of the kings of *Pergamus*.

(K) *Livy* (13) makes this *Pleuratus* one of the kings of *Thrace*; but *Polybius* ſpeaks of him as king of a country in *Illyricum* (14)

(L) This is an iſland in the *Ionian* ſea over-againſt *Peloponneſus*, and is now called *Zante*. It is ſaid to have borrowed its name from *Zacynthus* the ſon of *Dardanus*. We muſt not confound it with another iſland bearing the ſame name in the *Archipelago* or *Ægean* ſea 15.

(M) *Naſſus* or *Naſus* was a city of *Acarnania* not far from the mouth of the *Achelous*. There were two cities that bore the name of *Æniadæ*; one in *Acarnania* on the *Ionian* ſea near the mouth of the *Achelous*: This city, according to our modern travellers, is now called *Dragomeſto*; the other was, according to *Stephanus*, in *Thrace*, not far from mount *Oeta*.

(13) *Liv. l.* 26. *c.* 24. (14) *Polyb. l.* 9. *c.* 23. (15) *Pauſan. in Arcad. Strabo l.* 10.

upon he altered his meaſures, and reſolved to fall upon his new enemies the next a
ſummer. Accordingly he took the field early in the ſpring, laid waſte the *Ætolian* territories, and then marched back his forces into *Macedon*, in order to oppoſe the *Mædi* (N), who were ready to fall upon his dominions. During his abſence *Scopas*, then prætor and general of the *Ætolians*, entered *Acarnania*, in hopes of reducing that country before *Philip* could return to their aſſiſtance. This conqueſt had been begun the laſt campaign by *Lævinus*, who had taken *Æniadæ* and *Naſus*, and was now near enough to aſſiſt the *Ætolians* with his fleet and legion. The *Acarnanians* were ſenſible, that they could not oppoſe two ſuch powerful nations at the ſame time; but nevertheleſs reſolved to ſtand to their defence, and ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Accordingly having ſent into b
Epirus all their women, children, and ſuch as were not able to bear arms, thoſe who remained from the age of fifteen to threeſcore bound themſelves by oath, not to return home till they had utterly deſtroyed the *Ætolians*: they only deſired the *Epirots* to place the aſhes of thoſe, who ſhould fall in battle, in one tomb with the following epitaph; *Here lie the* Acarnanians, *who died fighting for their country, in oppoſition to the violence and injuſtice of the* Ætolians. This reſolution ſo terrified the *Ætolians*, that they returned home without offering to enter the borders of *Acarnania*, or to do any thing that might provoke a people reſolved to conquer or die[y].

The *Ætolians*, not daring to invade *Acarnania*, turned their arms againſt *Anticyra* (O), a city of the *Locri*, and in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. This place they c
inveſted by land, and *Lævinus* at the ſame time by ſea; as it was battered night and day on all ſides it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Lævinus*, purſuant to the treaty, delivered up the city to the *Ætolians*, reſerving for his own troops the captives and the plunder. The *Ætolians* fluſhed with this ſucceſs, leaving *Lævinus* at *Anticrya*, entered *Achaia*, and there committed ſuch ravages as obliged *Philip* to leave *Demetrias* (P), where he was encamped, and draw near to *Greece*. On his march he met the *Ætolian* army commanded by *Pyrrhias* prætor for that year (Q), who had advanced as far as *Theſſaly* to give the *Macedonians* battle. The two armies met near *Lamia*, a city of *Phthiotis* in the *Ætolian* intereſt. *Pyrrhias* had been reinforced with a ſtrong detachment of king *Attalus*'s troops, and a thouſand d
legionaries ſent him by *P. Sulpicius*, who had ſucceeded *Lævinus* as pro-prætor of *Greece*. Notwithſtanding this re-inforcement the *Ætolians* were twice defeated, and forced to ſave themſelves under the walls of *Lamia*. After this victory *Philip* encamped in the neighbourhood of *Phalara* near the mouth of the *Sperchius*, with a deſign to ſurprize a ſtrong detachment of *Ætolian* cavalry, which was to return from *Theſſaly* and paſs that way. But while he was encamped here, embaſſadors arrived from *Ptolemy Philopater* king of *Egypt*, attended with a great number of deputies from the iſlands of *Chios* and *Rhodes* and the city of *Athens*. Their errand was to prevail on *Philip* and the *Ætolians* to put an end to the war. This was not ſo much out of good will to the latter, as jealouſy of the former, who by reducing the *Ætolians* might eaſily enſlave all *Greece*, and have a ready acceſs c
to the cities which *Ptolemy* poſſeſſed out of *Egypt*. *Philip* put off the conferences till the next diet of the *Achæans*, and in the mean time granted the *Ætolians* a truce of thirty days. In this interval *Philip* was invited by the *Greeks* to preſide at the

[y] Idem l. 26. c. 25.

(N) The *Mædi* poſſeſſed a part of *Thrace* beyond mount *Rhodope*, and therefore *Ptolemy* calls their country *Medica*, but others give it the name of *Macedonian Greece*, becauſe it bordered on *Macedon* on the ſide of the *Ægean* ſea.

(O) *Anticyra* ſtood near the river *Sperchius* over-againſt mount *Octa*. Its territory bordered upon *Theſſaly*, and near it was an iſland of the ſame name, abounding, as *Pliny* informs us(16), with hellebore. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* mention another city bearing the ſame name in *Phocis*, near *Criſſa* on the confines of *Bæotia* (17).

(P) The city of *Demetrias*, now *Dimitriada*, was built by *Demetrius Poliorcetes* on the ſea coaſt of *Theſſaly* near the territory of the *Magneſians*. *Pliny* confounds this city with that of *Pagaſæ*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* make them two different cities, and place them both at the entrance of the *Pegaſæus ſinus* now the gulf of *Armiro*. *Demetrias* was for ſome time the ſeat of the kings of *Macedon* (18).

(Q) The prætorſhip of the *Ætolians* was, according to *Livy* (19), divided between *Pyrrhias* and king *Attalus*; the general aſſembly of the *Ætolians* having beſtowed that honor upon the king of *Pergamus*, though then abſent.

(16) *Plin. l.* 25. (17) *Strabo l.* 9. (18) *Strabo ibid.* (19) *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 30.

a the *Heræan* (R) and *Nemæan* games. This was a diſtinction, which the *Greeks* had ſhewn him, and confirmed by their ſuffrages, pretending, that the firſt king of *Macedon* was a native of *Greece*. In this ſtation the king behaved like a voluptuous prince, and purſued debauchery to exceſs. But at laſt the diet was held, which drew him from his pleaſures to *Rhium*, the place appointed for the aſſembly. The negotiations began, and moſt of the nations engaged in the war inclined to a reconciliation, fearing *Attalus* and the *Romans* would take advantage of their diviſions and get footing in *Greece*. At the opening of the aſſembly, one of the orators exhorted the contending parties to mutual concord, in a ſpeech, which is preſerved to this day, and may be looked upon as a maſter-piece of the kind [z].

b The diſcourſe moved the whole aſſembly, and it was no ſooner ended but *Philip*'s embaſſadors were introduced, who declared, that their maſter was ready to give peace to *Greece*, if the *Ætolians* would conſent to it, and charged them with all the evils that would inevitably attend the proſecution of the war. The *Ætolians*, however, came to no reſolution; and in the mean time news was brought them, that *Attalus* was arrived with his fleet at the iſland of *Ægina* (S), and *Sulpicius* with his at *Naupactus* (T), which made the *Ætolians* put an end to the conferences. For

[z] Polyb. l. 11. c. 4.

(R) The *Heræan* games, or *Heræan* feſtivals, were celebrated by the *Argians*, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They were called *Heræan* from the *Greek* word Ἥρη ſignifying *Juno*, whom the inhabitants of *Argolis* worſhipped as their tutelary goddeſs, and in whoſe honour this feſtival was firſt inſtituted. The ceremony conſiſted in a pompous proceſſion made by the *Argian* youth under arms. The ſtatue of *Juno*, which was of ivory and gold, and thought one of the beſt performances of the famous *Polycletus*, was carried in a chariot drawn by two white oxen. In the driver's ſeat was placed the image of one *Trochilus* the ſon of *Callithea*, who was the firſt prieſteſs of *Juno Argiva*. This miniſtry, which was granted to none but women of great diſtinction, was held in ſuch eſteem among the *Argians*, that they dated their public acts by the prieſthoods of the prieſteſſes of *Juno*, as we do by the reigns of our kings. The *Argian* youth marched in good order from the city of *Argos* to the temple of *Juno*, which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance, and was one of the moſt ſtately edifices of *Greece*. Upon their arrival at the temple an hundred oxen were ſacrificed, and their fleſh diſtributed among all that were preſent. When the religious ceremonies were over the ſports began, and the youth entered the liſts, diſputing the honour of carrying off a buckler which was fixed to the wall of the city. The conqueror was rewarded with a crown of myrtle, and walked thro' the city for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, amidſt the acclamations of his fellow citizens, making a ſhew of the buckler he had gained. Some aſcribe the inſtitution of theſe games to *Archinus* tyrant of *Argos*, and others to *Lyncæus*, who is ſaid to have reigned in *Argolis* in the year of the world 2558. The *Heræan* games were common to ſome other nations of *Greece*, and alſo to the iſlanders, namely to the inhabitants of *Samos*, *Ægina*, and *Cos*. At *Corinth* this ceremony had the air of a mournful one; it being a received tradition among them, that *Medea* after having killed her children inſtituted the *Heræan* games by way of atonement for her crime. The *Corinthians* therefore renewed the memory of her cruelty by ſacrificing a goat to *Juno* (20).

As to the *Nemæan* games, moſt of the antients agree, that they were inſtituted in honour of *Archemorus*, the ſon of *Lycus*, according to ſome, or of *Lycurgus* king of *Thrace*, as others will have it. We are told, that an army of *Argians*, commanded by *Adraſtus* king of *Argos*, being in great diſtreſs for want of water as they were marching towards *Thebes* to aſſiſt *Polynices*, addreſſed the nurſe of the young prince *Archemorus*, whom they accidentally met, and that ſhe laying down the child ſhe had in her arms, on a branch of ſmallage, out of compaſſion led the thirſty ſoldiers to a fountain. But in the mean time a ſerpent attacked and put to death the child, before *Adraſtus* and his *Argians* could bring him any relief. However, to allay the grief of *Lycurgus* for the death of his ſon, they inſtituted ſolemn games in honour of the deceaſed, which were firſt celebrated near *Nemæa*, a city of *Argolis*. Some ſay they were renewed annually, others every five years, and others every tenth year. Many are of opinion, that they were inſtituted before the *Theban* war; but all agree, that they were revived by *Hercules*, and conſecrated to *Jupiter* in thankſgiving for his victory over the *Nemæan* lion (21). *Euſebius* is of opinion, that they were inſtituted in the fifty-firſt olympiad (22). This feſtival was celebrated with ſports, namely chariot-races, foot and horſe-races, tournaments, boxing, wreſtling, &c. The conqueror in any of theſe exerciſes was rewarded with a crown of olive, and alſo of ſmallage, which was made uſe of in funeral ceremonies, and renewed the memory of the death of *Archemorus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us, that on this occaſion an orator uſed to pronounce a funeral oration in honour of the young prince, and that the judges, appointed by the cities of *Greece* to diſtribute the rewards, were clad in mourning. Theſe games were common to the *Argians*, *Corinthians*, and the inhabitants of *Cleonæ*, who had a right to chuſe the preſident by turns (23).

(S) *Ægina*, now *Engia* and *Legina*, or *Lalona*, is an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea, between the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronic* gulf, to which it gives its name. It is about thirty-ſix miles in circumference; and was anciently famous for the ſkill of its inhabitants in ſea-affairs, and its athletæ or wreſtlers. *Stephanus* takes it for one of the *Cyclades*, and *Tzetzes* for one of the *Sporades*; but they are both miſtaken, as is plain from *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* (24).

(T) *Naupactus* or *Naupactum* was formerly a conſiderable city in *Ætolia*. The preſent inhabitants call it *Epactos* or *Nepactos*, the *Turks Einebacti*, and the *Italians Lepanto*. It ſtood near *Antirrhium*, within the *Criſſæan* bay, and was called *Naupactum*, becauſe

(20.) *Pauſan. in Corinth. Suidas, Polyæn. Athenæus*, &c. (21.) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.* (22.) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (23.) *Pauſan. Athenæus, Polyæn. &c. ubi ſupra.* (24.) *Strabo l.* 8. *Pauſan. in Corinth.*

For they declared, that they would consent to no peace, unless *Pylos* (U) was restored a to the *Messenians*, *Atintania* (W) to the *Romans*, and the country of the *Ardians* (X) to *Pleuratus* and *Scerdelaidas*. This was giving law to all *Greece*, which so incensed *Philip* that he left the assembly, after having made a short speech, wherein he acquainted them, that he was sincerely desirous of peace, and would hearken to any reasonable proposals, but could not by any means brook such insults, meaning the terms proposed by the *Ætolians*, from those he had conquered [a].

Year of the flood 1795. *Before Christ* 208.

The assembly being dismissed, the king went to *Argos* to preside in the *Nemæan* games, as he had lately done in the *Heræan*. But while he was giving himself up, without restraint, to the enjoyment of such diversions as were no-ways seasonable in times of war and alarms, the pro-consul *Sulpicius* setting out from *Naupactus* b landed between *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and being joined by the *Ætolians* laid waste all that fertile country. This unexpected invasion obliged the king to interrupt his diversions and take the field. His arrival struck the enemy with such terror, that, leaving the booty behind, they hastened to their ships, and re-embarked for *Naupactus*. *Philip* returned to the games, where he was received with an universal applause, the circus, the theatre, and all the streets of the city ringing with his name. But he gained more on the affections of the *Greeks*, who were zealous republicans, by his affable behaviour, and the popular airs he affected, than by his victories. He appeared at the shews without his diadem, purple robe, or any other ensigns of royal dignity; a sight very pleasing to the inhabitants of free c cities [b].

Some days after the games, news was brought him that the city of *Dyme* on the confines of *Elis* had declared for the *Ætolians*, though it stood in *Peloponnesus*, and had received an *Ætolian* garrison. Hereupon *Philip* crossing the *Larissus* (Y) entered the territory of *Elis*, and ravaged the country, and encamped under the very walls of the capital. But he was soon obliged by the *Romans* and *Ætolians* to retire at a greater distance, as we have related in the history of *Achaia*. However, he took by storm, in sight of the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, a strong hold of great importance, where he found a very considerable booty. While he was dividing the prey among his soldiers, advice was brought him, that the *Dardanians* had entered *Macedon*, d and possessed themselves of a small district called *Orestida* (Z); that the *Dassaratæ* had revolted, and that several cities were ready to join the rebels. The *Barbarians* had been encouraged to shake off the yoke, and invade the kingdom of *Macedon*, by a false report of the king's death. *Philip*, in pursuing the *Roman* and *Ætolian* foragers between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, had struck his head against a tree with such violence, that he broke his helmet in pieces. These pieces were gathered up by an *Ætolian*, and brought to *Scerdelaidas*, who knew that they belonged to the king's helmet: and hence arose the report, that *Philip* had been killed in a battle in which he had gained the advantage. His presence therefore being

[a] Liv. l. 27. c. 29—33. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612. [b] Polyb. & Liv. ibid.

because the *Heraclidæ* built there the first ship that carried them into *Peloponnesus*. It first belonged to the *Locri Ozolæ*; but they were driven out by the *Athenians*, who gave it to the *Messenians*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had obliged to abandon *Peloponnesus*. After the battle of *Ægos Potamos* the *Lacedæmonians* took it from the *Messenians*, and reunited it to the *Locri*. Afterwards *Philip*, the father of *Alexander* having seized it, bestowed it upon the *Ætolians*, and from that time it was always deemed a city of *Ætolia* (25).

(U) We find three cities mentioned by the antients bearing the name of *Pylos*. The first stood on the western coast of *Messenia* over-against *Sphagia* or *Sphacteria*, now *Sapienza*, a small island in the *Ionian* sea. The second was situate more to the north in *Tryphilia*, a province of *Elis*. The third stood more to the northward of the other two, not far from the mouth of the river *Peneus*. These three cities laid claim to the honour of having been governed by the famous *Nestor* the son of *Neleus*. It is very plain, that the city of *Pylos* in *Messenia* was the subject of dispute between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*; for the *Messenians* could have no pretensions to the two latter cities, which belonged to the *Eleans*, in whose territory they stood (26).

(W) The *Atintanes*, according to *Thucydides*, (27), inhabited part of the country of the *Molossi*; but *Livy* and *Polybius* place them on the confines of *Macedon* towards *Illyricum*.

(X) The *Aryæans* or *Ardians* inhabited the eastern part of *Illyricum*; they had been conquered by *Philip*, who united their country to *Macedon*.

(Y) The *Larissus*, now the *Riso*, divided *Elis* from *Achaia propria*; it watered the territory of *Dyme*, and fell into the *Ionian* sea.

(Z) *Orestida* was a country in the south-west part of *Macedon*. *Orestes*, having fled into this country after the murder of his mother *Clytemnestra*, built a city there, and gave his own name to the province. It bordered upon *Epirus*, the country of the *Atintanes*, and the *Adriatic* sea (28).

(25.) *Strabo. l.* 9. *Pausan. in Phocicis* (26) *Vide Paus. in Messen. & Eliac. secundo. Thucyd. l.* 4.
(27.) *Thucyd. ibid, Polyb. l.* 11. *c.* 40. *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 30. (28.) *Thucyd. l.* 2. *Liv. l.* 27. *c.* 31.

a being neceſſary in his own dominions, he haſtened home, leaving only a body of three thouſand men to protect his friends in *Greece* [c].

DURING his abſence, the *Romans*, *Ætolians*, and king *Attalus* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Oreum*, *Opus*, *Torone*, *Tribonos*, and *Drymus*. Whereupon embaſſadors being diſpatched to him from all the nations that were in his alliance, he ſettled the affairs of *Macedon* in the beſt manner he could, and marched back with incredible expedition into *Greece*. Upon his arrival *Attalus* re-imbarked his forces and returned to *Pergamus*, *Sulpicius*, having but one legion on board, retired to the iſland of *Ægina*, and the *Ætolians*, thus abandoned by their allies, were forced to ſhelter themſelves in their ſtrong holds, not being able to make head againſt the united
b forces of *Macedon* and *Achaia*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* alone. *Philip* being thus left maſter of the field, retook moſt of the cities which had been reduced in his abſence, laid waſte great part of *Ætolia*, put the *Lacedæmonians* to flight, and then, as winter was drawing near, marched his forces back into *Macedon*. Early in the ſpring he returned into *Greece*, and, entering *Ætolia* at the head of a numerous army, obliged the *Ætolians* to conclude a peace upon very diſadvantageous terms. The *Romans*, employed in a more important war at home, had left their friends in *Greece* to ſhift for themſelves; but nevertheleſs took it very much amiſs, that they had made a peace without their conſent and approbation. *Sempronius* the pro-conſul endeavoured to ſtir them up a new againſt *Philip*, but to no purpoſe,
c they were quite exhauſted with ſuch an expenſive war, and no-ways in a condition to lend the pro-conſul any aſſiſtance. He therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making war began to treat with the king and his allies of a peace, which was ſoon agreed on by the mediation of the *Epirots* [d].

A general Peace concluded. Year of the Flood, 2798. Before Chriſt 205.

THIS peace was not of long continuance; for the *Romans* having, a few years after, reſolved upon a war with *Philip*, ſent *Furius Purpureo* into *Ætolia* to engage that nation a-new in the intereſts of *Rome*. *Furius* was attended by the envoys of *Athens*, a city greatly addicted to the *Romans*; and at the ſame time embaſſadors from *Philip* arrived with very advantageous propoſals, in caſe the *Ætolians* would either join their maſter, or ſtand neuter. The *Ætolian*
d nation was never more honoured than at this time, when they ſaw their friendſhip and alliance courted by a great king and two powerful republics. On the arrival of the embaſſadors an extraordinary diet was convened at *Naupactus*, whither the envoys from *Rome*, from *Athens*, and from *Philip*, immediately reſorted. *Damocritus* preſided in the diet in quality of prætor; and as he had been bribed by *Philip*, he directed, that the *Macedonians* ſhould be heard before the *Romans*; his pretext for this preference was, that the alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet freſh, and had been but lately concluded. The ſpeech made by the *Macedonian* embaſſadors was full of invectives againſt the *Romans*, they enlarged on their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as inſtances of their treachery
e and cruelty; and concluded with exhorting the *Ætolians* to obſerve the conditions of peace, which they had concluded a few years before with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who ſpoke next, endeavoured to efface the impreſſions which this diſcourſe had made: they expatiated, in an affecting manner, on the cruelty and impiety of *Philip*, who, according to his barbarous method of making war, had ſhewn no regard to the auguſt temples of the Gods, or the venerable tombs of the dead; they extolled the courage and piety of the *Romans*, and, laſtly, conjured the *Ætolians* to join in the common cauſe of the two moſt formidable powers, *Heaven* and *Rome*. Afterwards *Purpureo* was heard, and his ſpeech chiefly turned on juſtifying the conduct of the *Romans*, with regard to the three cities mentioned by the *Macedonian*
f orator; he expatiated on the lenity and moderation ſhewn by his republic to the *Carthaginians*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; he did not forget the advantages, which the conſular army had already gained over the king; and, laſtly, adviſed the *Ætolians* to lay hold of the preſent opportunity of renewing their confederacy with the *Romans*, unleſs they choſe rather to periſh with *Philip*, than conquer with *Rome* [e].

THE diet was inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* ſuſpended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could be reſolved upon out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful prætor made

[c] POLYB. & LIV. ibid. [d] LIV. l. 30. c. 7. [e] LIV. l. 31. c. 29.

made a merit with his countrymen of his addreſs in this affair, pretending, that his a
deſign was only to gain time, till he could judge which of the two contending
parties was moſt likely to prevail, and then join the ſtrongeſt [f].

The Ætolians again join in alliance with the Romans, *and invade* Macedon. *Year of the flood* 2806. *Before Chriſt* 197.

In the mean time, the proconſul *Sulpicius* having penetrated into the king's dominions and defeated him near *Octolophum*, the *Ætolians* at laſt determined to ſide with the conqueror, and accordingly, in conjunction with *Aminander* king of the *Athamanes*, (A) made an irruption into *Macedon*, and laid ſiege to *Cercinium* a city of *Magneſia* (B). This ſudden invaſion alarmed all the nations in the neighbourhood of the lake *Boebis* (C), who abandoning the country fled to the neighbouring mountains; ſo that the *Ætolians* finding no more booty there fell upon the province of *Peræbia*, took the city of *Cyretiæ* (D) by aſſault, and obliged *Mallæa* (E) to take up b
arms, and join them againſt the king of *Macedon*. From *Mallæa Aminander* was for marching againſt *Gomphi* (F) which was very near *Athamania*, and might have been eaſily reduced, as it was defended only by the inhabitants. But the *Ætolians* choſe rather to pillage *Theſſaly*, than aſſiſt *Aminander* in taking a city, which was ſo conveniently ſituated to protect his ſmall dominions from the inroads of the *Theſſalians*. The *Ætolians* having entered *Theſſaly*, committed there great devaſtations, dividing themſelves into ſmall bodies, and lying down in the open fields without keeping guard, or ſecuring themſelves with trenches. *Aminander*, ſeeing he had reaſon to apprehend ſome ſudden attack, being in an enemy's country, adviſed them to be upon their guard, and encamp in a regular c
manner: But they deſpiſed his advice, and advancing to the very walls of *Phæcadum* (G), and there lying down on the graſs, gave themſelves up to eating and drinking, as if they had been in the heart of *Ætolia*. Hereupon *Aminander* thought it adviſeable to withdraw to a riſing ground about five hundred paces from the *Ætolians*, and there ſecure himſelf with a ditch and rampart. He was ſcarce gone, when *Philip* appeared at the head of a numerous body of horſe, fell upon the *Ætolians*, and cut moſt of them in pieces; thoſe that eſcaped fled to *Aminander*'s camp, whither they were purſued by the *Macedonians*. But *Philip*, contrary to his expectation, finding the camp well fortify'd, and the *Athamanes* ready to receive him, put off the attack to the next morning, his infantry being tired with d
the long march they had taken to ſurpriſe the enemy. In the night, the few *Ætolians* that remained and the *Athamanes* decamped together, and under the conduct of *Aminander* eſcaped through by-ways, and arrived in their own countries [g].

The next year they entered *Theſſaly* again, and took the cities of *Cymines* and *Angea* at the firſt onſet. From thence they advanced to *Theuma*, *Calathama*, *Achorra*, *Xinia*, and *Cyphara* (G), all which cities they took and pillaged. Thus great part of *Theſſaly* fell a prey to the moſt cruel and avaricious of all the nations that were in alliance with *Rome*. For the *Ætolians*, where-ever they came, left nothing in

[f] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

[g] Liv. l. 31. c. 40.

(A) The *Athamanes* had then a ſeparate diſtrict of their own, ſurrounded by *Theſſaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*; whence ſome have made it a part of *Theſſaly*, others of *Epirus*: *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*; *Stephanus* makes it a part of *Illyricum*. According to *Ptolomy* it was divided from *Epirus* by the bay of *Ambracia* (29); and according to *Strabo* (30) from *Ætolia* by the river *Achelous*.

(B) *Magneſia* was a ſmall country, lying at the eaſtern extremity of *Theſſaly*, between the gulf of *Armiro* and the *Saronic* gulf. *Circinium* ſtood at the foot of mount *Oſſa*, near the lake *Bæbis*, between *Sotbuſſa* and the *Macedonian* Sea (31).

(C) The lake *Bæbis*, which ſome place in *Bæotia*, was near the confines of *Magneſia*, not far from mount *Oſſa*. It is now called the lake of *Eſero*.

(D) *Ptolemy* reckons *Cyretiæ* among the cities of *Eſtiotis*, a country of *Theſſaly*. *Sanſon* places it between the rivers *Pamiſus* and *Curalius*. The *Pamiſus*, now called *Pontigna Maranta*, falls into the *Peneus*. The *Curalius*, now *Onocero*, riſes in the province of *Pelaſgiotis*, and empties itſelf into the ſame *Peneus*.

(E) *Mallæa*, or *Malia* was a city of *Phthiotis*, not far from mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral waters mentioned by *Catullus* in his elegies. Some are of opinion, that the *Maliac* gulf, now the gulf of *Zeiton*, borrowed its name from this city (32).

(F) The city of *Gomphi* was ſituate in that part of *Theſſaly* which the ancients call *Eſtiotis*, near the ſprings of the *Peneus* (33). According to *Livy* it was the neareſt city of *Theſſaly* to the confines of *Epirus* (34).

(G) All theſe cities belonged to *Theſſaly*, but we cannot give any certain account of their ſituation.

(29) *Ptol. l.* 4. (30) *Strabo, l.* 10. (31) *Strabo, l.* 9. (32) *Strabo, l.* 10. *c.* 13.
(33) *Strabo, l.* 9. *Plin. l.* 4. (34) *Liv. l.* 32.

a in the cities or houſes but the bare walls, deſtroying in the flames what they could not carry away, and either putting to the ſword the inhabitants, or ſelling them for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. Such was their inhuman method of making war [i].

THE *Ætolians* continued ſteady in the intereſt of *Rome* during the whole courſe of the war, and were favoured by the *Roman* commanders above the other nations of *Greece*, as being the firſt that had joined in alliance with their republic. But after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, in which *Philip* was entirely defeated, the affection between the two nations began to cool, and *Flaminius*, who commanded in that action, to treat the *Ætolians* in a quite different manner from what he had b done formerly. They without all doubt gave ſome occaſion with their boaſting ſpeeches to this change. Their cavalry did wonders in the engagement, and by covering the *Roman* infantry, which was put in diſorder at the firſt onſet, gave them time to rally, and ſaved them the ſhame of a diſhonourable flight. Hence they aſcribed to themſelves all the glory of the victory, giving out, that without their timely aſſiſtance the *Romans* had been defeated and cut in pieces. In the ſongs which they diſperſed all over *Greece*, they named themſelves as the chiefs, and the *Romans* as their auxiliaries (H). *Flaminius*, who was already diſguſted with the *Ætolians* for plundering the enemy's camp, while the *Romans* were buſy in making priſoners, was now more fired at theſe inſolent reports, which greatly leſſened his c reputation among the *Greeks*. His reſentment was ſtill warm, when three envoys came from *Philip*, under pretence of aſking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ſollicit a peace; the pro-conſul received them, and gave them an anſwer, without conſulting the heads of the *Ætolian* nation, who were then in the camp, and had greatly contributed to the victory. The *Roman* was glad of this opportunity to mortify their vanity, whereas he ought to have diſſembled, and been more tender of allies, who had proved ſo uſeful to him on all occaſions. *Flaminius* agreed with the deputies of *Philip* upon a truce of fifteen days, without admitting to the conference any but the officers of the *Roman* army; and even promiſed to grant their maſter an interview during that time. This air of abſolute authority and in- d dependence on the other allies ſhocked the *Ætolians* to ſuch a degree, that they ſpread a report in all the cities of *Greece*, that *Flaminius* was betraying the common cauſe, and that he had been bribed by *Philip*. But notwithſtanding theſe reports, the proconſul appointed a place for the conference, and after having treated the king's embaſſadors with uncommon civility, he ordered them on their departure to tell their maſter, that he deſired him not to deſpond. This meſſage highly offended the *Ætolians*, who were utter ſtrangers to all humanity and politeneſs, and confirmed them in their opinion, that the *Roman* had ſold himſelf to *Philip*. The place appointed for the interview was a narrow paſs, which led into the vale of *Tempe*. Thither *Flaminius* reſorted, after having invited all his allies to aſſiſt at e the conferences, which he would not begin till he had conſulted the heads of the confederates, upon what terms they thought it proper to grant *Philip* a peace. *Amynander* and the *Achæans* ſpoke with a great deal of moderation, and only begged, that he would conclude ſuch a peace as might enable *Greece* to preſerve her liberties in the abſence of the *Romans*: as to the particulars of ſuch a treaty, they referred them entirely to his prudence and judgment. But *Alexander*, one of the heads of the *Ætolians*, riſing up, haughtily addreſſed the pro-conſul in the following terms: "You have done wiſely to call us to the conference: you have at laſt "thought fit not to treat of a peace without your allies. But, pray, what do f "you propoſe by granting a peace to *Philip*? *Greece* will never enjoy its liberties "ſo long as he enjoys the throne of *Macedon*. You are greatly miſtaken, if you "fancy it will. *Philip* muſt be driven out of his kingdom, before *Greece* can

"pro-

[i] Liv. l. 32. c. 13.

(H) *Thirty thouſand Theſſalians*, ſaid one of their poets, were *killed on the ſpot*. *The* Ætolians *ſubdued ſo powerful an enemy with the aſſiſtance of the* Latins, *whom* Flaminius *had brought to ruin* Ematia. The author of this diſtich was one *Alcæus*, an *Ætolian* by nation. He was far inferior to the famous *Alcæus*, who was cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th Olympiad, and is famous for the *Alcaic* verſes which took their name from him (35).

(35) *Plut. in vita Flam.*

" promiſe herſelf a laſting tranquility. You *Romans* have flattered us with a
" hopes of liberty; but there is no liberty for the *Greeks* till *Philip* is dead, and
" his dominions entirely ruined." When *Alexander* had done ſpeaking, *Flamininius* directing his ſpeech to him; " You are unacquainted, *ſaid he*, with the
" character and ſentiments of the *Romans*; my republic does not carry her re-
" ſentments to exceſs: ſhe knows how to revenge injuries; but upon the firſt
" appearance of ſubmiſſion her anger is appeaſed; *Hannibal* and *Carthage* are con-
" vincing proofs of our moderation. As to myſelf, I never intended to carry on an
" irreconcileable war with *Philip*; but was always inclined to grant him a peace, when-
" ever he ſhould yield to the conditions that my republic thought fit to preſcribe
" him. You yourſelves, O *Ætolians*, never once mentioned the driving of *Philip* b
" from his throne till our late victory. Shall we then be inexorable, becauſe we
" are conquerors? When an enemy attacks us, it is our duty to repel him with
" all poſſible bravery; but if he yields, it is the part of a generous victor to uſe
" him with gentleneſs and humanity; for animoſity dies after victory, and brave
" men are courageous in action, but mild after it. Nay, it is not your intereſt to
" deſtroy the kingdom of *Macedon*, which ſerves you as a barrier againſt the
" *Thracians* and *Gauls* (I), who, were they not checked by it, would certainly
" over-run all *Greece* [k]." *Flaminius* concluded with declaring, in the name of all the officers of the *Roman* army, " That a peace ought to be granted to *Philip*, if
" he complied with the conditions which the other allies ſhould propoſe, *adding*, c
" that if the *Ætolians* did not like it, they might take what reſolutions they pleaſed
" on that occaſion." *Phineas*, the *Ætolian* prætor, anſwered *Flaminius*, and repreſented to him in very ſtrong terms, " That *Philip*, if he were left in poſſeſſion of
" *Macedon*, would ſoon kindle a new war in the heart of *Greece*." But before he ended his harangue, the pro-conſul roſe from his ſeat in a paſſion, and ſaying with a loud voice, " That he would put it out of *Philip*'s power to make any further
" attempts upon *Greece*," diſmiſſed the aſſembly [l].

But after all, it was not good nature or compaſſion that prompted *Flaminius* to urge the concluſion of a peace with the king of *Macedon*, but the advice he received, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, was ready to march out of *Syria* at the head of a d
powerful army, and make an irruption into *Europe*. This prince had long kept a correſpondence with *Philip*; and if theſe two monarchs ſhould join their forces, ſuch an alliance might prove of dangerous conſequence to the *Roman* republic. Beſides, *Philip*, tho' conquered and driven out of the field, might ſhut himſelf up in his ſtrong holds, and diſpute inch by inch the conqueſt of his kingdom. This *Flaminius* dreaded, being ſenſible, that in the mean time another might be ſent to ſucceed him, and reap all the advantages of his repeated victories [m].

The next day *Philip* appeared at the congreſs, with an air of ſubmiſſion ſuitable to his preſent circumſtances, and without any preamble declared, that he accepted the articles which he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the *Roman* ſenate. After he had uttered theſe words, there was a deep ſilence in the e
aſſembly, moſt of thoſe who were preſent being touched with compaſſion. But *Phineas* the *Ætolian* prætor, finding that no body made him any reply, took the liberty to aſk him, whether he was willing to reſtore to the *Ætolians* the cities of *Lariſſa*, *Pharſales*, *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, and *Echina*. I do reſtore them to you, reply'd *Philip*. *Flaminius* was greatly offended at the pretenſions of the *Ætolians* to the city of *Thebes*, and replied with ſome warmth, " It belongs to the *Romans*. I was
" the man who appeared before it, and to me it ſurrendered; it is therefore become
" ſubject to the *Romans*." *Phineas* inſiſted, that, according to the terms of the f
treaty concluded between *Ætolia* and *Rome*, it belonged to the former; the diſpute grew

[k] Liv. l. 33. c. 14. Polyb. l. 17. c. 29. [l] Idem, ibid. [m] Idem, ibid. c. 15.

(I) It is uncertain, whether *Livy* ſpeaks here of thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled in that part of *Aſia*, which was from them called *Galatia*, or of another *Gallic* nation which was nearer to *Greece*, and had made a new ſettlement about the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*. Theſe new-comers took the name of *Scordiſci*, as *Juſtin* informs us. *Strabo* (36) places them about *Sirmium*, between the *Danube* and *Macedon*. About fourſcore years before the time we are here ſpeaking of, the *Gauls* had ſpread terror and deſolation in all the countries of *Macedon* and *Greece*, not ſparing even the famous temple of *Delphi*.

(36) *Strabo*, *l.* 10.

a grew warm, but at length the aſſembly determined in favour of *Flaminius*. By theſe ſteps the *Ætolians* began to raiſe that violent ſtorm, which we ſhall ſoon ſee gather and diſcharge itſelf upon that unhappy nation [n].

THE king having accepted the conditions, a truce was granted him for four months, to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flaminius* demanded his ſon *Demetrius* with ſome of the chief lords of his court for hoſtages, and moreover two hundred talents, upon condition, nevertheleſs, that both the money and hoſtages ſhould be reſtored if the peace did not take place [o]. *Philip* comply'd, and immediately diſpatched his embaſſadors to *Rome*, as alſo did the *Ætolians*; the former to ſollicit a peace, and the latter to obſtruct it. When they arrived at *Rome*, the republic b had juſt choſen new conſuls, L. *Furius Purpureo* and M. *Claudius Marcellus*. The latter being deſirous of having *Macedon* for his province, and there finiſhing the war, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the peace, and, being ſeconded by the *Ætolians* in his oppoſition, had like to have prevailed in the ſenate. But the tribunes bringing the affair before the people, the tribes unanimouſly voted for granting *Philip* his requeſt [p]. *A peace concluded with Philip. Year of the flood* 2807. *Before Chriſt* 196.

THE *Ætolians* were the only people in *Greece* diſſatisfied with the peace, they had been refuſed ſome cities which they claimed, and thought their ſervices very ill rewarded by the *Romans*, who could not have conquered, ſaid they, without their aſſiſtance. They carried their complaints to the general diet of all *Greece*, c called the *Pylaicum* (K), and there endeavoured to ſtir up new enemies againſt *Rome*. But finding that the free ſtates of *Greece* were all well pleaſed with the late treaty of peace, they determined to have recourſe to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, to *Nabis* tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and even to their ſworn enemy *Philip* king of *Macedon*. It was natural enough for them to ſuppoſe, that *Macedon* and *Lacedæmon* would readily enter into a league againſt the *Romans*, who had lately impoſed very hard conditions upon them. And as for *Antiochus*, his intereſt, his honour, the ſteps he had already taken, and the advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay paſſing over into *Europe*, and declaring war with *Rome*. Nor did they deſpair to ſee *Carthage* alſo join ſo many confederate nations, d and make ſome efforts to ſhake off the yoke which *Rome* had laid on her. All theſe conſiderations encouraged the *Ætolians*, and gave them no ſmall hopes of ſeeing the imperious republic humbled in her turn. They choſe for their prætor one *Thoas*, a man fit for their deſign, being an inveterate enemy to *Rome*, and a ſanguine oppoſer of the peace lately concluded with the *Macedonians*. *Thoas* immediately aſſembled a general diet at *Naupactus*, and there convey'd into the breaſts of all the deputies the irreconcileable averſion which he bore to the *Romans*. A decree paſſed without oppoſition, impowering him to ſend embaſſadors to all the princes who were diſſatisfied with the *Romans*, and ſtir them up to war againſt the common enemy. *The Ætolians diſſatisfied with the peace.*

[n] Liv. l. 32. c. 13. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

(K) *Livy* by the *Pyliacum concilium* means that aſſembly of the *Amphictyones* which met every year at *Thermopylæ*, to deliberate on the common intereſts of *Greece*. Theſe diets were eſtabliſhed by *Amphictyon* the third king of *Athens*, in order to unite all the *Greeks* in one body. He believed, and with a great deal of reaſon, that if he could ſucceed in this point, he ſhould render them formidable to the barbarians. Many years after *Acriſius* king of *Argos*, enlarged the privileges of this council, and granted it an unlimited power. He likewiſe added ſeveral deputies of other provinces, who had not till his time been admitted to the council. Some have inferred from hence, that there were two different ſorts of *Amphictyones*, or general aſſemblies; the one inſtituted by *Amphictyon*, the other by *Acriſius*; whereas the king of *Argos* only improved what the king of *Athens* had begun. *Æſchines* ſpeaks of twelve *Amphictyonic* nations, (for ſo the *Greeks* called thoſe that had a right to ſend deputies to this aſſembly) but names only eleven, *viz.* the *Theſſalians*, *Bœotians*, *Dorians*, *Ionians*, *Perrhæbes*, *Magneſians*, *Locrians*, *Oetæans*, *Phthiotes*, *Maleans* and *Phocians*: the name of the twelfth has been probably loſt by the negligence of the tranſcribers. The *Dolopes*, not mentioned by *Æſchines* in this enumeration, are ſaid by the antients to have enjoy'd the *Amphictyonic* right. Each of theſe nations choſe two deputies, whom they ſent to the general aſſembly; one of thoſe was charged with the care of religious matters, and thence ſtiled *Hieronemon*; the other was called *Pylagoras*, or the orator ſent to *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*. Sometimes each nation ſent three and even four deputies; but whatever their number was, they had only two votes in the aſſembly. The *Phocians* were formerly excluded from the aſſembly for having plundered the temple of *Delphos*; but afterwards wiped off this diſhonour by ſaving the ſame temple from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who invaded *Greece* under the conduct of the ſecond *Brennus*. This ſupreme council was held twice a year, in autumn at *Thermopylæ*, in a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, and ſituate in a large plain watered by the *Aſopus*; in the ſpring at *Delphos* in the temple of *Apollo* (37).

(37) *Polyb. l.* 8. *Pauſan. in Achaic.*

enemy: Purſuant to this decree, *Damocritus* was diſpatched to *Lacedæmon*, *Ni-* a
cander to *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* to *Syria*. The firſt was ordered to make *Nabis* ſenſible of the contemptible condition into which he had been brought by the *Romans*. His ſtate was reduced to a ſmall territory, and *Achaia* was ſole miſtreſs of *Peloponneſus*. By yielding up his ports, he was deprived of the riches he formerly got by trading with the neighbouring nations, and being ſhut up within the walls of *Lacedæmon* he had only the empty title of king. The ſecond was inſtructed to tell *Philip*, that he would never have a fairer opportunity of redeeming himſelf from the *Roman* tyranny. The conqueſts of *Alexander* the great and his glorious exploits were alſo deemed proper topics to awake his jealouſy. *Nicander* was likewiſe or-
dered to aſſure him, that the propoſals of the *Ætolians* were not chimerical, that b
Antiochus was ready to croſs into *Europe* with a mighty fleet and a numerous army, that the great *Hannibal*, whoſe very name ſtruck the *Romans* with terror, aſſiſted him with his advice, that the *Ætolians* would join him with all their forces, and that *Rome* could not poſſibly reſiſt ſo many enemies at once. The third embaſſador was directed to perſuade *Antiochus* to paſs over into *Greece*, and magnify to him the forces of *Ætolia*: he was to let him know, that the conqueſts of the *Romans* in *Greece* were chiefly owing to the *Ætolians*, and aſſure him, that their troops were numerous and well diſciplined, and that their country would furniſh his army with proviſions, as it afforded ſafe harbours for his fleets. Nay, *Dicæarchus* was charged to deceive the king of *Syria* with a lie, and tell him, that *Philip* and *Nabis* had c
already ſigned the confederacy [q].

Philip and *Antiochus* were not haſty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took up arms, and beſieged *Gythium*, a maritime city, which the *Romans* had obliged him to give up to the *Achæans*. Upon this beginning of a general commotion, the *Roman* ſenate thought it adviſeable to ſend embaſſadors into *Greece* to defeat the meaſures of the *Ætolians*, and maintain thoſe cities ſteady in their alliance with *Rome*. At their arrival they found, that *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The embaſſador (L), who had been ſent to *An-*
tiochus, was returned, and had brought with him an embaſſador from the king of *Syria* to the *Ætolian* diet. Before the general diet was convened, theſe two endea- d
voured to prepoſſeſs the minds of the people in favour of *Antiochus*. Nothing was talked of but the prodigious army he was to bring over with him. They exagge-
rated beyond meaſure the number of foot, horſe, and elephants, that were to come into *Ætolia*; and above all the immenſe treaſures, which the king would diſtribute among his friends, ſufficient to purchaſe all the lands belonging to the *Roman* republic. The minds of the *Ætolians* were blinded with theſe prejudices, when the diet was aſſembled to give audience to the king's ambaſſador. The *Roman* deputies, among whom was *Flaminius*, highly reſpected by all the other ſtates of *Greece*, had regular notice ſent them of whatever was tranſacting in *Ætolia*; and they ſuborned ſome of their chiefs to thwart as much as poſſible the deſigns of e
the factious *Thoas*. *Flaminius* alſo engaged the *Athenians* to ſend deputies to the aſſembly of *Ætolia*, and there to ſupport the intereſts of his republic. *Thoas* opened the diet by acquainting his country-men, that an embaſſador was come from the mighty monarch of *Syria* to court their friendſhip, and propoſe things greatly to the advantage of both nations. He was immediately ordered to introduce him, that they might hear his propoſals from his own mouth. Being introduced, he made an harangue well calculated for the preſent circumſtances. He told them, that it had been happy for *Greece*, that his maſter had concerned himſelf in their affairs before *Philip* was reduced ſo low; that if he had joined his forces to thoſe of the *Macedonian*, *Greece* would not now groan under the tyrannical oppreſſions of *Rome*. f
"But ſtill your caſe, ſaid he, is not without remedy, the wound is not incurable;
"if you put in execution the deſigns you have formed, I promiſe you a deliverer
"in the great *Antiochus*; he, with your aſſiſtance and that of the gods, will be able
"to reſtore *Greece* to its antient ſplendor [r]".

THE

[q] Liv. l. 35. c. 12.

[r] Liv. l. 35. c. 31—34.

(L) *Livy* had ſaid a little before, that *Dicæarchus*, the brother of *Thoas* then prætor of *Ætolia*, had been ſent ambaſſador to *Antiochus*; and here he tells us, that *Thoas* was ſent; wherein he agrees with *Appian*. Perhaps the prætor went with his brother to give the greater weight to his embaſſy.

a THE *Ætolians* were ready to accept the offer without further deliberation; but the *Athenian* embaſſador prevailed upon the aſſembly to hear the *Romans* before they came to any reſolution. Accordingly *Flaminius* being ſent for and introduced, put them in mind of their alliance with *Rome*; and after exhorting them rather to carry their complaints to the ſenate, than fill all *Greece* and *Aſia* with them, he concluded thus: *Ætolians*, "are you then determined out of mere wanton-"neſs to light a fire in *Greece*, which it will not be in your power to extinguiſh? "Will you arm the nations of the eaſt for their mutual deſtruction? What a dread-"ful ſtorm are you bringing upon yourſelves! you are the firſt on whom it "will fall." The *Ætolians*, who had already laid their complaints before the b ſenate, and had been by the ſenate referred to *Flaminius*, ſeeing themſelves now referred back by *Flaminius* to the ſenate, grew outrageous, and in the preſence of the *Roman* paſſed a decree conceived in the following terms: Let *Antiochus* be called into *Europe* to reſtore *Greece*, oppreſſed by the *Romans*, to its antient liberty. *Flaminius* demanded a copy of the decree; but the prætor refuſed it him, anſwering with a haughty air, that he had buſineſs of much greater conſequence at that time on his hands; but that he would communicate it to him very ſoon on the banks of the *Tyber*, with all the forces of *Syria*. This was an open declaration of war, whereupon *Flaminius* returned to *Corinth*, there to watch the enemies motions, and acquaint the ſenate with the ſteps they ſhould take [s].

The Ætolians invite Antiochus into Greece.

Year of the flood 2812. Before Chriſt 191.

c IN the mean time the privy council of the *Ætolians* formed a deſign of ſeizing on three cities, which were reckoned the bulwarks of *Greece*; theſe were *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, and *Lacedæmon* in the heart of *Peloponneſus*. Three men of known valour and ability in war were charged with the execution of this extraordinary deſign. *Thoas* was appointed to take *Chalcis*, *Alexamenes* to ſurprize *Lacedæmon*, and *Diocles* to make the attempt upon *Demetrias*. They all three ſet out at the ſame time on their reſpective expeditions, but were not attended with the like ſucceſs. *Diocles* approaching the city of *Demetrias* with a ſmall body of choſen troops, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint the inhabitants, that he was come with no other deſign, but to attend *Eurylochus* to his native country, and conduct him with d that honour which was due to his rank and merit. *Eurylochus* had been chief magiſtrate of *Demetrias*, and in that poſt diſobliged the *Romans*, whoſe partizans had forced him to leave his country and take ſanctuary among the *Ætolians*. However, the *Demetrians*, touched with the tears of his wife and children, had conſented to recal him; and his return *Diocles* made uſe of for the execution of his deſign, *Eurylochus* himſelf being privy to the whole plot. Both *Diocles* and *Eurylochus* arrived at the gates of the city with a ſmall body of horſe, the reſt of the cavalry being ordered to follow at a diſtance. To prevent giving umbrage to the inhabitants, *Diocles* ordered his troop to diſmount, and enter on foot, leading their horſes by their bridles. At the gate he left a few horſe-men to be ready to fall on the e citizens, if they ſhould offer to ſhut it when the reſt of the cavalry appeared. Thus *Diocles* was admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion; but while he was leading *Eurylochus* by the hand to his houſe, news was brought him that the whole body of the *Ætolian* cavalry was arrived, and had got poſſeſſion of the gate. Hereupon he ordered the troop that attended him to remount, and in that ſurpriſe making himſelf maſter of the moſt important poſts in the city, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies with orders to put to death all the heads of the *Roman* party. Thus the *Ætolians* poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the moſt important places of *Theſſaly* [t].

The Ætolians form a deſign of ſeizing Chalcis, Demetrias, and Lacedæmon.

Demetrias taken.

BUT *Lacedæmon* was not to be ſo eaſily ſurpriſed. *Nabis* was a cunning and ſuſpicious prince, and, as he had many enemies, always on his guard. The council f therefore of the *Ætolians*, in the inſtructions they gave *Alexamenes*, had recourſe to treachery. *Nabis* had been lately defeated by *Philopœmen*, and apprehending that the brave *Achæan* deſigned to beſiege him in his capital, ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to his friends and allies the *Ætolians*, acquainting them with the danger that threatened him, and earneſtly entreating them to ſend him without delay ſuch a reinforcement as might extricate him out of the difficulties and ſtraits, which his alliance with their republic had reduced him to. The treacherous *Ætolians* thought this a favourable opportunity for putting in execution their horrid deſign, which was to aſſaſſinate their ally, and ſeize on the city of *Lacedæmon* for themſelves. *Alex-*

[s] Liv. ibid. [t] Liv. ibid. c. 35.

Alexamenes therefore, a man well qualified for ſuch a work, was ordered to ſet out a with a thouſand foot and thirty horſemen. The latter were all young men, choſen out of the whole body of the cavalry, as the moſt fit for any deſperate attempt. When they were ready to march, the young horſemen were introduced by the prætor *Demetrius* to the council of the apocleti, and there told, that it was not their buſineſs to think what expedition they were ſent upon, but only to execute blindly whatever *Alexamenes* ſhould enjoin them; and that how deſperate ſoever the thing he commanded might ſeem, and repugnant to reaſon, yet, unleſs they readily performed it, they ſhould not meet with a kind reception on their return home. With theſe inſtructions they began their march to *Lacedæmon*, where they were received by *Nabis*, with the greateſt tranſports of joy. *Alexamenes* encouraged b him not to be under any apprehenſion of danger either from the *Achæans* or the *Romans*, ſince *Antiochus* had already paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and would ſoon enter *Greece* with a prodigious army, and ſuch an immenſe number of elephants as would be ſufficient, without any other help, to tread down the *Romans*. As for the *Ætolians*, ſaid he, they would have ſent you all their troops, if they had not thought it neceſſary to keep them at home till the arrival of the king of *Syria*, before whom they were deſirous to make the beſt appearance they could. He added, that it would be much for the glory and reputation of *Lacedæmon* if he could ſhew the great king his phalanx finely equipped and well diſciplined. *Nabis* was highly pleaſed with this ſoothing diſcourſe, and uſed every day to exerciſe his ſoldiers in c the plains of the *Eurotas* near the capital; *Alexamenes* attended him at the head of his *Ætolians*, whom he drew up apart from the *Lacedæmonians*, and then keeping cloſe by the tyrant's ſide, while he rid through the files of his army to order their motions, watched a proper opportunity to give the blow he deſigned. He obſerved, that *Nabis* uſed to ride from one wing of the phalanx to the other, guarded only by three or four horſemen. This made him form a deſign of aſſaſſinating him in ſight of his troops when under arms. Accordingly having fixed with himſelf a day for the execution of ſo deſperate an attempt, he waited on the tyrant to the place of the rendezvous, and there, while *Nabis* was buſy in exerciſing his phalanx, he ſtept aſide to his thirty horſemen, and told them, that he ſhould ſoon ſtand in d need both of their courage and addreſs; Keep your eyes, ſaid he, fixed upon me, and whatever you ſhall ſee me take in hand, be ſure to finiſh it, if you care to ſee your country again and your relations. He ſaid no more, but returned to attend the king as uſual. At length, at *Nabis* was riding from one place to another with great ſpeed, guarded only by two or three horſemen, *Alexamenes* ſeized on the deſired opportunity, and with his lance wounded the king's horſe. Then the thirty *Ætolians*, without deliberating on the matter, flew in, and diſpatched him before any one could come to his aſſiſtance. His guards were ſo ſurpriſed, that, inſtead of ſeizing the aſſaſſins, they ſtood gazing at the king's dead body, which lay on the ground covered with wounds. But *Alexamenes* heading the *Ætolian* infantry, which e was poſted in the left wing of the *Lacedæmonian* phalanx, haſtened to the capital, and entering it without oppoſition began to plunder the tyrant's palace. As *Nabis* was equally hated by his citizens and ſoldiers, his death would have been generally approved of, if the *Ætolian* had convened the aſſembly, and made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. But the love of plunder prevailed over all other conſiderations; and *Alexamenes*, contrary to all rules of prudence, ſpent the remainder of the day and the whole night in ſearching for the treaſures of the murdered king. In the mean time the *Lacedæmonians*, recovering themſelves from their ſurpriſe, were highly provoked to ſee the ancient palace of their kings ranſacked by a treacherous aſſaſſin, as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. Wherefore the f whole city ran to arms, and for want of a better leader putting at their head a young child of the blood royal, they fell upon the *Ætolians*, who were ſtraggling about the city in queſt of booty, and put them all to the ſword. *Alexamenes* was killed in the palace, and thoſe few that made their eſcape were ſeized by the magiſtrates of *Arcadia*, and condemned to ſlavery. Such was the reſult of the attempt upon *Lacedæmon*. *Philopœmen* no ſooner heard of the death of the tyrant and his aſſaſſin, but he haſtened to *Lacedæmon*, and finding all things there in the utmoſt confuſion, he aſſembled the people, and exhorted them to recover their ancient liberty. They followed his advice, and readily joined in the *Achæan* league. Thus the ancient kingdom of *Sparta* became a member of a common-

Nabis *murdered by the* Ætolians.

Lacedæmon *joins in the* Achæan *league.*

wealth,

a wealth, whereof the name was ſcarce known when the *Spartans* ruled over all *Greece* [u].

As for *Thoas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, the magiſtrates of that city, who were ſtrongly attached to the *Romans*, having received timely notice of the deſign, and put the city in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege. The inhabitants of *Chalcis*, hearing that *Thoas* had hired a great many tranſports in order to carry over troops to their iſland, ſent a meſſenger to him, deſiring to know for what reaſon he was going to commit hoſtilities in their territories; the *Ætolian* anſwered, that his only deſign was to deliver *Eubœa* from the *Romans*, who domineered more inſolently over it than the *Macedonians* had ever done. But the inhabitants reply'd, b that they neither found their liberties abridged, nor needed any avenger or deliverer from the *Romans*, ſince they feared no danger, nor apprehended any injury, from them. This diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Ætolian*, who had placed all hopes of ſucceſs in a ſudden attack. Wherefore finding that proper preparations were made for his reception, he retired much diſſatisfied at his failing in an attempt upon a city, which would have made him maſter of the whole iſland, and open'd a away for *Antiochus* into *Attica* [w].

Ætolians fail in their attempt upon Chalcis.

Flaminius, who then reſided at *Corinth*, being informed, that the *Ætolians* had made themſelves maſters of *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, took upon him to recover it to the *Roman* party. He firſt wrote to *Eunomus*, prætor of *Theſſaly*, deſiring him to c arm all the young men of the country. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himſelf upon the ſpot of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Accordingly *Villius* embarked on a quinqueremis, and came in ſight of *Demetrias*. The report of his arrival raiſed a great commotion among the inhabitants, who ran in crouds to the port to ſee him. But the *Roman*, without any concern at ſeeing crouds about him, addreſſed *Eurylochus* the chief magiſtrate in this manner: Can the *Romans* reckon the people of *Demetrias* among their allies or no? Am I received here as a friend or not? The magiſtrate anſwered, that his fellow citizens were attached to *Rome*; but at the ſame time he let them know, that his preſence might diſturb the repoſe of a city that was jealous of its liberty; which was in effect tell- d ing him in a gentle manner, that he would not admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed *Eurylochus* had already declared for *Antiochus*, and the inhabitants, ſeduced by his councils, had juſt then concluded a league with the *Ætolians* againſt *Rome*. *Villius* underſtood by *Eurylochus*'s diſcourſe, that he could not, without danger, appear among the people; and the interview ended with ſevere reproaches on both ſides; the *Roman* upbraided the *Demetrians* with ingratitude, ſince they owed their liberty to *Rome*, and the *Demetrians* reproached the *Romans* with injuſtice, haughtineſs, and ambition. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to ſea again; but before he reimbarked, turning to the multitude that were purſuing him with great noiſe and menaces, "I plainly ſee, ſaid he, the ſtorm that will fall upon your heads; e "your misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none, who provoke "the *Romans*, eſcape with impunity". *Flaminius*, upon the return of *Villius* and his report, laid aſide all thoughts of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old alliance [x].

On the other hand, *Thoas*, having failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*, went ſtrait to *Antiochus*, and preſſed him to delay no longer his ſetting out for *Greece*. At the ſame time he diſſuaded him from ſending *Hannibal* with an army into *Italy*, inſinuating, that the *Carthaginian* would aſſume to himſelf all the glory of ſuch an enterprize. As this fell in with the *Syrian*'s ſuſpicious and jealous temper, he entirely dropped the deſign, to which he was before well inclined. And now it being f reſolved, that *Greece* ſhould be the only ſeat of war, the king pitched upon *Demetrias* for the place where he ſhould land. Having therefore got every thing ready for his departure, he imbarked with an army conſiſting only of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants; ſuch a ſmall body of men was noways ſuitable to the majeſty of ſo great a king, nor anſwered the expectations of his *Greek* allies: but theſe were all the troops he had ready; *Polyxenidas* indeed, one of his generals, was ordered into *Aſia* to draw together the reſt of his forces, and lead them into *Europe*. The king landed at *Pteleum* in *Phthiotis*, and from thence marched to *Demetrias*. Here the heads of the *Ætolian* nation waited upon him, and invited

Antiochus arrives in Greece.

[u] Liv. l. 35. c. 37. Plut. in Philop. [w] Liv. ibid. c. 33. [x] Idem, ibid. c. 39.

invited him to *Lamia*, one of their cities, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, he made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave *Asia*, before he had made the necessary preparations for such an expedition; that his zeal for their deliverance had made him even forgetful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be fully answered next spring; and that assoon as the seas were passable, they should see all *Greece* covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded with these words; "I will spare neither fatigues nor "expences, I will expose my person, to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in "the full enjoyment of your liberties: *Rome* has enslaved you, but *Syria* offers you "a deliverer; let us then share the trouble between us; do you furnish provisions, I b "will find men and arms[y]".

This speech was received with great applause, and when the king was withdrawn, it was debated in the assembly, what title they should give him, and in what character he should act in *Ætolia*. The most judicious saw plainly, that *Antiochus*, instead of a real and present assistance, gave them little more than bare hopes and promises, and therefore were for having him act only as a mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But this being rejected by a great majority, the opinion of *Thoas* prevailed, which was, that the king should be honoured with the title of generalissimo or commander in chief of all the *Greek* armies against *Rome*. Then a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom the king might have recourse on c all occasions. The first step he took by their advice was to enter into a negotiation with *Chalcis*, a city which was famous for its affection to the *Romans*. In a conference which was held between the *Ætolians* and *Chalcidians* at *Salganea*, the former used their utmost efforts to draw that important city into an alliance with *Antiochus*, but without renouncing the friendship of the *Romans*; they declared, that the king of *Syria* was come into *Greece*, not to make it the seat of war, but to deliver it from slavery; that nothing could be more advantageous to the cities of *Greece* than to live in amity both with *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, since the one would by that means be a check on the other; that if they withstood the advantageous offers of such a mighty monarch, they might soon repent it, the *Ro-* d *mans*, on whom they depended, being at a great distance, and the king at their gates[z].

Mictio, one of the chief men of *Chalcis*, replied; that he could not imagine what people *Antiochus* was come to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and crossed over into *Greece*; that as for the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, they had no occasion for a deliverer, since they were free; nor of a defender, since they enjoyed the sweets of peace under the protection of *Rome*; that they did not refuse the friendship of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; but if they would shew themselves friends, the best proof they could give at present of their friendship was to leave the island, since they were fully determined neither to admit them into their city, nor make e any alliance with them, but in conjunction with the *Romans*[a].

This answer being brought to the king on board his ship, where he had continued during the conference, he thought it adviseable to return to *Demetrias*, not having a sufficient number of troops with him to make an attempt upon the city. He was not at all pleased with his *Ætolian* counsellors, seeing the first step they had made him take proved so inglorious. But *Thoas* appeased him with the hopes of gaining over *Amynander* king of the *Athamanes*, with the *Bœotians* and *Achæans*, who, said he, are all dissatisfied with the proceedings of the *Romans*. Accordingly negotiations were set on foot, and embassadors dispatched to these three powers. The *Achæan* diet, which was held at *Ægium*, gave audience to the embassadors of f the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, in the presence of *Flaminius*. The *Syrian* embassador, who spoke first, expatiated on the irresistible power of his master; he declared with an emphatical tone of voice, that a numberless multitude of horsemen were crossing the *Hellespont*, consisting partly of cuirassiers in impenetrable armour, and partly of bow-men, who discharged their darts with as much skill and dexterity, when they turned their backs, as when they faced their enemy: to the cavalry, which alone was sufficient to overpower all the forces of *Europe*, he added more numerous bodies of infantry, the *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Elymæans*, the *Cadusii*, &c. names

[y] Idem, ibid. c. 42—44. [z] Liv. ibid. c. 46. [a] Idem, ibid. c. 47.

a names never before heard in *Greece*, and therefore, as he thought, more terrible; with regard to the fleet, he aſſured them, that it would over-ſpread all the coaſts, and fill all the ports of *Greece*; concerning money, it was, he ſaid, needleſs to mention the immenſe ſums which *Antiochus* poſſeſſed, ſince they knew that the kingdom of *Aſia* had always abounded with gold. In the cloſe of his ſpeech he addreſſed the *Achæans*, telling them, that though his maſter was come from the moſt remote parts of the eaſt, purely to reſtore *Greece* to its freedom, yet he did not require, that the *Achæans* ſhould take up arms againſt *Rome*, but only deſired them to ſtand neuter, and treat both parties as friends, aſſuring them, that their neutrality ſhould ſcreen them and their country from the many calamities that threatened *Greece* [b].

b *Archidamus*, the *Ætolian* embaſſador, ſpoke to the ſame effect, adviſing the *Achæans* to ſit only as ſpectators of a war, which muſt bring utter deſtruction upon *Rome*; then growing inſenſibly warmer, he launched out into invectives and reproaches againſt the *Romans* in general, and *Flaminius* in particular; he called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot, that they owed to the valour of the *Ætolians* not only the victory they had gained over *Philip*, but their general's life and the ſafety of the army. "For what great exploits, continued he, has *Flami-*
"*nius* performed during this war? his whole time has been ſpent in conſulting the
"auſpices, in ſacrificing victims, and offering vows, as though he had been an
"augur or a prieſt, while I expoſed myſelf to the enemy's darts for his ſake."

Inſolent ſpeech of Archidamus *the* Ætolian, *before the* Achæan *diet.*

c *Flaminius* heard all theſe reproaches with patience, and then reply'd with pleaſantry thus. "Attempts have now been made, *Achæans*, to terrify you with an enume-
"ration of thoſe nations of *Aſia*, which are to pour in, like a torrent, upon *Greece*.
"This puts me in mind of an entertainment, which was made me by a friend of
"mine in *Chalcis*, who is a man of humour, and treats his gueſts very elegantly.
"He invited me to a banquet at a time of year when veniſon was very ſcarce,
"and yet there ſeemed to be great plenty of it ſerved up at his table. I was ſur-
"prized; but my friend ſmiling told me, that what I took for veniſon was nothing
"but hog's fleſh diſguiſed ſeveral ways, and ſeaſoned with different ſauces. The
"ſame may be ſaid of this mighty king's troops, which have been ſo pompouſly
d "extolled and magnified. The *Dahæ*, the *Medes*, the *Caduſii*, the *Elymæans*,
"names indeed that are not heard every day in *Greece*, are all but one nation,
"and a nation of ſlaves. Whatever diſguiſes may be uſed, they are all but
"one ſort of men; let the ſauce be what it will, the meat is the ſame. And
"as for the *Ætolians*, they are brave only in words; they may amuſe the king
"of *Syria* with their bragging diſcourſes, but both you, *Achæans*, and I are
"better acquainted with their character than to be impoſed upon. As for their
"mighty monarch, what a poor figure is he come to make in theſe parts? his
"whole army is not equal to two of our ſmalleſt legions. And where are the
"riches, which he promiſes you? he has been obliged at his firſt arrival to beg
e "of the *Ætolian* diet, proviſions and money. From thence he rambled to *Chalcis*,
"which he was obliged to leave with ignominy. The *Ætolians* have very inju-
"diciouſly given credit to *Antiochus*, and *Antiochus* ſhewed as little judgment in
"believing the *Ætolians*. This ought to teach you not to be impoſed upon,
"but to put all your confidence in the *Romans*, the effects of whoſe friendſhip
"you have ſo often experienced. When they demand of you a neutrality, they
"invite you to become a prey to both parties, and to ſuffer all the evils of war
"without ſharing the advantages of victory [c]."

Speech of Flaminius.

The *Achæans* without heſitation declared for the *Romans*, and reſolved to make war upon *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*. They immediately ſent five hundred
f men to reinforce the gariſon of *Chalcis*, and the like number to *Athens*, which began to waver.

Antiochus and the *Ætolians* received no greater ſatisfaction from the *Bœotians*, who told their embaſſadors, that they would come to no reſolution till *Antiochus*'s army was on the frontiers of *Bœotia* [d].

The king of *Syria* having thus ſollicited in vain, either by his embaſſadors or in perſon, moſt of the *Greek* ſtates to join in alliance with him, retired at laſt to *Demetrias*, where he held a council of war on the operations of the enſuing campaign. *Hannibal*, who was invited to it with all the chief commanders of the army,

[b] Idem, ibid. c. 48. [c] Idem, ibid. c. 49. [d] Idem, l. 36, c. 2.

army, being aſked his opinion firſt, adviſed the king, before he undertook any a
thing elſe, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to gain over *Philip* of *Macedon*; which, he
ſaid, was ſo important a ſtep, that could they but ſucceed in it, they might with-
out much ado become maſters of all *Greece*. But if *Philip* ſhould refuſe to take up
arms againſt *Rome*, in that caſe he was of opinion, that the king ſhould ſend his
ſon *Seleucus* at the head of an army into *Macedon*, and by that means prevent him
from lending any aſſiſtance to the *Romans*. He inſiſted on a ſtill more important
point, and maintained, as he had always done, that the only way to defeat the
Romans was to ſend an army into *Italy* [c].

Antiochus diverted by the Ætolians from following the advice of Hannibal.

The council could not but approve of what *Hannibal* ſaid, but at the ſame b
time the *Ætolians* diverted the king from following his opinion, pretending, that if
he purſued the *Carthaginian*'s plan, all the glory would be aſcribed to him, and
that ſince *Antiochus* had already taken another courſe and was in *Greece*, it would
be highly diſreputable in him to alter his meaſures. In the council it was reſolved,
that the king ſhould again attempt the winning over of *Chalcis*, and accordingly he
ſet out again for that place. On his march he detached *Menippus*, one of his gene-
rals, with three thouſand men to intercept a body of five hundred *Romans* which
Flaminius had ſent, under the command of *Miſtio* the *Chalcidian*, to reinforce the
gariſon of *Chalcis*. *Menippus* came upon them unexpectedly, while they were
amuſing themſelves in viewing the rarities of a temple dedicated to *Apollo* in the
neighbourhood of *Tanagra* (M). Neither the ſanctity of the place, which enjoy'd c
the privileges of an aſylum, nor the friendſhip that ſtill ſubſiſted between *Antiochus*
and the republic, war not being yet declared, protected them from the fury of the
Syrians; they were attacked in the very temple and grove of *Apollo*, moſt of them
put to the ſword, and fifty taken priſoners; a few of them eſcaped with their leader
Miſtio, who in a ſmall boat got ſafe to *Chalcis*. This was the firſt time *Antiochus*
drew his ſword in theſe parts; but by ſhedding *Roman* blood he made himſelf the
aggreſſor, and gave *Rome* a new right to declare him an enemy. The *Syrian*,
fluſhed with this ſmall advantage, became more bold and enterprizing; he advanced
at the head of ſix thouſand men to the *Euripus*, where he had ordered his fleet to
attend him, and appeared the ſecond time before *Chalcis*. This city was rent into d
factions, and, now the *Ætolian* party prevailing, *Miſtio* and *Xenolcides*, with ſuch
other citizens as perſiſted in their attachment to the *Romans*, were commanded to
depart, and the city opened her gates to *Antiochus*. The example of the capital was
followed by the whole iſland, and all *Eubœa* ſubmitted to the *Syrian*, who from that
time made *Chalcis* the place of his reſidence. He ſpent the winter there, ſending
deputies to all the free ſtates of *Greece* to court their friendſhip. His power began
now to be formidable; wherefore the *Eleans*, the *Epirots*, the *Bœotians*, and the
Athamanes readily joined him, renouncing their alliance with *Rome*. The *Atha-
manes* were prevailed upon to join him, by *Philip* the regent of *Athamania*, who was
a pretender to the crown of *Macedon* (N) [f].

The progreſs of Antiochus's arms in Greece.

And now the time drawing near to take the field, *Antiochus* advanced to *Lariſſa*, e
and from thence ſummoned his allies to ſend their troops to the neighbourhood of
Pheræ, where they were to rendezvous. While he was waiting here for the arrival
of the confederate troops, he made a very impolitic ſtep, which was taking the
regent of *Athamania* with him to the plains of *Cynocephalæ*, where the *Macedonians*,
who had been killed when *Philip* was overcome, lay ſtill unburied. He thought,
that the pretended king of *Macedon*, by procuring their obſequies to be performed,
might gain the affections of the *Macedonians*. But this ſerved only to exaſperate
the true king of *Macedon*, who immediately gave the *Romans* notice of the progreſs
Antiochus was making in *Greece* [g]. f

The

[c] Idem ibid. c. 4 [f] Liv. ibid. c. 5. Polyb. legat. 12 [g] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

(M) *Tanagra*, a city of *Bœotia* on the banks of the *Aſopus*, five miles diſtant from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*. The temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and called *Delium*, was built on the coaſt of *Bœotia*, between the city of *Aulis* and the mouth of the *Aſopus*, about five miles from *Tanagra* (4).

(N) *Amynander*, king of the *Athamanes* had married at *Megalopolis*, a woman named *Apamia*, a native of *Macedon*, who was ſaid to be deſcended from *Alexander* the great. The father of *Apamia*, who alſo bore the name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, that he was the true heir of the kingdom of *Macedon*. The brother of *Apamia*, whoſe name was *Philip*, governed the kingdom of *Athamania* under *Amynander*, who was a weak prince: and *Antiochus* gained over *Philip*, by promiſing to reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors.

(4) 4 *Strabo. l.* 9.

a THE king of *Syria*, being reinforced with the troops of his allies, and having no enemies to reſiſt him, laid ſiege to *Pheræ*, which after a vigorous reſiſtance was forced to ſurrender. From *Pheræ* he advanced to *Lariſſa*, and while he was deliberating whether he ſhould lay ſiege to it or not, news was brought him, that a body of *Romans* was arrived at *Gonni*, a city about twenty miles from *Lariſſa*. *Claudius*, who commanded this ſmall detachment, in order to deceive *Antiochus*, encamped in a much larger camp than was neceſſary for ſo ſmall a number of troops, and kindled ſo many fires, that *Antiochus*, believing a numerous army of *Romans* was ready to fall upon him, decamped with great precipitation, and returned to *Chalcis*, which city proved as fatal to him as *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*. For
b there, though he was advanced in years, being above fifty, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſhamefully captivated by the charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the daughter of one of the chief citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, in whoſe houſe the king lodged, and a young woman of great virtue. The king therefore was obliged to diſcloſe his paſſion, not to her only, but likewiſe to her father, and deſire his conſent to marry her. The diſproportion of her age and condition to thoſe of the king's made *Cleoptolemus* fear, that his daughter would ſoon repent her advancement to ſo high a ſtation, and therefore was very unwilling to grant the king his requeſt. But *Antiochus* to the paſſion of a lover joined the authority of a ſovereign, and then the father was obliged to acquieſce; and the nuptials were cele-
c brated with regal magnificence, and all the ſecurity of the moſt peaceable times. The king was now ſo taken up with his young queen, that he ſeemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the important war he was engaged in, nor the defence of his allies, nor the preſervation of the glory he had already acquired, affected him in the leaſt. His unſeaſonable love was become a ſtanding topic of railery in all converſations, his allies made loud complaints, the ſoldiery, being kept in a ſtate of inaction, began to mutiny, and the *Ætolians* themſelves to expreſs great uneaſineſs. But the king, inſenſible to every thing but his paſſion, which engroſſed the whole man, ſpent the reſt of the winter in feaſting and rejoicings; and the ill example of the court infected the officers, and even the common ſoldiers, of
d the *Syrian* army: diſcipline was neglected, their bodies were weakened, and the whole army abandoned themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery [h].

Chalcis *proves fatal to* Antiochus.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus loſt in pleaſures at *Chalcis*, *Rome* kept a watchful eye over him. A hundred quinquerems were fitted out to ſcour the eaſtern ſeas, and after the elections were over, and a regulation made of the troops that were to ſerve this year, war was formally declared againſt *Antiochus*. Then the new conſuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica* and *A. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces, and *Greece* fell to the latter, who ſet out in the beginning of *May* for *Brunduſium*, whence he ſet ſail for *Greece*, and, croſſing the *Ionian* ſea, landed his forces, without the leaſt oppoſition, to the number of twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe,
e and fifteen elephants. He immediately ſent his infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Theſſaly*, and with his cavalry he marched to *Limnæa*, another city of *Theſſaly*, which the king of *Macedon* was beſieging. Both theſe places ſurrendered to the conſul at diſcretion, and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the pretender to the crown of *Macedon*. The king in deriſion called him brother, ordered him to be ſaluted king, and conducted him to the conſul, who put him in irons and ſent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* parted, to ſpread the terror of their arms in different places. The king made himſelf maſter of all *Athamania*, *Amynander*, having retired with his wife and children into *Epirus*; and the conſul ſoon reduced all *Theſſaly*. This ſurprizing progreſs of the *Romans* rouſed
f at laſt *Antiochus* out of his lethargy. He loved his new wife *Eubia* to adoration; but his reaſon, pointing out to him the ſhameful figure a man of his years and character muſt make in being thus taken up with youthful pleaſures, at laſt got the better of his paſſion; and he determined to leave *Chalcis* and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This obliged him to aſſemble all the troops he had diſperſed over *Greece*, and join them in one army. All the *Syrian* troops amounted to no more than ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe. With theſe he advanced to the confines of *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful ſuccours from thence; but he was diſappointed; for the *Ætolian* chiefs could not raiſe above four thouſand men, who were for the moſt part their own clients and vaſſals. *Antiochus* was then ſenſible that he had been impoſed upon

The progreſs of the Romans *rouzes* Antiochus.

[h] Liv. ibid. Appian. c. 96.

upon by *Thoas*; but, notwithstanding this disappointment, he pursued his measures. a
He knew, that the *Roman* army had passed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*.
To prevent therefore their entering *Achaia* by way of *Locris*, and at the same time
to secure himself against the attacks of the enemy, he seized a pass already famous in
Antiochus *seizes* Thermopylæ. history, called *Thermopylæ*. This pass was not above twenty-five foot broad, and
bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by mount *Oeta*. The king strength-
ened the natural fortifications of the place with trenches and ramparts. And as he was
not ignorant, that *Xerxes* would not have been able to force the *Lacedæmonians*, if
he had not ordered some of his troops to climb up the mountains, and from thence
rush down upon the enemy, he detached two thousand *Ætolians* to seize the summits
of mount *Oeta*, which were nearest his camp[i]. b

THE *Roman* general was informed of the prudent precautions which *Antiochus*
had taken, and was under no small concern. To endeavour to drive the enemy
from passes, where scarce ten armed men could march a-breast was a dangerous
attempt; to follow the example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the mountains, was
impracticable, the tops of the mountain being guarded by two thousand *Ætolians*. In
this perplexity he had recourse to the famous *Cato*, who, being tired with the wrang-
lings of the bar, had rouzed up his martial spirit, and now served in the troops in no
higher a station than that of a legionary tribune. This brave and prudent warrior
extricated the consul out of his difficulties, by offering to dislodge the *Ætolians* from
their advantageous post. As this enterprize was of no less difficulty than import- c
ance, the consul thought proper to join *L. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, with
Cato in the execution of it. The former was ordered to march against that body
of *Ætolians*, which was encamped on the summit, called *Tichius*, and the latter
against those who were on the other, named *Callidromus*. *Valerius* was repulsed
But is dis- by the *Ætolians*, and forced to retire; but *Cato*, after undergoing inexpressible
lodged and fatigues and dangers, got at last to the top of the mountain, and charged the
ated. *Ætolians* with such resolution, that he obliged them to abandon their post, and fly
for refuge to the valley. In the mean time the main body of the army was warmly
engaged with *Antiochus*, but could not with all their valour force the *Syrian*'s
entrenchment. *Acilius* did wonders, but great numbers of his men being either d
killed or wounded, the rest began to be disheartened, when the consul all on a
sudden spied *Cato* half way down the hill, and the *Ætolians* flying before him.
This sight inspired the *Romans* with new vigour, and struck no small terror into the
Syrians, who had behaved during the action with incredible valour, and still main-
tained their ground, till *Cato*, attacking the camp in its weakest part, put an end to
the dispute. The king, having received a blow on the mouth with a stone, turned
his horse about and fled. His example was followed by the whole army, every
one shifting for himself, and leaving the passes open for the *Romans*, who did not
pursue them, being taken up with plundering the camp, where they found a rich
booty[k]. e

THE next day early in the morning the consul marched to *Elatia*, whither
Antiochus had first retired. But before the arrival of the *Romans* the king was fled
from thence, and had got safe to *Chalcis* with five hundred horse. All the infan-
try, being too much tired to follow the king in his flight, were surprised by the
Roman horse and cut in pieces; so that *Antiochus* may be said to have lost his
whole army, in the action of *Thermopylæ* and in the pursuit (O). The consul con-
tinued his march through *Bœotia* to the *Euripus*, with a design to drive *Antiochus*
from *Chalcis*, and recover the island of *Eubœa*. The *Bœotians* had declared for
Antiochus, and therefore being seized with terror at the sight of the consular army,
they appeared before *Acilius* in the attire of supplicants, and the consul spared both f
their lives and lands, not suffering his soldiers to commit any hostilities, except
at *Coroneæa*, where, by a public edict of the *Bœotian* diet, a statue had been erected
to *Antiochus*. At this sight the legionaries were so provoked, that *Acilius* could
not refrain them; the city was plundered, and the territory laid waste. When the
Antiochus *leaves* Chalcis consular army appeared before *Chalcis*, *Antiochus*, embarked with his new queen, set
sail

[i] LIV. ibid. c. 15. Appian. in Syriacis. c. 96. [k] LIV. ibid. c. 19.

(O) *Valerius* of *Antium*, according to *Livy*, great- ly magnified the king's loss; for he wrote that forty thousand *Syrians* were killed upon the spot, and five thousand taken prisoners (5).

(5) *Liv. l.* 36. *c.* 19.

a ſail for *Aſia*, and retired to *Epheſus*. Upon his departure *Chalcis* opened her gates to the *Romans*, and all *Eubœa* followed the example of the capital. *Acilius* then returned to *Thermopylæ*, and from thence continued his march to *Heraclea* (P), which two thouſand *Ætolians* ſtill kept for *Antiochus* [l].

BEFORE the conſul beſieged the city in form, he ſummoned the gariſon and the inhabitants to ſurrender; repreſenting, that they could expect no relief from a fugitive king; that all *Greece* had a-new declared for *Rome*; that it was not too late to have recourſe to the clemency of the *Romans*; and that he would look upon their delivering up of the city as an unqueſtionable proof of a ſincere repentance. *Damocritus*, who had told *Flaminius* that he would give him on the banks of the *Tyber*
b a copy of the decree inviting *Antiochus* into *Greece*, was governor of the place; and by his means the *Ætolians*, as well as the inhabitants, reſolved to hold out to the laſt. The conſul therefore was obliged to have recourſe to force, and it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that he made himſelf maſter of it. *Heraclea* was fortified by nature and art, and in a condition to make a long and vigorous defence. The conſul having inveſted the city on all ſides, began to batter it night and day with a great number of warlike machines, which diſcharged ſhowers of darts and ſtones on the beſieged. The *Ætolians* on the other hand maintained their poſts with inexpreſſible courage, haraſſed the *Romans* with frequent ſallies, ſet fire to their engines, and, by letting down iron hooks from the wall, rendered their
c battering rams quite uſeleſs. The aggreſſors no ſooner opened a breach by undermining the wall, but the the beſieged made vigorous ſallies, keeping the *Romans* employed till their companions within repaired the breach. Thus they held out forty days againſt the inceſſant attacks of the whole conſular army. The great number of the beſiegers leſſened their fatigues; but the beſieged were employed night and day, the whole gariſon being ſcarce ſufficient for the conſtant defence of the place. The conſul being ſenſible that the *Ætolians* could hardly be overcome with fatigues and watchings, reſolved to give ſome relaxation, but with a view the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a ſtop to be put to the attacks at twelve every night, and did not renew them till nine in the morn-
d ing. The *Ætolians*, being perſuaded that the *Romans* were as much exhauſted as themſelves, retired at the ſame time, and did not return to the walls till they had refreſhed themſelves with ſome hours reſt. They continued this practice for ſome time; but the conſul all on a ſudden ordered *Sempronius* to attack the citadel at three in the morning, not doubting but the noiſe would draw all the gariſon thither. Accordingly the *Ætolians* being waked, haſtened to the caſtle, and the *Romans* at the ſame time aſſaulted with great vigour the town, but were repulſed by the *Ætolians* in three ſucceſſive attacks. *Acilius* had ordered his legionaries to attack the town on all ſides, except that which joined the ſuburbs. There he had placed a ſtrong detachment among the ruins of the demoliſhed houſes, with orders
e not to ſtir till they heard the ſignal. He imagined, that the beſieged would draw off their men from that place, which was not attacked, to defend the others. And ſo it happened, the beſiegers left this place quite undefended, which the conſul perceiving, gave the ſignal agreed on, and the legionaries mounted the wall without any oppoſition. The beſieged hearing a ſhout on the rampart believed the city was taken, and fled with great precipitation to the citadel. *Acilius* ſuffered the city to be plundered, not ſo much out of a ſpirit of revenge, as to reward the ſoldiers, who had not as yet been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. The pillaging of the city took them up from break of day till noon, when the conſul marched againſt the citadel, which, as it was not ſufficiently ſtocked with proviſions to maintain ſuch a number of men, women, and children, as had
f fled thither for refuge, ſoon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The *Ætolians* threw themſelves upon the clemency of the *Romans*, and by way of preliminary delivered up into the conſul's hands their leader *Damocritus*, who probably was ſent to *Rome*, with the other captives of the conquered nations [m].

FROM *Heraclea* the conſul marched to *Lamia*, a ſtrong place ſituated on a rock about ſeven miles diſtant. The troops of king *Philip* had begun the

[l] LIV. ibid c. 20.

[m] LIV. ibid. c. 25.

(P) This city, called *Heraclea Trachynia*, ſtood between the *Sperchius* and the *Aſopus*, near the gulf of *Zeiton*, and about forty furlongs diſtant from *Thermopylæ* (6).

(6) *Strabo l.* 9. *Thucyd. l.* 3.

the ſiege at the ſame time that the *Romans* ſet down before *Heraclea*. As the two a
cities were near each other, and *Lamia* ſtood on an eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could diſcover, each from their own camp, what progreſs was made in the other. Hence aroſe an emulation between the two armies, which ſhould reduce their city firſt. The works were carried on by both with the utmoſt vigor; but as the *Macedonians* could not, according to their cuſtom, undermine the walls, the city being placed on a rock, the *Romans* took *Heraclea* before the *Macedonians* had made any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege of *Lamia*. *Philip* indeed did not at firſt aſſiſt in perſon, being prevented by an indiſpoſition; but he no ſooner recovered, than he went to pay a viſit to *Acilius*, who was then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his victory. From the conſul's camp *Philip* haſtened to *Lamia* to purſue the ſiege; but he had not the ſatisfaction of taking the place, the *Lamians* b
chuſing rather to ſubmit to the *Romans*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, than to receive the *Macedonian* yoke [n].

Before *Heraclea* and *Lamia* were beſieged, the *Ætolians* had ſent an embaſſy to *Antiochus* then at *Epheſus*. *Thoas*, who was at the head of it, endeavoured, purſuant to his inſtructions, to engage the king to draw together his troops, and return into *Europe*. He repreſented, that if the war was not carried on with vigor in *Greece*, he would ſoon ſee the *Romans* in the heart of his dominions. What he ſaid was not improbable, and therefore determined *Antiochus* to ſend immediately into *Ætolia* conſiderable ſums, and give orders for the aſſembling of his forces. *Thoas* he kept with him, who was very glad to continue at court, and there have an op- c
portunity of preſſing the king to fulfil his promiſes. Thus the *Ætolians* were wholly bent upon renewing the war before the taking of the two above-mentioned cities; but the reduction of theſe abated their ardor, and now nothing was talked of in their aſſemblies, but of concluding a peace. They ſent embaſſadors to the conſul to make propoſals, but he received them with the air of a conqueror. "I have "other buſineſs on my hands, ſaid he, than to hear you; go back to your diet at "*Hypata*, whither I will ſend *Valerius Flaccus* to treat with you: make your pro-"poſals to him, and in the mean time I grant you a ten days truce [o]."

Valerius and the embaſſadors ſet out together for *Hypata*, where the general aſſembly was held. The diet ſhewed him extraordinary honour; held their ſeſſions at d
his houſe, and to ſhew that they repoſed an entire confidence in him, they deſired him to inſtruct them in what manner they ſhould treat with the ſenate. Our alliance, ſaid they, with the republic is very ancient. By how many good offices have we ſhewn our attachment to *Rome?* Here *Valerius* ſtopped them, and deſired they would not mention an alliance, which they had ſo often broken. An humble ſubmiſſion, ſaid he, will have more effect on the conſul and ſenate, than a vain oſtentation of your ſervices. The diet ſeemed to pay a great regard to the wholeſome advice of *Valerius*, and their deputies, putting on an air of humiliation, preſented themſelves before the conſul. *Phæneas*, who was their ſpeaker, addreſſing the con-
ſul in a mournful tone, began his ſpeech by telling him, that all *Ætolia*, repenting e
her late conduct, threw herſelf on the honour and clemency of the *Romans*. The conſul, without ſuffering him to purſue his harangue, immediately replied; you ſay, *Ætolia* ſurrenders herſelf to the *Romans*; if ſo, deliver up the head of your nation, who was the author of your revolt; put into my hands *Menetas* the *Epirot*, *Amynander* king of *Athamania*, and ſuch of the *Athamanians* as have revolted from us, and taken ſanctuary in *Ætolia*. While he was yet ſpeaking, *Phæneas* interrupting him, anſwered with a quite different air and tone of voice; You demand more than we promiſed; we threw ourſelves upon your honour, but we did not deliver ourſelves up to ſlavery. What you require is neither conſiſtent with the honour of the *Ætolian* nation, nor with the laws and cuſtoms of *Greece*. What is that to me, f
replied *Acilius* haughtily, whether my demands are agreeable to your cuſtoms and laws, or not? They are agreeable to the will of the *Romans*, and that is enough. *Phæneas* was offering to ſpeak, when the conſul riſing up, What, ſaid he, do you refuſe to obey my orders, and plead your cuſtoms or laws with me? Then turning to the lictors, he ordered them to bring in iron chains and collars, and threatened to put the embaſſadors in irons that inſtant, and treat them like rebels and traitors, unleſs they promiſed to perform what he required. The ſight of the chains

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 26. [o] Idem, ibid. c. 27.

a chains and the threats of the angry conſul ſo terrified them, that neither *Phœneas* nor his collegues durſt utter one word. *Valerius*, taking their part, deſired the conſul to remember that they were embaſſadors, and conſequently ought not to be treated with all the ſeverity, which their inſincerity perhaps might deſerve. This encouraged *Phœneas* to repreſent to the conſul in terms of great ſubmiſſion; That neither he, nor the council of the apocleti who had ſent him, could obey his orders, without the conſent and approbation of the general aſſembly of the whole nation; he therefore entreated him to grant them a further truce for ten days, during which time he promiſed to bring him a poſitive anſwer. *Acilius* heard him now with patience, and granted the ſuſpenſion of arms he required [p].

b Upon the return of the embaſſadors, and the report which they made of the ſevere treatment they had met with, a general aſſembly was convened, to which all the cities of *Ætolia* ſent their deputies. Theſe were fired with indignation at the bare recital of the preliminaries propoſed by the *Romans*, and all cried out, We are then reduced to ſlavery: Is the king of *Athamania* our ſubject? Can we diſpoſe of him as we pleaſe, and deliver him up to the *Romans?* Warm debates aroſe, and the members of the council could neither agree with the prætor, nor among themſelves. On one ſide the *Romans* were a formidable enemy; but they had yet taken only two cities: on the other *Antiochus* was a wealthy prince, powerful by ſea and land, and a declared enemy to the *Romans*. While they were in this uncer-

c tainty, a thing happened which determined them to chooſe the worſt part. One *Nicander*, an active and buſtling man, had gone from *Ætolia* to *Epheſus*, where *Antiochus* reſided, and returned home in twelve days. He brought large ſums of money with him from the king of *Syria*, and aſſured the diet, that early in the ſpring all the forces of *Syria* would be ſent to their aſſiſtance. He added, that the king of *Macedon* was highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the *Romans*, and would not fail to join them, when a fair opportunity offered of revolting from his new allies. What he ſaid with relation to *Philip* had great appearance of truth, and therefore was of great weight with the aſſembly. *Nicander* on his return to *Greece* had been obliged to paſs between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* camps, and keeping as far as

d he could from the *Romans* fell upon an advanced guard of the *Macedonians*, by whom he was taken and carried to the king. The priſoner expected no good treatment from *Philip*, and was under no ſmall apprehenſion of being delivered up to the *Romans*. But, contrary to his expectation, he was received by the *Macedonian* in a very friendly manner, and even invited to ſup with him. After the repaſt, the king ordered the reſt of the company to withdraw, and then addreſſed *Nicander* thus: "You are not in the power of an enemy, but of a friend, and therefore "diveſt yourſelf of all fear. Are you not at laſt ſenſible, that the *Ætolians* your "countrymen are the authors of all our misfortunes? They firſt brought the *Ro-*"*mans* into *Greece*, and aſſiſted them in the reduction of my dominions. Then

e "they grew weary of their new maſters, and drew *Antiochus* into theſe parts. How-"ever, I forget all that is paſt, and will not inſult you in your miſery. Only let "the diet at *Hypata* know, that it is high time for them to lay aſide their hatred "to me. As for you, *Nicander*, remember, that I now give you your life, and "be grateful [q]." Accordingly *Nicander* acquainted the diet with the kind reception he had met with in *Philip*'s camp, and the *Ætolians* inferred from thence, that the king might be eaſily drawn off from the *Romans*. This perſuaſion, with the money which *Nicander* brought from *Aſia*, and the reports which he ſpread, that *Antiochus* was ready to paſs into *Europe* at the head of a powerful army, made ſuch impreſſions on the aſſembly, that all thoughts of peace vaniſhed, and nothing was

f now talked of but war. They reſolved to draw all their forces to *Naupactus*, and preſerve at all events that important city againſt the return of *Antiochus* [r].

Acilius on the other hand look'd on the taking of *Naupactus* as the moſt fatal blow he could give the *Ætolian* nation, and therefore reſolved to attempt it. In the firſt place he ſent four thouſand men under the command of *Appius Claudius* to guard the roads through which the army was to paſs. The conſul did not begin his march, till he had implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, by offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Her-*

cules

[p] Liv. ibid. c. 28. [q] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. 13. [r] Liv. ibid. c. 30.

cules on the top of mount *Oeta* (Q). Having thus conſecrated his departure by a
an act of religion, he ſet out at the head of his army, and met with no difficulties in
his march, till he came to *Corax* (R), the higheſt mountain of *Ætolia*, which he was
obliged to climb over, with all the warlike machines and baggage of a numerous
army. There great numbers of beaſts of burden and many of the ſoldiers were loſt
in the precipices. Not one ſingle *Ætolian* appeared to diſpute this dangerous paſ-
ſage with the conſul, which might have been defended by an handful of men againſt
an army how numerous ſoever. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived
greatly fatigued before *Naupactus*, which the conſul immediately inveſted. But as
the *Ætolians* defended themſelves with incredible vigor and courage, the whole con-
ſular army was employed here moſt part of the ſummer, while *Philip* and the *Achæans* b
reduced entire provinces. The former not only made himſelf maſter of *Demetrias*,
but extended his conqueſts to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia* and *Perrhæbia* (S); and thus by
degrees recovered all the places that had been taken from him [t].

But *Flaminius*, who reſided at *Chalcis* (T), not being at all pleaſed with the
progreſs, which the conſul ſuffered *Philip* to make contrary to the intereſt of *Rome*,
haſtened to *Naupactus*, which had already held out two months, but was reduced to
great ſtraits. On his arrival in the camp he was received by the conſul, whom he
abruptly addreſſed thus; Are you aware what prodigious pains you take to ruin the
affairs of the republic? *Acilius* ſurprized at theſe words, deſired him to explain his
meaning; and then *Flaminius* told him, that ever ſince his victory at *Thermopylæ* c
he had ſpent his whole time in taking two cities, while *Philip* had not contented
himſelf with the taking of cities, but had reduced whole nations. "You are
"endeavouring, continued *Flaminius*, to leſſen the power of *Ætolia*, and at the
"ſame time ſuffer a far more dangerous enemy to increaſe his beyond meaſure:
"conſider better the true intereſt of *Rome*; raiſe this troubleſome ſiege, leave
"*Naupactus*, and deliver *Greece* from impending ſlavery [u].

As the authority of *Flaminius* was great at *Rome*, and his reaſoning very juſt,
Acilius was unwilling to diſoblige him; but on the other hand he conſidered, that
the raiſing the ſiege of a town, which had already held out two months, might
reflect no ſmall diſhonour on his conduct, and therefore was ſome time in ſuſpenſe, d
whether he ſhould follow the advice of *Flaminius*, or contrary to his opinion purſue
the ſiege. But at length he yielded, *Flaminius* taking upon him to juſtify his con-
duct to the ſenate, and to perſuade the *Ætolians* to make ſome kind of ſubmiſ-
ſion. Accordingly he immediately ſhewed himſelf to the beſieged, who, running
in crowds to the ramparts, implored his aſſiſtance with mournful cries. *Flaminius*
ſeemed at firſt not to give ear to their entreaties, but as they redoubled their cries,
beſeeching him, with tears in their eyes, to have compaſſion on an unfortunate peo-
ple, who fled to him for protection, he gave them to underſtand, that they might
ſend deputies to confer with him. Hereupon *Phaneas* and the chief men of the
nation came out and threw themſelves proſtrate at his feet. *Flaminius* ſeeing them e
in this humble poſture, I will not inſult you, ſaid he, in this condition, nor aggra-
vate

[s] Idem ibid. Appian. in Syriac. 99. [t] Liv. l. 36. c. 32. [u] Liv. ibid. & Plut. in Flamin.

(Q) Mount *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*, there being an old tradition in the country, that this hero ended his life and labours there. One of the ſummits of this mountain was called *Pyra*, that is *a funeral pile*, becauſe *Hercules* had there burnt himſelf, and was ever after reckoned among the gods. The fame of the place drew the conſul to it, and before his departure he offered ſacrifices to the deity there worſhipped.

(R) According to *Ptolomy* this mountain lay between mount *Callidromus* and mount *Parnaſſus*, *Livy* places it between *Naupactus* and *Callipolis*.

(S) *Dolopia* was part of *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Theſſaly*, near mount *Pindus*. *Aperantia* was another province of *Epirus*, lying near the ſprings of the *Achelous*. *Perrhæbia* was properly the mountainous country about *Olympus* in *Theſſaly*, extending from the city of *Atrax* as far as *Tempe* (7).

(T) *Flaminius*, after having conquered *Philip*, and ſettled the affairs of *Greece*, was long kept in that country by his republic on account of his great ſkill and addreſs in negotiations. He had no title, but nevertheleſs was more reſpected than the conſuls themſelves. When any differences aroſe, the contending parties generally had recourſe to *Flaminius*, referring the whole to his arbitration. He had choſe *Chalcis* for the uſual place of his reſidence. That city owed its ſafety to him; for *Acilius*, when it ſurrendered to him after the departure of *Antiochus*, was reſolved to give it up to be plundered; but *Flaminius* had intereſt enough with the conſul to appeaſe his wrath, and ſave both the lives and eſtates of the inhabitants. From that time the *Chalcidians* carried their gratitude to exceſs; they built a temple, and inſtituted a feſtival in his honor, putting him upon the ſame level with *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules* (8).

(7) *Strabo. l.* 9. *Herodot. l.* 7.

(8) *Plut. in Flamin.*

a "vate your ſorrow with unſeaſonable reproaches. Your misfortunes are indeed "affecting; but I forewarned you of them, and you have the further mortification "to know, that you have by your imprudent conduct brought them upon your- "ſelves. But as I am appointed by the gods to preſerve *Greece*, your ingratitude "ſhall not get the better of my propenſion to mercy. Go, throw yourſelves at "the conſul's feet, and beg a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to ſend embaſſadors to "*Rome* to negotiate a peace; I will intercede with the conſul in your behalf." They followed the advice of *Flaminius*; embaſſadors were ſent to the *Roman* ſenate, and *Acilius*, breaking up the ſiege, marched his army back into *Phocis*[w]. The city of *Naupactus* muſt have been reduced to great ſtraits, ſince the beſieged ſued ſo b earneſtly for the protection of *Flaminius*. But, on the other hand, if *Acilius* had believed he could carry it in a ſhort time, he would not have let it ſlip out of his hands; the whole flower of the *Ætolian* nation was ſhut up in the city, and the reducing of it would have made their Submiſſion more hearty and ſincere.

Acilius *prevailed upon by* Flaminius *to raiſe the ſiege of* Naupactus.

Acilius, being diſengaged from this troubleſome ſiege, made the beſt uſe he could of the ſhort time he was to ſtay in *Greece*. He gave audience to the embaſſadors of the *Epirots*, who came to excuſe the ſteps they had taken with regard to *Antiochus*. They had not indeed ſent any troops to his aſſiſtance, but were ſuſpected to have ſupplied him with money and proviſions. The conſul told them, that he was in doubt, whether he ſhould call them friends or enemies, but that the ſenate c of *Rome* knew how to explain their myſterious and artful conduct. However, he granted them a truce for three months, enjoining them to clear themſelves before the ſenate. At *Rome* they were received very coldly; but as it did not appear that they had committed any hoſtilities, the ſenators choſe rather to ſhew them mercy, than to draw new enemies upon the republic[x].

As for the *Ætolian* embaſſadors, the truce, which had been granted them, was near expiring, before they could obtain an audience of the ſenate. They were, however, admitted at laſt, and endeavoured to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate; they gave a long, but modeſt, account of the ſervices they had rendered the republic, during their alliance with her, and begged, that in conſideration of them d the conſcript fathers would forgive them their late conduct. Many queſtions were put to them; but the ſenators obſerved, that, inſtead of giving any poſitive and direct anſwer, they had recourſe to ſupplications and entreaties. This made them ſuſpect their ſincerity. Wherefore they were ordered to withdraw; and warm debates aroſe among the fathers, ſome being for granting them a peace, and others for purſuing the war. Some days were ſpent in theſe diſputes, and as the embaſſadors artfully declined giving ſatisfactory anſwers, the ſenate long continued in ſuſpenſe between peace and war. At laſt the embaſſadors were told, that they muſt chuſe one of theſe two conditions, *viz.* either to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate, or to pay the republic a thouſand talents, and neither make war nor peace with any other power, without e the conſent and approbation of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* had not ſo much money; and, on the other hand, if they implicitly ſubmitted to the will of the ſenate, they were perſuaded, that *Rome* would not be contented with that which they were willing to grant. Wherefore they deſired to know in what points, and how far, they were to ſubmit to the will of the ſenate. But they could have no certain anſwer, and therefore openly declared, that they would not conſent to either of the conditions. So that the project of a peace was dropp'd, and the embaſſadors ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight[y].

Hard conditions offered by the Senate to the Ætolians.

The *Ætolians*, upon the return of their embaſſadors, finding, that there were no hopes left of concluding a peace, thought it neceſſary to guard *Naupactus* againſt f a new attack. They were afraid, that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece*, would again ſit down before the place and carry it. To prevent this, they poſted themſelves in the narrow paſſes of mount *Corax*, in order to ſtop his march. But this precaution only ſerved to make the conſul turn his arms againſt another city, of no leſs importance than *Naupactus*. *Lamia*, after having been the laſt year very near reduced by *Philip*, had ſubmitted to *Acilius* upon very honourable terms, and was allowed its liberty. But while the conſul was employed in the ſiege of *Naupactus*, that city declared a-new againſt the *Romans*. *Acilius*, finding it impracticable to make any new attempts upon *Naupactus*, ſet out for *Lamia*, and appearing unexpectedly before

[w] Idem ibid. c. 35. [x] Idem ibid. c. 36. [y] Liv. l. 37. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 16.

before the place, at break of day, ordered the walls to be ſcaled on all ſides; but a
the inhabitants made a more vigorous defence than had been expected; all ranks
of people, even women and children, ran to the walls, and joined in defence of
their country. Whereupon *Acilius*, deſpairing to take the city by aſſault, ſounded
a retreat. The *Romans* returned to their camp; but the general told them, that
he deſigned to renew the aſſault the next morning; Don't expect, ſaid he to his
troops, to return to the camp till the city is taken. Accordingly they renewed the
attack with ſuch vigour, that the beſieged, being tired out with the fatigues of the
preceding day, were in a few hours overpowered, and the place taken. After
the reduction of *Lamia* the conſul was for returning to *Naupactus*; but in a council
of war, which was held on that occaſion, not one of the officers approved of ſo b
hazardous an attempt. A ſteep mountain covered the place, and the paſſes were
all guarded by numerous bodies of *Ætolians*. The conſul therefore marched his
troops with all poſſible expedition, his conſulate being ready to expire, to *Amphiſſa*,
a city of *Locris*, which had joined the *Ætolians* (U). He did not attempt to take
it by ſtorm, but beſieged it in form; the beſieged made a vigorous reſiſtence, and
held out, till news was brought to *Acilius*, that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of
Scipio Africanus, was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*
to take upon him the command of the army. The new conſul brought with him
an army of thirteen thouſand men, and the great *Africanus* ſerved under him in
quality of his lieutenant (W). *Cornelius* viſited all the coaſts of *Epirus* quite to c
the *Maliac* gulf. From thence he ſent to ſummon *Hypata*, which was one of the
moſt conſiderable cities of *Theſſaly*. But the inhabitants anſwering that they were
not their own maſters, and that they could not ſurrender without the conſent of
the *Ætolian* diet, he turned towards *Amphiſſa*, the citadel of which *Acilius* was
beſieging, having already taken the town. The conſul encamped eight miles
from the town, and was ſoon viſited by deputies from *Athens*, who came to
pay their reſpects to him, and intercede for the *Ætolians*. They firſt imparted
the chief buſineſs, which they were come upon, to *Scipio Africanus*, remember-
ing, that none of the nations conquered by him had ever repented putting
their intereſts into his hands. *Scipio* told them, that he would intercede for the d
Ætolians with a great deal of pleaſure, and procure them the beſt terms he could.
This raiſed the expectations of that unhappy nation; they immediately aſſembled
a diet at *Hypata*, and ſent deputies to the conſul, not doubting, but *Africanus* would
obtain favourable terms for them. But *Cornelius*, having conceived ſome ſort of
jealouſy, in ſeeing that they all paid a greater deference to his brother than to
himſelf, though veſted with the conſular dignity, gave the embaſſadors the ſame
anſwer which the ſenate had given before. He again inſiſted, that the *Ætolians*
ſhould either pay a thouſand talents, or implicitly ſubmit to the will of the *Romans*.
This unexpected anſwer threw the whole nation into the utmoſt conſternation. How-
ever, they ſent new deputies to the two brothers jointly, begging, that they would e
either abate of the ſum demanded, or at leaſt that, if they ſubmitted to the will of
the conſul, their lives in general ſhould be ſaved. But *Cornelius* was inexorable, and
would grant neither. Hereupon *Echedemus*, the chief of the *Athenian* embaſſy,
adviſed them to demand a ſix months truce, and once more apply to the ſenate.
They followed his advice, and being backed in their requeſt, both by *Echedemus*,
and *Scipio Africanus*, they obtained at length the truce they deſired. The ſame em-
baſſadors who had been driven from *Rome* were ſent back thither, and the ſiege of the
citadel of *Amphiſſa* was raiſed. Then *Acilius*, reſigning up the command of the
army to the new conſul, left *Greece*, and returned to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* themſelves
were

Lamia *taken by the* Romans.

The Ætolians *obtain a ſix months truce.*

(U) *Amphiſſa* was a city of the *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*, ſituated near the territories of *Criſſa*, diſtant a hundred and twenty furlongs from *Delphos*. It was ſo called, according to *Pauſanias*, becauſe it was ſurrounded by mountains on all ſides. Some modern geographers tells us, that it ſtill retains the ſame name; but *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina*(9).

(W) The conſuls choſen for this year were L. *Cornelius Scipio* and C. *Lælius*, the firſt the brother, the ſecond the friend, of the great *Scipio Africanus*. *Lælius*, being reckoned the beſt general, artfully propoſed to his collegue, that inſtead of drawing lots, as was uſual, they ſhould leave the matter to the determination of the conſcript fathers. L. *Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; but he deſired time to conſider of it, and then conſulted his brother. *Scipio Africanus* deſired him without any heſitation to accept the propoſal; and when the ſenate ſeemed unwilling to determine the affair, he, to the great ſurprize of all, offered to ſerve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no other argument; the ſenate immediately aſſigned *Aſia* to the two *Scipios* as their common province.

(9) *Herodot. l.* 8. *Strabo l.* 9. *Pauſan. in Phocicis.*

a were not more overjoy'd at this truce than *Scipio Africanus*, who was impatient to paſs over into *Aſia*, and once more enter the liſts with *Hannibal* [z].

THE conſular army was ſcarce withdrawn from *Greece*, when the *Ætolians*, forgetting the danger they had been in, took the field with a deſign to reſtore king *Amynander*, their friend and ally, to his kingdom. This prince had ſided with the *Ætolians*, and on that account had been driven out of his kingdom by *Philip*, whom the *Romans* had put in poſſeſſion of all the baniſhed king's dominions. They ſoon drove all the *Macedonian* gariſons out of *Athamania*, and placed *Amynander* again on the throne of his anceſtors. But this did not content the reſtleſs *Ætolians*, inſtead of humbling themſelves to *Rome*, as *Amynander* did, for diſpoſſeſſing *Philip* of the b dominions which had been allotted to him by the republic, they purſued their conquеſts, and entering *Amphilochia*, a province of *Epirus*, formerly ſubject to them, but now under the protection of *Rome*, reconquered almoſt the whole Country. From thence they advanced to *Aperantia*, which had likewiſe belonged to them, and recovered it. Having now retaken what they had loſt during the war, they fell upon *Dolopia*, a country which had always belonged to the kings of *Macedon*, and to which they could lay no claim. The *Dolopians* were eaſily prevailed upon to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſubmit to the *Ætolians*. All theſe conqueſts were ſo many inſults offered to the republic, in the perſon of a king, who was joined in alliance with *Rome*, and had rendered her eminent ſervices during the late war.

The Ætolians invaded the territories of Philip, *though in alliance with* Rome.

c Thus the *Ætolians* employed the time which they had been allowed to negotiate a peace, and to appeaſe, by their ſubmiſſion, the wrath of the ſovereign republic.

HOWEVER, when they heard that the ſenate, upon an embaſſy from *Amynander*, had confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, they reſolved at laſt to apply to the ſenate not only for a peace, but for their conſent to hold the provinces which they had lately reduced, hoping the republic would be no leſs favourable to them, than ſhe had been to their ally *Amynander*. Their embaſſadors arrived at *Rome* ſoon after the election of the new conſuls, M. *Fulvius Nobilior* and Cn. *Manlius Vulſo*, and before the news of the famous victory at *Magneſia* had reached *Italy*. Wherefore the better to ſucceed in their negotiations, they ſpread a report, that the two d *Scipios* had been made priſoners by *Antiochus* at a conference, and that the *Roman* army was entirely defeated. Being queſtioned about their intelligence, they pretended to have received the account from ſome perſons of their nation in the conſul's camp, and putting on an air of confidence, they ſeemed rather to demand than beg a peace. But theſe bad appearances did not abate the pride of the ſenate, or bring them to ſhew any indulgence to *Ætolia*: the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and ordered not to return without the expreſs conſent of the generals, whom the republic ſhould ſend to carry on the war in their country [a].

Their inſincere proceedings with the Senate.

THE conſuls having drawn lots for their provinces, *Greece* fell to M. *Fulvius Nobilior*, who immediately ſet out, and landing at *Apollonia*, a city of *Macedon* e near the borders of *Epirus*, aſſembled there a council of the *Epirots*, to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. Theſe adviſed him to begin with the ſiege of *Ambracia* (X), which would open him a way into the very heart of *Ætolia*. Herein they conſulted their own intereſt; for *Ambracia* belonged formerly to the *Epirots*, and was now to be reſtored to them. However, *Fulvius* followed their advice, and, croſſing *Epirus*, ſat down before *Ambracia*. He no ſooner ſaw the town, and obſerved its ſituation, but he concluded that it would be no eaſy matter to reduce it. It was defended on one ſide by a great river (Y), and on the other by ſteep and craggy hills, and ſurrounded with a high and thick wall above three miles in compaſs. The conſul began the ſiege by forming two camps ſeparated by the f river, but with a communication between them; the *Epirots* were poſted in one, and the

Ambracia *beſieged by the* Romans.

z Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 17.

a Val. Antias apud Liv. 37.

(X) *Ambracia* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Epirus*. It ſtood at the bottom of the *Ambracian* bay, upon the river *Arachthus*, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. The ſituation of *Arba* in upper *Albania* agrees with that of this ancient city (10).

(Y) The city of *Ambracia* ſtood on the *Arachthus*, which *Livy* here calls *Arethon*. *Le Noir* tells us, that the natives call this river *Spagnagmuriſi*.

(10) *Strabo. l. 7. Polyb. l. 8.*

the *Romans* in the other. Then he threw up two lines, one of circumvallation, and a
the other of contravallation, and built over-againſt the citadel, which ſtood on a
hill, a wooden tower in the form of a caſtle. When the *Ætolians* underſtood, that
Fulvius had begun the ſiege of *Ambracia*, they aſſembled all their troops, and marched
to the relief of a place, which was a key to their dominions. They appointed
Stratos, a city of *Acarnania* on the banks of the *Achelous*, for the place of the
general rendezvous. In a council of war, which was held there, *Nicander* the
prætor and moſt of the officers were at firſt for attacking the *Romans*. But being
afterwards informed, that though the camp was fortified, the works round the
place were not finiſhed, it was thought more adviſeable to throw troops into the
city, and ſtrengthen the gariſon. *Eupolemus*, a man of great reſolution, took upon b
him to perform this, and ſucceeded in the attempt, entering *Ambracia* at the head
of a thouſand *Ætolians*, where the lines were not finiſhed. As for *Nicander*, he
marched againſt the *Epirots*, with a deſign to attack them in their camp; but, find-
ing them ſtrongly entrenched, he thought the attack would prove too dangerous,
and therefore led his army into *Acarnania*, and laid waſte the whole country. In
the mean time the *Romans* and *Epirots* began to batter the place. The conſul
ordered five attacks to be made at the ſame time, three on the ſide of *Pyrrheum*,
a ſmall fortreſs without the city, one over-againſt the temple of *Æſculapius*, and
another on the ſide of the citadel. The rams ſhook the walls on all ſides, and the
Romans, from their moveable towers pulled down the battlements with a kind of c
ſythes, which they faſtened to long beams. This did not at all diſhearten the
Ætolians, who were night and day on the walls, and indefatigable in preventing the
ill effects of the rams and ſythes. As to the former, they invented a kind of pullies,
by which they let down beams, large ſtones, and lumps of lead upon the rams, as
they were in motion, and thereby deadened their ſtrokes. They guarded themſelves
againſt the ſythes by pulling the beams, to which they were faſtened, into the city
with large hooks contrived for that purpoſe[b].

While *Fulvius* was thus carrying on the ſiege, *Nicander*, after having pillaged
Acarnania, returned to *Stratos*, and from thence detached five hundred men to
reinforce the gariſon of the beſieged city. Theſe got ſafe in under the conduct of d
one *Nicodemus*, with whom *Nicander* agreed to attack the *Roman* camp at a time
appointed, not doubting, but, if the gariſon within and the army without fell upon
them at the ſame time, and in the night, the *Romans* might be obliged to abandon
their camp, and retire from before the city. *Nicodemus* narrowly watched the time
in which he was ordered to ſally, and at the hour appointed, though *Nicander* did
not appear, marched out at the head of the gariſon, armed with fire-brands and
torches. The *Roman* centries were not a little ſurprized at this ſight, and running
to wake their companions ſpread the alarm over the whole camp. The legionaries
marched in ſmall bodies, as they happened to meet, to repulſe the enemy, whom
they engaged in the three different places, where the attacks were made on the ſide e
of *Pyrrheum*. Two of the enemy's bodies were driven back, but the third, com-
manded by two *Ætolian* Generals, maintained their ground, made a great ſlaughter
of the *Romans*, ſet fire to their tents, and then, not finding themſelves ſeconded by
Nicander, retired in good order into the city. If *Nicander* had at the ſame time
attacked the *Romans*, as he agreed to do, the ſiege would have been probably raiſed;
but he did not lend the beſieged the leaſt aſſiſtance, which ſome aſcribe to timorouſ-
neſs, while others tells us, that he was obliged to march his army that very night
againſt *Perſes*, who had invaded *Dolopia*[c].

Nicander had ſo much to do elſewhere, that he could not bring any relief to f
the beſieged. On one hand *Perſes* was to be driven out of *Dolopia*; and on the
other the coaſts of *Ætolia* were to be defended from the ravages of *Pleuratus*,
king of *Illyricum*, who aſſiſted the *Romans* with a numerous fleet, and committed
great devaſtations in the *Ætolian* territories. The beſieged being thus abandoned,
and without any hopes of ſuccours, did not, however, deſpond, but defended them-
ſelves with incredible vigor and reſolution. The *Romans* had no ſooner made a
breach in the wall, but it was repaired, and a new wall built up behind it. The
conſul therefore altered his meaſures, and inſtead of making breaches with the ram,
began to undermine the wall in hopes of throwing down great part of it at once,
and

[b] Liv. l. 38. c. 4. [c] Idem ibid. c. 5.

a and entering the city before the beſieged could have time to build a new wall. The miners began the work, and being covered were not obſerved by the gariſon, till the heaps of earth that were brought out of the mine gave them the alarm. They began then to countermine, and having dug a trench of the depth they ſuppoſed the mine to be, they carried it along the wall where they heard the ſtrokes of the pick-axes of the *Romans*. In a few hours they came to that part of the wall which the *Romans* had ſapped, and ſupported with wooden props. When the two mines met, a battle enſued under-ground, firſt with pick-axes and ſpades, and then with ſwords and ſpears. But this attack did not laſt long, each party making themſelves a kind of rampart with the looſe earth. But the *Ætolians*, in order to
b drive the enemy quite out of the mine, invented a machine, which they brought to the place where the two mines met. This was an hollow veſſel with an iron bottom, bored through in many places, and armed with ſpikes at proper diſtances to prevent the enemy from approaching it. This veſſel they filled with feathers, which they ſet on fire, and with bellows driving the ſmoke on the beſiegers, obliged them to leave the mine, through fear of being ſuffocated, and interrupt the work; which interruption they made uſe of to repair the foundations of the walls [d].

This vigorous reſiſtance did not raiſe the courage of the *Ætolians* in general; they knew, that by the gallant behaviour of their countrymen the taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; on the other hand, their dominions were attacked by the *Mace-*
c *donians*, *Illyrians*, and *Achæans*, and to reſiſt ſo many enemies at once ſeemed impoſſible. The prætor therefore thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the diet, that the heads of the nation might conſult together about the meaſures that were moſt proper in the preſent poſture of affairs. The members of the aſſembly were all unanimous, that a peace ought to be procured upon any tolerable terms. Our dependence, ſaid they, was on *Antiochus*; but, now that he is confined to the other ſide of mount *Taurus*, we can expect no aſſiſtance from him; let us then in time avert the evils which threaten, after his ruin, to overwhelm us. Accordingly a reſolution was taken to ſend *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the conſul with full power to conclude a peace. *Fulvius* received them with haughtineſs, but did not reject their requeſt. The pre-
d liminaries he inſiſted upon were, *1ſt*, that they ſhould lay down their arms; *2dly*, that they ſhould deliver up to him all the horſes of their army; *3dly*, that they ſhould pay to the republic a thouſand talents, one half upon the ſpot, and the other at different payments. Theſe conditions ſeemed ſo hard, that the embaſſadors begged leave to return and conſult the diet before they accepted them. Upon their return they were checked by the aſſembly for leaving the conſul without ſigning the articles. We muſt have a peace, they all cried out, good or bad, conclude it therefore without giving *Fulvius* time to reflect. They therefore immediately ſet out again for the *Roman* camp, but on the road were ſurrounded and taken priſoners by a party of *Acarnanians*, who carried them to *Tyrrheum* a city of *Acarnania*. *Fulvius*,
e being informed of what had happened, ordered the *Acarnanians* to ſet them at liberty; and in the mean time, as he was deſirous to ſettle *Ætolia* in peace before his authority was expired, he gave ear to the interceſſions of the *Athenians*, *Rhodians*, and of king *Amynander*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*. As *Amynander* had great intereſt in *Ambracia*, having long reſided there, the conſul made uſe of him to perſuade the inhabitants to capitulate, which he did very dexterouſly, prevailing upon them to ſurrender on the following terms; that the *Ætolian* gariſon ſhould have leave to march out of the city; that the inhabitants ſhould pay five hundred talents, two hundred down, and the reſt at ſix equal payments; that they ſhould deliver up to the conſul all the priſoners and deſerters that were in the city. Theſe articles were agreed to
f by the *Ambracians*, and approved of by the *Ætolian* diet. *Ambracia* opened her gates to the conſul, and preſented him with a crown of gold, and many fine ſtatues and pictures, whereof there were great numbers in that city, which *Pyrrhus* had made his capital and inriched it with many valuable monuments [e].

Ambracia *capitulates.*

After the ſurrender of *Ambracia*, *Fulvius* entering *Ætolia* encamped at *Argi*, the capital of *Amphilochia*, then ſubject to the *Ætolians*, who had reduced all that province. There *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, being ſet at liberty, acquainted him, that the *Ætolian* diet accepted the conditions which he had offered them. Nothing now remained but to get them ratified by the ſenate, and for this purpoſe *Phæneas* and

[d] Idem, ibid. c. 8. Polyb. legat. 28. [e] Liv. & Polyb. ibid.

and *Nicander* ſet out attended by the embaſſadors of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, who went a
to intercede for them with the ſenate. In the mean time the conſul granted the
Ætolians a truce, and retired to the iſland of *Cephalenia*. When the embaſſadors
arrived at *Rome*, they found both the ſenate and people highly exaſperated againſt
the *Ætolian* nation. *Philip* of *Macedon* had repreſented to the ſenate, and magni-
fied, the ravages they had committed in his territories, while he was in alliance with
Rome, and bitterly complained of them for unjuſtly detaining from him *Dolopia*,
Athamania, and *Amphilochia*. His complaints were of ſuch weight with the ſenate,
that the embaſſadors were even refuſed an audience. But the *Athenian* deputies
were received very favourably, and the ſpeech which *Damis*, who was at the head
of them, made in favour of that unhappy nation, greatly abated the anger of the b
conſcript fathers. The good offices of *Valerius* likewiſe, who accompanied the
Ætolian embaſſadors, did not a little contribute towards appeaſing the clamours
which were every-where heard againſt this reſtleſs people, and artfully fomented by
the *Macedonian* deputies. *Caius Valerius* was brother to the conſul *Fulvius*, and the
ſon of *Lævinus*, who concluded the firſt treaty of alliance between *Rome* and
Ætolia. This *Valerius* remembered, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to procure
them a favourable reception. But nevertheleſs *Phæneas* and *Nicander* were kept a
long time in a painful uncertainty, whether they ſhould obtain a peace or not.
A peace concluded between the Ætolians *and* Romans.
At length, by the aſſiduous and joint application of the *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and
Valerius, a peace was concluded. The only terms they could obtain were the fol- c
lowing; 1*ſt*, The majeſty of the *Roman* people ſhall be revered in all *Ætolia*;
2*dly*, *Ætolia* ſhall not ſuffer the armies of ſuch as are at war with *Rome* to paſs thro'
her territories, and the enemies of *Rome* ſhall be likewiſe enemies of *Ætolia*; 3*dly*,
She ſhall in the ſpace of an hundred days put into the hands of the magiſtrates
of *Corcyra* all the priſoners and deſerters ſhe has, whether of the *Romans* or their
allies, except ſuch as have been taken twice, or during her alliance with *Rome*;
4*thly*, the *Ætolians* ſhall pay down in ready money to the *Roman* general in *Ætolia*
two hundred *Euboic* talents of the ſame value as the *Athenian* talents, and engage
to pay fifty talents more within the ſix years following; 5*thly*, They ſhall put
into the hands of the conſul forty ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, none of which d
ſhall be under twelve, or above forty, years of age; the prætor, the general of the
horſe, and ſuch as have been already hoſtages at *Rome*, are excepted out of this
number; 6*thly*, *Ætolia* ſhall renounce all pretenſions to the cities and territories
which the *Romans* have conquered ſince the conſulate of *Flaminius*, though thoſe
cities and territories had formerly belonged to the *Ætolians*; 7*thly*, The city of
Oenias and its diſtrict ſhall continue ſubject to the *Acarnanians*; 8*thly*, *Cephalonia*
ſhall not be included in this treaty [f].

How treated by the Romans *after the conqueſt of* Macedon.
From theſe articles we may judge, how far the *Ætolian* republic was abridged
of her ancient liberties by this peace. However, after the conqueſt of *Macedon* by
Paulus Æmilius, they were reduced to a much worſe condition. For not only thoſe e
among them, who had openly declared for *Perſes*, but ſuch as were only ſuſpected
to have favoured him in their hearts, were ſent to *Rome* in order to clear themſelves
before the ſenate. There they were detained, and never afterwards ſuffered to return
into their native country. Five hundred and fifty of the chief men of the nation
were barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by the partiſans of *Rome*, for no other crime but that
of being ſuſpected to wiſh well to *Perſes*. The *Ætolians* appeared before *Paulus*
Æmilius in mourning habits, and made loud complaints of ſuch inhuman treatment,
but could obtain no redreſs; nay the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent by
the ſenate to ſettle the affairs of *Greece*, enacted a decree, declaring, that thoſe
who were killed had ſuffered juſtly, ſince it appeared to them that they had favoured f
the *Macedonian* party. From this time thoſe only were raiſed to the chief honours
and employments in the *Ætolian* republic, who were known to prefer the intereſt of
Rome to that of their country. And as theſe alone were countenanced by the ſovereign
republic, all the magiſtrates of *Ætolia* were her creatures, and mere tools of the
Roman ſenate. In this ſtate of ſervile ſubjection they continued till the deſtruction of
Corinth, and diſſolution of the *Achæan* league, when *Ætolia*, with the other free ſtates
of *Greece*, was reduced to a *Roman* province, commonly called the province of *Achaia*.
Nevertheleſs each ſtate and city was governed by its own laws, under the ſuperinten-
dency

[f] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

a dency of the prætor, whom *Rome* ſent annually to *Achaia*. The whole nation paid a certain tribute, and the rich were forbidden to poſſeſs lands any-where, but in their own country [g].

In this ſtate, with little alteration, *Ætolia* continued under the emperors, till the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who, in his new partition of the provinces of the empire, divided the weſtern parts of *Greece* from the reſt, calling them *New Epirus*, and ſubjecting the whole country to the *Præfectus Prætorio* for *Illyricum*. Under the ſucceſſors of *Conſtantine Greece* was parcelled out into ſeveral principalities, eſpecially after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the weſtern princes. At that time *Theodorus Angelus*, a noble *Grecian* of the imperial family, ſeized on *Ætolia* and
b *Epirus*; the former he left to *Michael* his ſon, who maintained it againſt *Michael Paleologus*, the firſt emperor of the *Greeks* after the expulſion of the *Latines*. *Charles*, the laſt prince of this family, dying in 1430, without lawful iſſue, bequeathed *Ætolia* to his brother's ſon named alſo *Charles*, and *Acarnania* to his natural ſons *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*. But great diſputes ariſing about this diviſion, *Amurath* II. after the reduction of *Theſſalonica*, laid hold of ſo favourable an opportunity, and drove them all out in 1432. The *Mohammedans* were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed of this country by the famous prince of *Epirus*, *George Caſtriot*, commonly called *Scanderbeg*, who with a ſmall army oppoſed the whole power of the *Ottoman* empire, having defeated thoſe barbarians in twenty-two pitched battles, as
c we ſhall relate at length in a more proper place. This hero at his death left great part of *Ætolia* to the *Venetians*; but they not being able to make head againſt ſuch a mighty power, the whole country was ſoon reduced by *Mohammed* II. whoſe ſucceſſors hold it to this day.

[g] Idem, l. xxxix. c. 6. PAUSAN. in Achaic.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of Athens, *from the* Achæan *league to the preſent time.*

a THE *Athenians*, having recovered their antient liberty by means of the brave *Aratus*, in the manner we have related elſewhere [h], were ſoon obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of a more powerful protector, to maintain their freedom againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*, a prince, who ſeemed to have inherited the ambition of the firſt *Philip*, and the bravery of *Alexander*. This warlike monarch had formed a deſign of ſubjecting all *Greece*, and afterwards extending his conqueſts into *Italy*. In proſecution of this ſcheme, he made uſe of the following pretence to carry the war into *Attica*. Two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens* while the inhabitants were celebrating the myſteries of *Ceres* (Z), had entered the temple of

[h] p. 557.

(Z) The feſtival of *Ceres* was the moſt celebrated and myſterious ſolemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often called by way of eminence *the myſteries*. The *Sicilians* claimed the glory of having firſt inſtituted this ſolemn worſhip, pretending, that they had been inſtructed by *Ceres* herſelf in the ſecret ceremonies, which were performed on this occaſion. This goddeſs, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in ſocieties to live under the influence of the wiſe laws which ſhe had given them. Whence twice a year they renewed the remembrance of theſe ſignal benefits, worſhipping alternately the mother and her daughter *Proſerpine*; the former in the firſt ſeed-time, and the latter in the harveſt. After the example of the *Sicilians* the inhabitants of *Attica*, who had been likewiſe inriched with the gifts of *Ceres*, ſignalized their gratitude to this goddeſs, by inſtituting three feſtivals in her honour.

Of theſe the firſt was called *Proeroſia*, becauſe it preceded the ploughing-time and the ſeed-time. On this occaſion the *Athenians*, who celebrated this feſtival in the name of all the *Greeks*, offered a great many victims in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harveſt.

The ſecond feſtival was called *Theſmophoria*, this word alluding to the worſhip which was paid *Ceres* as a law-giver. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and after them *Theodoret*, tell us, that the ſame ceremonies were performed on this occaſion in honour of *Ceres*, as were practiſed by the *Egyptians* in the myſteries of *Iſis*. The celebration of this feſtival laſted five days, and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* conſiſted, choſe one from among themſelves to preſide over the ceremonies

of the goddeſs with the croud. As it was not lawful for any perſon to aſſiſt at thoſe myſteries, without being initiated, the *Acarnanians*, who had not been admitted with the uſual ceremonies, being diſcovered by their language to be ſtrangers, were carried before the chief prieſt, and by him ſentenced to die, though it was well known, that they had offended purely out of ignorance. The *Acarnanian* nation reſented this inhuman ſentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of *Macedon*, with whom they were then joined in alliance. *Philip*, without demanding any ſatisfaction, proclaimed war againſt *Athens*, and ſent a body of troops to join the *Acarnanians* and lay waſte *Attica*. *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth* had entered into an alliance with *Philip*; and *Athens* was no-ways in a condition to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once. She reſolved therefore to have recourſe to *Rome*, and by a ſolemn embaſſy implore the protection of that powerful republic. The *Romans* were already well known at *Athens*, and had been honoured there many years before with particular marks of diſtinction. In the conſulſhip of *Sp. Carvilius* and *Q. Fabius Verrucoſus*, thirty two years before the æra we are now ſpeaking of, *Rome* had ſent embaſſadors to *Athens*, and ſeveral other free ſtates of *Greece*, to make them ſenſible of the happineſs which ſhe had procured them by humbling the *Illyrians*, who with frequent piracies infeſted their coaſts. The year before *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* had forced the *Illyrians* to ſubmit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they ſhould not ſuffer above three of their ſhips of war at a time to ſail beyond the city of *Lyſſus*, which ſtood on the confines of *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, near the mouth of the river *Drilon*. This article was ſo agreeable to the *Athenians*, that they not only received the embaſſadors with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, but from that time admitted the *Romans* in general to partake of the myſteries of *Eleuſis*,

remonies that were practiſed at this ſolemnity. The victims were offered by a prieſt, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called *Stephanephoros*. Such women, as had had three talents to their portion, were intitled to demand of their husbands the neceſſary ſums for the expences of the ſacrifices; every one being obliged to contribute to them according to their ability.

All the women that were to aſſiſt at the ceremonies being aſſembled in one place, they went in proceſſion from *Athens* to *Eleuſis*, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, ſinging hymns in honour of the goddeſs, and carrying the books, which contained the ſecret myſteries of the ſolemnity, and the laws, for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*. But this depoſitum was intruſted with ſuch only as were of an unblemiſhed character and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public, and with all imaginable care, in order to be employed in this office and in the other ceremonies performed at *Eleuſis*. Theſe were always kept confined in the *Theſmophorion*, a public building in *Athens* appropriated for that uſe, and narrowly watched by perſons ſet over them to guard their virtue. However, when they arrived at *Eleuſis*, they prepared themſelves for the offices of their prieſthood, by paſſing a whole day, at the feet of the ſtatue of *Ceres*, in faſting and prayer. This ſeverity ended in a kind of comedy; for as *Ceres* had laughed at the ſight of an old woman, who inſulted her, ſo the young virgins endeavoured by innocent jokes to ſtir up one another to laughter. The following days were ſpent in luſtrations and ſacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the priſoners, who were initiated in the myſteries of *Ceres*, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the ſolemnity, that they might join in thoſe religious practices.

The third feſtival inſtituted in honour of *Ceres* was deemed the moſt holy and ſolemn, being called *the myſteries*. It is ſaid by ſome to have been inſtituted by *Ceres* herſelf, after having ſupplied the *Athenians* with corn in a time of famine; others aſcribe the inſtitution of it to king *Erectheus*, and ſome to *Muſæus* the father of *Eumolpus*, or to *Eumolpus* himſelf. The temple of *Eleuſis* was the place where all thoſe met who were admitted to theſe myſterious ceremonies; and thither the *Greeks* flocked from all parts about the month of *Auguſt*, the temple, as *Strabo* informs us, being capable of holding an immenſe multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great myſteries, till they had been purified at the leſſer, which were uſed as a preparative for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows: After having kept themſelves chaſte and unpolluted nine days, they offered ſacrifices and prayers with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the skin of a victim ſacrificed to *Jupiter* under their feet. About a year after, having ſacrificed a ſow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the greater myſteries, but not ſuffered to enter the ſanctuary till five years after, aſſiſting in the mean time at the ſacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the ſecret rites, ſome few excepted which were reſerved for the prieſts alone, were frankly revealed to them; whence they changed the name of *Muſtai*, that is, *perſons initiated*, for that of *Epoptai*, or *eye-witneſſes*. The manner of the initiation was thus: the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the ſacred place, they purified themſelves by waſhing their hands in holy water; and at the ſame time were told, that the external cleanneſs of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unleſs attended by the internal cleanneſs of an undefiled mind. After this the holy myſteries were read to them, the prieſt, who initiated them, having firſt asked them, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To theſe queſtions they returned anſwers in a ſet form, and then were led by the prieſt into the moſt holy part of the temple, a place of darkneſs and horror. Then all on a ſudden a ſtrong light darted in upon them, and diſcovered a ſtatue of *Ceres* richly adorned, and a very indecent figure called *Myllos*. The light ſoon diſappeared, and then a terrible noiſe was heard like thunder; fire fell down like lightening, and dreadful monſter

appeare

a *Eleusis* (A), and of all the privileges which the citizens of *Athens* enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the leaſt but their embaſſadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain ſpeedy ſuccours againſt an enemy, whoſe views could not be unknown at *Rome*. Neither were they diſappointed in their expectation; their embaſſadors were treated with great diſtinction, and aſſured, that a conſular army ſhould be ſent without delay to their aſſiſtance [i].

The Athenians *enter into an alliance with* Attalus *and the* Rhodians *againſt* Philip.

In the mean time the *Macedonians* and *Acarnanians*, after having ravaged great part of *Attica*, were drawing near to the capital. Their approach ſtruck the citizens with no ſmall terror; but their fears were ſoon diſpelled by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. Theſe two powers were already at war b with the king of *Macedon*, and therefore no ſooner heard, that hoſtilities were begun between the *Macedonians* and *Athenians*, but they haſtened to *Athens*, with a deſign to

[i] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 4.

appeared, which by the glimmering light of continual flaſhes of fire ſtruck the trembling ſpectators with great terror. Neither could they recover themſelves from their fright, till they were ſhewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Laſtly, the prieſt, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called *Hierophantes*, or *revealer of holy things*, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The *Hierophantes* was by birth an *Athenian*, and of the family of the *Eumolpidæ*. As he was the chief prieſt, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chaſtity, and forbidden even luſtful deſires. His name was ſo venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the preſence of the profane, that is, of ſuch as were not initiated. He had three aſſiſtants, the firſt of which was called from his office *Dadouchos*, or *torch-bearer*; the ſecond was ſtiled *the ſacred herald*; and it was his province to forbid on pain of death ſuch as were not initiated, or were conſcious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third miniſtred at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The ſuperintendant over theſe myſteries was ſtiled *king*; and it was his duty to offer prayers and ſacrifices, to ſee that no indecency or irregularity was committed, and, after the celebration of the myſteries, to aſſemble the ſenate, he being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four aſſiſtants under him called *Epimeletai*, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the *Eumolpidæ*, another out of the *Cryces*, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This feſtival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-third day of the month *Boedromion*; during which time it was unlawful to arreſt any perſon, or preſent any petition, and thoſe who were found guilty of ſuch practices, were, according to ſome, fined a thouſand drachmas, and according to others put to death. If any woman rode to *Eleuſis* in a chariot, ſhe was obliged to pay ſix thouſand drachmas. The end of this law, which was enacted by *Lycurgus*, was to prevent all odious diſtinctions between the rich and the poor.

The different ſhews, with which the ſpectators were entertained each day of the feaſt, were ſymbolical repreſentations of the travels of *Ceres*, and the chief incidents of her life. In this conſiſted the external pomp of the feſtival. The reſt was an impenetrable myſtery, which the *Hierophantes* diſcovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable ſecrecy by the moſt dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging theſe myſteries, or any part of them, became the public curſe of the people, was excluded all civil ſociety, and avoided even by his neareſt relations, who were afraid to live with him under the ſame roof. But the ordinary puniſhment for ſuch a crime was immediate death. If any perſon, not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or miſtake, chance to be preſent at the myſterious rites, he was put to death. Perſons of both ſexes and all ages were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature; inſomuch, that it was one of the chief articles of impeachment againſt *Socrates*. However, ſuch as were convicted of any crime, or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from theſe myſteries.

If the teſtimony of profane authors may be admitted, theſe aſſemblies were ſchools of virtue and purity. *Tully* gives a very favourable account of them, ſaying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (11). Other writers call thoſe initiations a more ſtrict engagement than ordinary to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddeſs. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the *Pagans* under the venerable names of myſteries conſecrated proſtitutions, and other more heinous crimes, and call the aſſemblies of *Ceres* ſchools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps theſe ceremonies were at firſt ſuch as the profane writers repreſent them to have been, but afterwards came by degrees to degenerate into libertiniſm and licentiouſneſs, which gave the fathers occaſion to exclaim againſt them. They were celebrated by the *Athenians* every fifth year at *Eleuſis*, and from thence tranſlated to *Rome* by the emperor *Adrian*, and never totally aboliſhed till the reign of *Theodoſius* the elder.

This is the general account which the ancients have given us of the myſteries of *Ceres*. The reſpect, with which they were prepoſſeſſed in favour of theſe myſteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The *Ceres* of the *Greeks* was, according to Sir *Iſaac* (12) *Newton*, a woman of *Sicily*, who came into *Attica*, and taught *Triptolemus*, the ſon of *Celeus* king of *Eleuſis*, to ſow corn, about the thirtieth year of king *David*'s reign, or the year before Chriſt 1030, ſhe died, and was deified for this benefaction about the year before Chriſt 1007, by *Celeus* and *Eumolpus*, who inſtituted the *Eleuſina ſacra* with *Egyptian* ceremonies, and erected a ſepulchre or temple to her in *Eleuſis*.

(A) In the primitive times, the *Athenians* excluded from the myſteries of *Ceres* all ſtrangers, that is, all that were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when *Hercules*, *Caſtor*, and *Pollux* deſired to be initiated, they were firſt made citizens of *Athens* (13). In proceſs of time they admitted all perſons, barbarians excepted, and at length theſe alſo, the *Romans* having been the firſt among the barbarians, as the *Greeks* called all other nations, who enjoyed this honour.

(11) *Cic. de leg. l.* ii. (12) *Chronol. p.* 15, 17, 18, 134—136. (13) *Plut in Theſ.*

to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the insults a
of *Philip*. All the city went out to meet them, and among the rest the priests in
their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city.
The people assembled in the market-place to conclude the alliance, and expected that
Attalus would come thither in person. But the king thought it more suitable to
his dignity to treat with them by messengers, than by word of mouth; and was
also willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too lavish
of their praises. In a letter, which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a par-
ticular account of his exploits against *Philip*, and the good offices he had done the
republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the
Macedonians, and restored to *Athens*. He concluded with exhorting them to take b
advantage of the succours which both he and the *Rhodians* now offered them. The
league was concluded, and the *Athenians* in their transports of joy paid extravagant
compliments to the king and the *Rhodians*. To their ten tribes, each of which
bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it *Attalis*
in honour of king *Attalus* (B). As to the *Rhodians*, they presented them with a
crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*[k]. The king
of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the treaty than the shouts of
the people, returned on board their ships and set sail, the king for *Ægina*, where his
fleet waited for him, and the *Rhodians* for their own island.

Philip no sooner heard, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were retired, but he sent c
Philocles one of his generals, at the head of a strong detachment, to ravage the terri-
tory of *Athens*, while he himself, with the rest of his army, over-ran all the south-
ern parts of *Thrace* and the *Thracian Chersonesus*. From thence he passed over the
Hellespont into *Asia*, and laid siege to *Abydos*, which city he took by storm, but
reaped no advantage by his conquest; the *Abydenians*, having massacred their wives
and children, set fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; so
that the conqueror made not one slave[l].

THE news of the reduction of *Abydos*, and the repeated complaints of the *Athe-*
nians, made the consul *Sulpicius* at last leave *Rome*; he imbarqued with his army at
Brundusium, and landed at the mouth of the *Apsus* between *Dyrrachium* and *Apol-* d
lonia. As he came too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he imme-
diately detached *Claudius Cento* to *Athens*, with twenty gallies and some legionaries,
to cover the *Athenian* territory from the ravages of *Philocles*. Assoon as he appeared
at *Piræus*, *Athens* got some respite; a stop was put to the devastations in the
inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the ravages of the *Chalcidian*
pirates. But this was not enough for *Cento*; he resolved to punish the *Chalcidians*
for their piracies; and accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, sur-
prized *Chalcis*, pillaged it, massacred all the *Macedonians* and inhabitants that fell
into his hands, broke all the statues of king *Philip*, burnt his magazines, arsenals,
and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to *Athens*[m].

Athens *attacked, and* Attica *ravaged by* Philip. As for *Philip*, early in the spring he assembled his sea and land-forces at *Deme-* e
trias, a maritime city of *Thessaly*, which he had made the capital of his dominions.
He had attempted in the close of the late campaign to revenge himself on the *Ro-*
mans for the surprize of *Chalcis*, and to surprize them in their turn. But he came too
late; the *Romans* had retired from *Chalcis*, and left nothing there but dead bodies,
ashes, and ruins. Now therefore he turned all his rage against *Athens*, and having
crossed the *Euripus* over a bridge, marched through *Bœotia* towards *Attica*, hoping
to find *Athens* as ill-guarded as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. But the *Athenians*
had received notice of his approach, and were prepared. They kept constantly
a cer-

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 14. [l] Idem, ibid. c. 17. [m] Liv. ibid.

(B) The number of the tribes, of which the republic of *Athens* consisted, was not always the same, but varied as the number of the citizens increased. At first they were but four in all; soon after they were six; in the times of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* they were increased to ten. In after-ages the *Athenians* erected three more, *viz.* the tribes *Ptolemais*, *Attalis*, and *Adrianis*, in honour of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, of king *Attalus*, and of the emperor *Adrian*. The ten first tribes took their names from ten *Attic* heroes; these were *Acamas* the son of *Theseus*, *Ajax* the son of *Telamon*, *Cecrops* the founder and first king of *Athens*, *Ægeus* the ninth king of *Athens* and the father of *Theseus*, *Erectheus* the sixth king of *Athens*, *Hippothoon* the son of *Neptune*, *Leo*, who sacrificed his daughters for the welfare of his country, *Oeneus* the son of *Pandion*, *Pandion* the fifth king of *Athens*, and *Antiochus* the son of *Hercules*.

a a certain number of men in pay, whoſe whole buſineſs was to fly continually from place to place in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what diſcoveries they could. One of theſe couriers, having diſcovered the *Macedonian* army, returned in haſte to *Athens*, and reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the *Athenians* was not leſs than that of the *Chalcidians*; they were all aſleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets ſoon rouſed them; both citizens and ſoldiers ran to arms, took their poſt, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. *Philip*, finding he could not ſurprize the city, reſolved to attack it. He therefore ordered his troops to advance to the largeſt gate, called *Dipulon*. The ſtreet which led to it from the
b market-place, and continued through the ſuburbs, was of an extraordinary breadth; ſo that the beſieged and the beſiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The *Athenians* did not wait till the king came to the gate; the beſt part of the gariſon, conſiſting of auxiliaries ſent by king *Attalus*, and a body of *Athenians*, commanded by one *Dioxippus*, marched out to meet the enemy. *Philip*, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, encouraged his men with this ſhort exhortation; *Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do.* He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, forced them to retire, and purſued them to the very gate. But he ſoon found that he had ventured too far, ſuch ſhowers of darts were diſcharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat.
c If the *Athenians* had not been afraid of wounding their men, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*, few of the latter would have eſcaped unhurt. The next day the beſieged, being reinforced with ſome *Roman* companies and the troops of *Attalus* which guarded *Piræus*, made another ſally with much greater advantage; ſo that *Philip* was obliged to decamp, and poſt himſelf about three miles from *Athens*. But before he retired, he vented his rage in a moſt barbarous manner in that neighbourhood. He ſpared neither temples, nor tombs, nor the *Lycæum*, nor ſacred groves, nor houſes of pleaſure; all were, without diſtinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbiſh. Nay, he commanded his *Macedonians* to break in pieces the very ſtones, that they might not be ſerviceable in the reparation of the demoliſhed
d edifices. All theſe devaſtations, with a great many aggravations, were afterwards ſet forth before the *Ætolian* diet by the *Athenian* embaſſadors, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with *Rome*. And indeed the king's behaviour on this occaſion prejudiced many of the *Greeks* ſo ſtrongly againſt him, that they were afterwards eaſily gained over to the *Roman* intereſt, not knowing, that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords, or rather arbitrary tyrants, than *Macedon* had ever produced, or *Greece* ever ſeen [n].

THE irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, which ſoon after happened, obliged *Philip* to leave *Attica* and all *Greece*, and haſten to the defence of his own country. About the ſame time *Apuſtius*, to whom the proconſul *Sulpicius* had given the com-
e mand of the *Roman* fleet, having joined the naval forces of king *Attalus* off the coaſt of *Argolis*, ſailed from thence to the port of *Athens*. Theſe ſuccours ſo elevated the *Athenians*, that they expreſſed their reſentment againſt *Philip* in a moſt ridiculous manner. They had formerly erected ſtatues to *Philip* and his anceſtors of both ſexes, and even inſtituted ſacrifices and feſtivals, and appointed prieſts in their honour. But now, out of a childiſh revenge, they deſtroyed the idols which they had worſhipped, and paſſed a decree in their aſſembly, which leſſened their eſteem even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the ſtatues of *Philip* and his anceſtors ſhould be broke in pieces; that the inſcriptions in their commendation ſhould be every-where erazed; that their altars
f ſhould be overturned, their feſtivals aboliſhed, and their prieſts degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, ſhould be deemed accurſed, and no monuments ever after raiſed there; that the prieſts for the future ſhould in the religious aſſemblies pronounce curſes againſt *Philip* and the *Macedonian* armies; that if any citizen ſhould have the impudence to excuſe *Philip*, or ſpeak in his favour, he ſhould inſtantly be put to death; and laſtly, that *Philip* and his poſterity ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as *Piſiſtratus* and his family had formerly been [o]. Theſe were the only acts of hoſtility which the degenerate *Athenians* committed againſt *Philip*, the only revenge which they took of the dreadful

How the Athenians *expreſſed their reſentment againſt* Philip.

[n] Idem, ibid. c. 25. [o] Idem, ibid. c. 24.

dreadful havock he had lately made in their territory. The officers of the *Roman* a
fleet and king *Attalus*, who had put in at *Pyræus*, were witneſſes of theſe ſhameful proceedings, and at the ſame time ſurfeited with the fulſome praiſes of which the *Athenians* were no leſs laviſh on them, than of their curſes on the king of *Macedon* [p]. *Athens*, heretofore ſo renowned in arms, was now become one of the moſt inſignificant cities of *Greece*; for during the whole courſe of this war with *Philip*, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the *Romans* and their allies againſt his ſon *Perſes*, to the utter deſtruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, the *Athenians* performed nothing, which the ancient writers have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. They continued indeed inviolably attached to the *Roman* intereſt, not having been even ſuſpected to favour the *Macedonian* party, while in b
the other ſtates of *Greece* the friends of *Macedon* were far more numerous than thoſe of *Rome*. This ſteadineſs gained them the affection of the *Romans*, who left them in the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties, even after the deſtruction of *Corinth* and diſſolution of the *Achæan* league.

Athens *ſides with* Mithridates *againſt the* Romans. *Year of the flood*, 2912. *Before Chriſt* 87.

In this ſtate *Athens* continued without any remarkable alteration till the *Mithridatic* war, when that city openly declared againſt the *Romans* her patrons and allies, being induced thereunto by one *Ariſtion* an *Athenian* philoſopher of the ſect of *Epicurus*. *Ariſtion* was of a mean extraction, but greatly eſteemed among the followers of *Epicurus*, for his pretended contempt of power and riches. But theſe the hypocrite had only affected to deſpiſe, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining c
them more eaſily that way. For *Archelaus*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent with a numerous army into *Greece* to ſtir up the inhabitants againſt the *Romans*, found it no difficult taſk to gain over this deſpiſer of riches and honours, by promiſing to raiſe him to the chief employments of his republic. *Archelaus* having thus engaged him in the intereſts of his maſter, ſent him over to *Aſia* to confer there with the king himſelf, and concert meaſures about drawing *Athens* off from the *Roman* party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The ſcheme which they formed ſucceeded to their wiſh, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. *Archelaus* had ſome time before reduced the iſland of *Delos*, and plundered the rich temple of *Apollo Delius*. As this iſland had been formerly ſubject to the *Athenians*, *Ariſtion* adviſed d
the king to ſend the ſpoils to *Athens*, and with the preſent a ſtrong body of men under pretence of guarding it. The *Athenians* were taken with this bait, and admitted the troops to the number of two thouſand into the city. By the help of theſe *Ariſtion*, who accompanied them, took upon him to diſpoſe of all the employments at *Athens*, and reigned there with great authority. All thoſe who favoured the *Romans* were either cruelly murdered, or ſent priſoners to *Mithridates*. Nor did the friends of *Rome* fare better in the other countries of *Greece*; the *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bœotians*, &c. openly declared for *Mithridates*, and drove out ſuch of their countrymen as refuſed to come into their meaſures [q]. *Theſpia* was the only city of *Greece* that continued faithful to the *Romans* (C). e

Upon the news of this general revolt, *C. Sextius* prætor of *Macedon* detached *Bruttius Sura* his lieutenant general, at the head of a thouſand men, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of *Archelaus*. The prætor could ſpare him no more, being in apprehenſion that *Macedon* might follow the example of *Greece*. With this ſmall body *Bruttius* penetrated into *Bœotia*, fought ſeveral battles with the joint forces of *Ariſtion* and *Archelaus*, and continued to haraſs them, till the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* taking the field joined the *Aſiatics*. Then *Bruttius*, not being able with a handful of men to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once, reimbarqued his troops, and with his ſmall ſquadron blocked up the port of *Athens*. While he continued here, the fleet of *Mithridates* commanded by *Metrophanes* drew near to *Eubœa*, f
with a deſign to ſeize that iſland. Whereupon *Bruttius* put to ſea, and with one ſingle

[p] Idem, ibid, c. 44.

[q] Appian. in Mithridat.

(C) *Theſpia* ſtood at the foot of mount *Helicon* in *Bœotia*, whence the poets give the ſurname of *Theſpiades* to the nine muſes, who were ſuppoſed by the poets to have lived on this mountain. When *Theſpia* was ſacked by the *Thebans* under the command of *Epaminondas*, many of the inhabitants fled to *Athens*, where they were kindly entertained. Whence the *Theſpians* had ever after ſuch a regard for the *Athenians*, that they never failed to come into their meaſures, till *Athens* declared againſt *Rome* (14).

(14) *Pauſ. in Bœot. Strab. l.* ix.

a ſingle ſquadron forced *Metrophanes* to ſail back into *Aſia*, ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and on his return to the port of *Athens* made a deſcent on the iſland of *Sciathos*, which the *Aſiatics* had ſeized. He recovered the iſland, crucified all the ſlaves he found there, and cut off the right arms of all the iſlanders that fell into his hands, both ſlaves and inhabitants having joined in the revolt, and treated the friends of the republic in a very barbarous manner. The brave *Bruttius*, having thus preſerved the iſland of *Eubœa* and recovered that of *Sciathos*, returned to the *Pyræeus* or port of *Athens*, in order to prevent the *Athenians* from receiving any ſuccours by ſea from the king of *Pontus* [r].

Such was the ſtate of affairs in *Greece*, when *Sylla*, who had been appointed to
b carry on the war againſt *Mithridates*, landed in *Theſſaly*, with five legions, ſome *Italian* cohorts, and a ſmall body of cavalry. With theſe he was to make head againſt the joint forces of *Archelaus* and the ſtates of *Greece*, amounting in all to an hundred and fifty thouſand men. Upon *Sylla*'s arrival, the *Greek* cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the *Roman* general. *Athens* alone, which was held by the tyrant *Ariſtion*, perſiſted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms. Whereupon *Sylla* reſolved to reduce it by force, thinking it neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the republics in *Greece* before he paſſed over into *Aſia* againſt *Mithridates*. This capital of *Attica*, or rather of all *Greece*, conſiſted at that time of two cities, the upper called *Cecropia* from *Cecrops* its firſt founder, and the lower
c named *Athens* from *Athene*, or *Minerva*, its tutelary goddeſs. Both theſe cities were ſurrounded by one common wall, but parted by another which lay acroſs between them, both walls being defended by ſtrong towers raiſed at ſmall diſtances from each other. The two ports of *Piræeus* and *Munychia* were no leſs fortified than the city itſelf, being incompaſſed with walls of an uncommon thickneſs, and forty cubits high. Both theſe ports were joined to the city, though forty furlongs diſtant from it, by a wall which *Themiſtocles* had cauſed to be built, in order to ſecure the removal of ſuch effects as were brought by ſea from the port to the city. Beſides theſe two ports or citadels, *Athens* was defended on the eaſt by the *Cephiſus*, and by the *Iliſſus* on the weſt, which two rivers, winding about the plain, rendered the
d acceſs to the city very difficult [s]. However, *Sylla* undertook to reduce it with a far ſmaller army than that which had been brought from *Aſia* to defend it. Upon his entering *Attica* he was met by *Ariſtion* and *Archelaus*, but he obliged them both to retire with a conſiderable loſs, and ſhut themſelves up in the two cities and citadels of *Athens*. *Archelaus* took upon him to defend *Piræeus*, and *Ariſtion* to ſuſtain the ſiege of *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other hand, the *Roman* general divided his troops into two bodies; one he ſent to inveſt the city; with the other he marched in perſon to attack *Piræeus*, hoping to take it by ſtorm. But the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unſucceſsful attacks, to retire and take up his winter quarters at *Eleuſis* and *Megara*. However,
e he did not drop the enterpriſe, having left a ſufficient number of troops to keep the city and caſtle blocked up againſt his return in the beginning of the ſpring. The whole winter he ſpent in making preparations for beſieging the place in form, aſſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines which were then uſed in ſieges. Nay, he did not ſpare the ſacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and lycæum, which were the fineſt in *Attica*. He cauſed the high walls that joined the port to the city to be demoliſhed, making uſe of the ruins to raiſe the works, and carry on the approaches; and as the enemy had laid waſte the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thouſand mules were
f continually employed in bringing proviſions from *Bœotia* and other countries of *Greece*. Theſe extraordinary expences ſoon drained his military cheſt, which was but very indifferently furniſhed at his firſt ſetting out from *Rome*: neither had he any hopes of receiving ſupplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by *Marius* and *Cinna*, prevailing in *Italy*, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attemps in the eaſt. In this diſtreſs he had recourſe to the ſacred and inviolable treaſures of the temples, and wrote a letter to the amphictyones (D) aſſembled

Athens *beſieged by* Sylla.

[r] Idem, ibid. [s] Pausan. in Atticis.

(D) The amphictyones were, as we have obſerved elſewhere, the deputies of the cities in *Greece* that enjoyed the amphictyonic right. Theſe, before they were admitted into the aſſembly, bound themſelves by

bled at *Delphos*, desiring them to send him the treasures of *Apollo*, and promising a
in the most solemn manner, that he would return to the god, whom he himself revered, the value of whatever should be sent him. One *Caphis*, a native of *Phocis*, in whom *Sylla* confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the amphictyones, and excuse to the assembly a step, which the *Roman* general was forced to take against his will. When *Caphis* arrived at *Delphos*, he wept in the presence of the amphictyones, and told them, that nothing but the utmost distress could have obliged *Sylla* to make such a demand, or himself to be the messenger of it, and desired that the god might be consulted. The oracle indeed returned no answer, but the sound of *Apollo*'s lyre was heard from the inside of the sanctuary, and *Caphis*, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to save the treasure by filling *Sylla* with b
a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts consecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But *Sylla*, deriding his simplicity, replied, that he was surprised he should not comprehend that music was a mark of joy, and by no means a sign of anger and resentment; he therefore desired him to take the treasures, and be assured, that in so doing he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Pursuant to this order, all the gold, silver, and brass, all the vases, presents, and offerings, which the superstition of the neighbouring and most distant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and, amidst the lamentations and outcries of the amphictyones and *Delphians*, sent to the *Roman* camp, where the gold, silver, and brass was coined by *Sylla*'s orders. The person he employed to c
take care of the coinage was *Lucullus* one of his quæstors, who made so beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the *Lucullian money*. The treasures of the god *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, not much inferior in value to those of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, were at the same time by *Sylla*'s orders brought to the camp, and by his quæstor turned into money [t].

Sylla, being thus furnished with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the siege, took the field early in the spring, and shut up both the city and port more closely than before. As he could not possibly reduce the city by famine, so long as it received supplies of provisions by sea from the *Pyræeus*, he began by making a breach in the wall, which secured the passage from the port to the city, and d
lodging in the breach a strong body of legionaries, so that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the sea, he drew a line of circumvallation which prevented the inhabitants from abandoning their native country, or receiving any supplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus closely shut up, *Sylla* applied himself entirely to the reducing of *Pyræeus*, hoping, that in the mean time the *Athenians* would be obliged by famine to shake off the tyrannical yoke of *Aristion*, and return to their duty. It is not easy to say, whether the attack of *Pyræeus* or the
defence was conducted with most vigor, both the besiegers and besieged behaving with incredible courage and resolution. The sallies were frequent, and attended e
with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally equal. In one of these *Archelaus* put the *Romans* to flight, set fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire at a greater distance from the place. They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not *Murena*, a legionary tribune, encouraged the *Romans*, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged in their turn were forced to give ground, and save themselves within their walls, after having lost two thousand men in the engagement. The *Romans* pursued them so close, that they would have entered pell-mell with the *Asiatics*, had not the gate been timely shut, and a considerable part of the garison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. f
Among these was *Archelaus* himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts observing his danger thrown him down a rope, and by that means drawn him up the wall [u].

The disadvantage of this action did not dishearten the besieged, who were still numerous enough to defend the place. The treachery of two slaves that were in the

[t] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat.

[u] Idem, ibid. & Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 1.

by a most solemn oath, to preserve the public peace, maintain the interests of religion, and to the utmost of their power secure the riches of the temple at *Delphos*. But they durst not refuse a demand, which was made at the head of a formidable army.

a the *Pyræus* proved far more prejudicial to them, than the attacks of the enemy. Theſe, either out of affection to the *Roman* party, or in hopes of recovering their liberty, if the place ſhould be taken, wrote upon leaden balls all that paſſed within, and threw them with ſlings into the *Roman* camp. By this means all the wiſe meaſures which *Archelaus* took were immediately communicated to the enemy, and none of his attempts attended with the uſual ſucceſs. He reſolved one night to ſally out againſt the enemy's works, and at the ſame time to ſend all his cavalry to fall upon their camp. But he no ſooner took this reſolution, than *Sylla*, who cauſed all the balls of lead to be carefully gathered, found one with this intelligence; To-night at ſuch an hour the foot will attack your works, and the cavalry your camp.
b He made uſe of this advice, and poſted his troops ſo, that the beſieged were ſoon forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. As the city began to be in great want, *Archelaus* deſigned to ſend a great quantity of proviſions to relieve the gariſon, and to convey it into the city by a ſtrong detachment, which might have eaſily broke through the body of *Romans* that guarded the paſſage. But *Sylla*, who was timely acquainted with this deſign by the two ſlaves, doubled the guard, placed his men in ambuſhes, intercepted the convoy, and cut in pieces moſt of the *Aſiatics* who eſcorted it [w].

Notwithstanding all theſe diſadvantages, *Archelaus* ſtill held out in hopes of being ſoon relieved by *Taxiles*, one of *Mithridates*'s generals, who was marching
c through *Epirus* to his aſſiſtance at the head of a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with ninety chariots armed with ſcythes. As the approach of this formidable army, which had already reduced *Thrace* and *Macedon*, gave new courage to the beſieged, ſo it diſheartened the *Romans*. Whereupon *Sylla* exerted his utmoſt endeavours to take the place by ſtorm, before the arrival of ſo numerous an army. One night, while the centinels on the walls were aſleep, he ordered ſome of the boldeſt among his legionaries to ſcale the ramparts, which they did accordingly, and drove off the enemies that were poſted to guard them. But the reſt of the gariſon taking the alarm, the *Romans* were obliged to ſave themſelves by leaping down into the ditch, and retiring in great diſorder. *Archelaus* took advantage of
d the confuſion the *Romans* were in, and made a vigorous ſally with a deſign to burn a tower which had been lately raiſed by *Sylla*, and from whence the *Romans* greatly galled the beſieged on the walls. *Sylla* haſtened to the defence of a work, which had coſt him much time and labour; the engagement laſted from morning to night, many falling on both ſides; but the tower was preſerved entirely by the valour of *Sylla*, who on that occaſion diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner [x].

In the mean time the two cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia* began to be greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; *Archelaus* had ſeveral times attempted to throw in convoys, but had always found on that occaſion the *Romans* on their guard, and the detachment, which was poſted between the port and the city, reinforced with new
e troops from the camp. He therefore began to ſuſpect that he had traitors about him, but nevertheleſs reſolved to attempt once more the relief of the city. He did not doubt but *Sylla* would be ſoon acquainted with his deſign, and in conſequence of that intelligence ſend a conſiderable detachment from his camp to reinforce the legionaries that guarded the road. As the army would be greatly weakened by this detachment, he thought that would be a proper time to make a ſally againſt the camp, and demoliſh the works. This deſign he imparted to none, and therefore the ſally proved very ſucceſsful, ſeveral of the enemy's machines being reduced to aſhes; but the convoy was intercepted, and moſt of the *Aſiatics* that guarded it cut in pieces [y].

Sylla had raiſed many caſtles round the walls, from the ſeveral floors of which
f ſuch ſhowers of arrows were diſcharged againſt the beſieged, that they could not, without great danger, appear on the ramparts. To obviate this inconvenience, *Archelaus* ordered his men to undermine the caſtles, which were raiſed on large foundations of ſtone, and by this means ſeveral of them were thrown down, and the *Romans*, who were lodged in them, either killed, or dangerouſly wounded. While the beſieged were thus buſy under-ground, the *Romans* beat down with their rams great part of the wall, and thought themſelves at laſt maſters of the place. But in

[w] Plut. in Sylla. [x] Appian. in Mithridat. [y] Idem, ibid.

in a general aſſault *Archelaus* repulſed the beſiegers with ſuch reſolution, that they a
were forced to abandon the enterprize, and apply all their thoughts to the widening
of the breach, before they could entertain any hopes of taking the place by ſtorm.
The *Aſiatics* had, in imitation of the *Romans*, raiſed wooden towers without the
walls, which rendered the approach to them very difficult and dangerous. *Sylla*
therefore altered his meaſures, and, inſtead of uſing the ram, ordered his men to dig
a way to the bottom of the walls, and ſap their foundations, ſupporting them
with large beams, leſt they ſhould be buried themſelves in the ruins. The wall
being thus undermined, fire was ſet to the props, which being burnt, great part
of the wall fell down with a dreadful noiſe, which ſtruck the beſieged, who did not
expect it, with great terror. *Sylla* laid hold of this opportunity to mount the breach b
at the head of his beſt troops; but *Archelaus* oppoſed him with ſuch reſolution, that
he was obliged to give ground. The *Roman* general returned thrice to the aſſault,
but was as often repulſed; nay, in the laſt attack his men ſuffered ſo much, that
he himſelf thought it adviſeable to give over the attempt, and lead his weary legions
back to the camp. There they continued inactive for ſeveral days, and in the mean
time *Archelaus* built another wall within that which the beſiegers had with ſo much
pains and labour beat down. This new wall *Sylla* began to batter before it was dry;
but the prodigious quantity of arrows and burning materials, which were from
thence diſcharged upon the agreſſors, obliged him not only to deſiſt from the at-
tempt, but to retire with ſome precipitation [z]. c

And now *Sylla* gave over all thoughts of taking the place by aſſault, and there-
fore turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. All the
avenues both to the city and the port were guarded by ſtrong detachments, ſo
that neither proviſions of any ſort could be carried in, nor any of the inhabitants
find a way out. By this means the city, which was then one of the moſt populous
Athens *in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions.* of the world, was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that a buſhel of barley was ſold for a
thouſand drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing elſe to maintain themſelves
with but the roots and graſs, which they found growing about the walls. In this
diſtreſs the ſenators and prieſts went to throw themſelves at the tyrant *Ariſtion*'s
feet, conjuring him to have pity on the city, and to ſubmit to the *Romans* upon any d
tolerable terms. But the tyrant was ſo far from being touched with their com-
plaints, that he ordered his guards to diſcharge their arrows againſt them, and in
that manner drove them from his preſence. In the midſt of the public miſery,
Ariſtion and his accomplices in the tyranny were plentifully provided with all ſorts of
proviſions: their tables were ſerved with the moſt exquiſite meats, while the com-
mon people and many of the nobility, after having conſumed their horſes, dogs,
and all other animals, were forced to live upon leather, which they ſoftened by
ſteeping it in water, and even upon human fleſh [a]. The tyrant was at laſt pre-
vailed upon by the importunities of the people to ſend embaſſadors to the *Roman* e
camp; but as theſe made no propoſals, but only deſcants on the exploits of *The-
ſeus*, *Eumolpus*, and their anceſtors againſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*, *Sylla* interrupted
them, deſiring the haranguers to keep their rhetorical flouriſhes for themſelves, ſince
he was not come to *Athens* to be informed of the proweſs of their anceſtors, but to
puniſh their preſent rebellion. *Ariſtion* had ſent theſe declaimers with no other view
but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to ſave the
city by capitulating with the *Romans*; but he ſtill depended on the ſuccours which
were on full march to the relief of the city under the command of *Taxiles*; theſe he
daily expected, and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the
people, he ſent out embaſſadors to *Sylla*, yet he had no mind to come to any
agreement, nor even propoſed any terms, which he imagined the *Roman* general f
might accept [b].

Sylla had ſpies in *Athens*, as well as in *Pyræus*, who were continually running
about and intruding into all companies. One of theſe having one day over-heard
ſome old men, that were walking in a place called *Ceramicos* (E), blaming the tyrant
for

[z] Idem, ibid. [a] Plut. in Sylla. [b] Appian. ibid.

(E) There were two places at *Athens* bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the ſuburbs; the former was a place of reſort for proſtitutes, and much frequented by reaſon of its walks. The other was appointed for the burying-place of great men, ſuch eſpecially as had died fighting for their country.

a for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might eaſily ſurprize the city, upon his return to the camp acquainted *Sylla* with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the *Roman* went at midnight to take a view of the place, and finding that it might be eaſily ſcaled, ordered his legionaries without delay to apply their ladders, which they did accordingly with great chearfulneſs, being tired out with ſo long a ſiege, and entered the city ſword in hand. While the legionaries were engaged within the city, *Sylla* battered the walls ſo violently with his rams, that he opened a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of thoſe who were fighting on the ramparts. The *Athenians* were ſtruck with terror when they ſaw the *Romans* advancing in good order within b their walls, and, throwing away their arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror. But *Sylla* had been too much provoked by the ſatyrical reflections of the *Greeks*, from their ramparts on himſelf and his wife (F), to grant them any quarter. He allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. The next day all the ſlaves were ſold by auction, and liberty granted to the few citizens who had eſcaped the ſwords of the ſoldiers. A few days after the reduction of *Athens*, *Cecropia*, whither *Ariſtion* had retired, was likewiſe forced to ſurrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others by *Sylla*'s orders ſpared. c He would not ſuffer the city to be ſet on fire, ſaying, that he pardoned the children for the ſake of their fathers. The only puniſhment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they ſhould not for the future have the power of chooſing their own magiſtrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The firſt part of this puniſhment he ſoon remitted, and reſtored the city to the full enjoyment of its ancient liberties. Some time after the reduction of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, *Archelaus*, having held out till his new wall was beat down, thought it adviſeable to abandon the place, and accordingly, after a long and moſt glorious defence, embarqued his troops, and retired firſt to *Munychia*, and from thence advanced to join *Taxiles* [c]. *Sylla* d having poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Pyræeus*, to leave behind him ſome marks of his reſentment, deſtroyed moſt of the ſtately buildings, and amongſt others the magazines and the arſenal, which had been built by the celebrated architect *Philo*, and was reckoned a maſter-piece of art.

THIS ſtorm being blown over, the *Athenians* enjoyed a profound tranquility, till the civil war broke out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, when they ſided with the latter, and were therefore cloſely beſieged by *Q. Fuſius Calenus*, *Cæſar*'s lieutenant, who committed great devaſtations in *Attica*, deſtroyed ſeveral edifices which had been ſpared by *Sylla*, and reduced the city of *Athens* to great ſtraits. However, they held out ſo long as they had any hopes of being relieved by *Pompey*; but when news e was brought them that he was entirely defeated, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for *Cæſar* not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, ſaying, that he ſpared the living for the ſake of the dead. But this kindneſs was not ſufficient to keep a people in obedience, that had an utter averſion to any thing that ſavoured of ſervitude; for they no ſooner heard of *Cæſar*'s death, but they openly declared for his murderers, received *Brutus* and *Caſſius* into their city, and even erected ſtatues to them, which they placed next to thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, who had aſſerted the liberty of their country againſt the tyrannical uſurpations of the ſons of *Piſiſtratus*. After the defeat of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* they ſided with *Anthony*, who not only reſtored them f to the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing times of their republic, but enlarged their dominions, by ſubjecting to *Athens* the iſlands of *Cea*, *Sciathos*, *Peparethus*, and *Ægina* [d]. After the defeat of *Anthony*, *Auguſtus* puniſhed their ingratitude to *Julius Cæſar*, by taking from them the iſland of *Ægina*, and forbidding them to ſell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter

[c] PLUT. in Sylla. APPIAN. in Mithridat. [d] PLUT. in Antonio.

(F) They reproached *Sylla* with the lewd life of his wife *Metella*, whence we may conclude, that her infamy was become very public, ſince it had already reached *Greece*. *Metella* was the daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, and by *Sylla* mother to the famous *Fauſta*, whoſe exceſſive licentiouſneſs made *Rome* forget the lewdneſs of *Metella*.

latter end of *Auguſtus*'s reign they began to revolt, but were without much trouble a reduced to their former obedience. *Germanicus*, the adopted ſon of *Tiberius*, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was deemed a mark of ſovereign power; this grant was confirmed to them by *Tiberius* and his ſucceſſors, under whoſe protection they maintained their ancient form of government till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduced *Attica*, with the reſt of *Greece*, to a *Roman* province, ſaying, that the *Greeks* knew not how to enjoy their liberty. But the emperor *Adrian*, who had been archon of *Athens* before his acceſſion to the imperial throne, reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient privileges, and beſtowed upon them a large ſum of money with an annual proviſion of corn. In his reign b and at his charge the two ports of *Pyræeus* and *Munychia* were repaired, and a whole region of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called *Adrianopolis* from *Adrian*, whom the *Athenians*, as appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions [c], not undeſervedly uſed to ſtile the ſecond founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by *Adrian* were not only confirmed, but extended, by his ſucceſſors *M. Antoninus Pius* and *M. Antoninus the philoſopher*; the latter of which allowed them handſome ſalaries for the maintenance of their public profeſſors. But *Severus* abridged them of a great many privileges, to revenge, as is ſuppoſed, an affront which he received at *Athens* while he ſtudied there [f]. *Valerian* was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by *Sylla*. In the reign of *Gallienus*, as *Zoſimus* informs us, or of *Claudius*, as c *Cedrenus* will have it, the city was taken and plundered by the *Goths*, who were ſoon obliged by *Cleodemus*, who had eſcaped their fury, to abandon their new conqueſt, and ſave themſelves by a timely flight. *Conſtantine the Great* was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the *Athenians*, honouring their chief magiſtrate with the title of *grand duke*, and granting them many other privileges of greater conſequence, which were confirmed and enlarged by *Conſtantius*, who moreover put them in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands in the *Archipelago*. In the time of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* they were cruelly haraſſed and pillaged by the *Goths*, who turned all the ſtately and magnificent ſtructures, that were ſtill ſtanding, into heaps of ruins. d From this time there is ſcarce any mention made of *Athens* till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of *Baldwin*, as *Nicetas* informs us [g], and beſieged by one of the generals of the *Greek* emperor *Theodorus Laſcares*, who was forced to raiſe the ſiege after having ſuffered a conſiderable loſs. The ſame author tells us, that it was not long after beſieged and taken by the marquis *Bonifacius*. It fell afterwards into the hands of one *Delves* of the houſe of *Arragon*, upon whoſe death it was ſeized by *Bajazet* [h], who did not hold it long, being driven out by the *Catalonians* under the command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the elder. The *Catalonians* were in their turn diſpoſſeſſed of it by *Reinerius Acciaioli* a *Florentine*, who, having no lawful iſſue, left the ſtate or dukedom of *Athens*, as it was then called, to the *Venetians*, e and *Thebes* with *Bœotia* to his natural ſon *Anthony*. *Anthony* made war on the *Venetians*, and in one campaign recovered the whole ſtate of *Athens*, which continued for ſome years under the government of the *Acciaioli*, but was at laſt reduced by the *Turks* in 1455. *Francus Acciaioli*, the laſt duke of *Athens* and prince of *Achaia*, ſeeing his country threatened with an invaſion by the *Mohammedans* under the conduct of *Omares*, and not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army, had recourſe to the weſtern princes, called then the *Latines*; but theſe refuſed to aſſiſt him, unleſs he engaged his ſubjects to renounce all the articles wherein the *Greek* church differed from the *Latin*, which he not being able to perform, was forced to deliver up both himſelf and the city to the *Barbarians*, who f firſt treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death [k]. *Athens* remained ſubject to the *Turks* till the year 1687, when it was after a ſhort ſiege taken by the *Venetians*, and not many years after retaken by the *Turks*, who continue maſters of it to this day.

To what we have ſaid of the greater republics of *Greece*, we ſhall add ſomething relating to the ſmaller ſtates, namely thoſe of *Bœotia*, *Acarnania*, and *Epirus*. The *Bœotians*, after having driven out their kings, as we have related above [l], formed themſelves into a republic, whereof the chief magiſtrates were the *Prætor* or *Strategos*,

[c] Gruter. p. 177, 178. Chalcocondyles, l. iii. [f] Spartianus. [g] Nicetas in vita Baldwini. [h] Laonicus Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, l. vi. & ix. [l] Hiſt. Univer. p. 375.

a *Strategos*, the *Bœotarchi*, and the *Polemarchi*. The prætor was always choſen from among the *Bœotarchi*, and his authority laſted only a year, it being death for the prætor, according to the laws of the republic, not to reſign his office before the firſt month, called *Boucatios*, of the new year was expired. His authority was much the ſame with that which was veſted in the prætors of *Achaia* and *Ætolia*. The province of the *Bœotarchi* was to aſſiſt the prætor with their advice, chiefly in war, and to command under him; they were the ſupreme court of the nation in what related to military affairs, the prætor himſelf, who was one of their body, not daring to act contrary to their determinations. As to their number we are in the dark, ſome authors mentioning ſeven, ſome nine, and ſome even eleven, all veſted with ſome
b command in the army. But their authority was not confined to military affairs only, they bore a great ſway in the civil adminiſtration, and were from thence ſtiled *Bœotarchi*, or governors of *Bœotia*. They were choſen yearly, and obliged by law, as well as the prætor, to lay down their employment on pain of death before the firſt month of the new year was expired. The *Polemarchi* were entirely civil magiſtrates, it being their province to maintain peace and concord at home, while the *Bœotarchi* were employed abroad in the wars of the republic. Beſides theſe magiſtrates there were four councils, in which the whole authority of the ſtate, as *Thucydides* informs us [m], conſiſted. Theſe were made up of the deputies that were ſent by all the cities of the *Bœotian* republic, and without their approbation the
c *Bœotarchi* could not declare war, make peace, conclude alliances, or tranſact any other buſineſs of importance, as appears from *Thucydides* [n], who tells us, that an alliance with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, which had been approved by all the *Bœotarchi*, was rejected by a plurality of voices in the four great councils of the nation. At *Thebes*, the chief city of *Bœotia*, merchants, and even artificers, were admitted into the number of citizens, an honour which they enjoyed in no other city of *Greece*. However, they were excluded there, as in all the other *Greek* ſtates, from public employments, purſuant to a law which obtained all over *Greece*, and declared thoſe only qualified for the adminiſtration of public affairs, who had abſtained for the ſpace of ten years from all manner of trade and traffic [o]. We find
d another of the *Bœotian* laws mentioned by the antients [p], which forbids on pain of death any parent to expoſe his child; if he had not wherewithal to maintain the infant, he was by the ſame law directed to put it into the hands of a magiſtrate, and the magiſtrate to diſpoſe of it to any one that was willing to bring it up; but the child thus brought up was condemned to perpetual ſlavery, being entirely at the diſpoſal of the perſon who had taken care of it during its childhood.

The *Bœotians*, and eſpecially the *Thebans*, were continually haraſſed by the princes of *Macedon*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors: Nevertheleſs they ſided with *Philip* againſt the *Romans*, and could not be prevailed upon by the *Athenians* and *Achæans* to deſert him and join the other ſtates of *Greece*,
e till he was intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*. As they were then ſenſible, that the *Romans* would at laſt prevail, they thought it adviſeable to provide by time for their own ſafety, and accordingly ſent deputies to *Flaminius*, imploring his protection. The proconſul received them with great humanity, and put them upon the ſame foot with the other allies of the republic in *Greece*. Not long after they offered a petition to *Flaminius*, which ſeemed reaſonable. A great many *Bœotians* had ſerved in the *Macedonian* army, and theſe the proconſul was deſired to demand of *Philip*, who had then made a truce with the *Romans*. *Flaminius* complied with their requeſt, and obtained what he deſired of *Philip*, who immediately ſent back the *Bœotian* troops, and with them one *Brachyllas*, who had been baniſhed,
f for appearing too zealous in the cauſe of the *Macedonians* againſt the *Romans*. The *Bœotians*, though indebted to *Flaminius* alone for the return of their troops, thanked the king of *Macedon* only, and to ſhew their gratitude, in the firſt election they made of a prætor, they preferred *Brachyllas*, famous for his attachment to *Philip* and hatred to the *Romans*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, who were both zealous partizans of *Rome*; nay, they had the confidence to make this impolitic election in the ſight of the *Roman* camp. In like manner all the other employments were filled with ſuch only as were enemies to *Rome* and friends to *Macedon*. Theſe ſteps greatly exaſperated *Flaminius*, and *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus* joined their reſentment to that of

[m] Thucyd. l. v. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] Aristot. Polit. [p] Pausan. in Bœot.

of the proconſul. Theſe two *Bœotians* foreſaw that *Brachyllas* would not fail to vent a
his rage upon them, as ſoon as the *Roman* troops were withdrawn from *Greece*, and
therefore reſolved to be beforehand with him, while *Flaminius* continued there.
All the friends of *Rome* concurred in this deſign, perſuading the proconſul, that
neither their lives nor fortunes could be ſafe ſo long as *Brachyllas* was alive. *Flami-*
nius approved of their deſign, but refuſed to contribute to it himſelf. His appro-
bation was ſufficient encouragement, *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, having hired three
Ætolians and three *Italians*, fell upon *Brachyllas*, as he was one night returning home
from an entertainment, and diſpatched him. Some of his companions, who were con-
ducting him to his houſe from the banquet when the aſſaſſins attacked him, were at
firſt the only perſons ſuſpected of the murder. But *Zeuxippus* appeared with an air b
of confidence in the aſſembly of the people, undertook the defence of the accuſed,
and ſhewed, that it was not at all probable, that debauchees ſhould have courage
enough to make any attempts on the life of the prætor. This aſſurance made ſome
of the *Bœotians* believe, that *Zeuxippus* was no ways privy to the murder; but others
took umbrage at ſeeing him ſo mighty ſolicitous in having thoſe cleared who were
apprehended, and began to ſuſpect, that the prætor had been murdered by them,
and the plot laid by *Zeuxippus*. On this ſuſpicion, thoſe who were in his company
being put to the rack, though innocent, accuſed *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, purely
upon the public ſuſpicions, without being able to bring any proofs of their accuſation.
Hereupon *Zeuxippus*, who was conſcious to himſelf of the crime laid to his charge, c
changing his preſumption into fear, privately withdrew from *Thebes*, where the
murder was committed, to *Tanagra* another city of *Bœotia*. *Piſiſtratus* continued in
Thebes, not fearing the depoſition of men who had not been any ways privy to the
crime; he was only under apprehenſion of being diſcovered by a ſlave, who had
been employed in the aſſaſſination by *Zeuxippus* his maſter; he therefore wrote to
Zeuxippus at *Tanagra*, deſiring him to diſpatch the ſlave, as one more fit to be em-
ployed in a bad action than to keep it a ſecret. The meſſenger was ordered to deli-
ver the letter into *Zeuxippus*'s own hands; but he, thinking the ſlave faithful and
affectionate to his maſter, truſted it with him. The ſlave read it, and finding it
contained ſentence of death againſt himſelf, left his maſter that inſtant and repaired d
to *Thebes*, where he diſcovered the whole affair. *Piſiſtratus* was apprehended and
put to death; but the odium of the murder fell intirely on the *Romans*. *Zeuxippus*
retired to *Athens*, and lived there without any apprehenſion, being recommended
to the magiſtrates of that city by his protectors the *Romans*.

The *Bœotians* were inclined to take up arms, but having no officer of experience to
head them, and *Philip* refuſing to lend them any aſſiſtance, they contented them-
ſelves with a private revenge, murdering all the *Romans* they found ſtraggling
about the fields; inſomuch, that they could no longer croſs the country but in large
bodies. At laſt *Flaminius* being informed that many of his men were miſſing,
and that there were juſt grounds to ſuſpect they had been murdered by the *Bœo-* e
tians, ſent officers with troops to inquire into the matter, and apprehend the authors
of ſuch treacherous proceedings. The officers upon their return acquainted him,
that great numbers of *Romans* had been murdered, and their bodies, to prevent
diſcovery, thrown into the lake of *Copias* (G). He was at the ſame time aſſured,
that the cities of *Coronæa* and *Acraphia* (H) had on that occaſion ſignalized their
hatred to the *Romans*. Upon this information the proconſul ordered the murderers
to be delivered up to him, and as he had loſt five hundred men, the *Bœotians* were
condemned to pay five hundred talents; troops were likewiſe ſent to ravage the
fields of *Acræphia*, and lay ſiege to *Coronæa*. The *Bœotians*, who were conſcious
to themſelves that they deſerved ſevere puniſhment, ſeeing the proconſul drawing f
together his troops, with a deſign to treat them as they deſerved, had recourſe to
the

(G) This lake, which is the ſame with the lake called by *Pauſanias* (15) the lake of *Cephiſus*, took its name from the city of *Copæ*. It was in former times, as *Strabo* tells us (16), three hundred and ſeventy-one furlongs in compaſs; but is now much leſs. It is fed by the river *Cephiſus*, and the poets tell us, that *Hercules* made it by turning the *Cephi-* *ſus* into the plain of *Orchomenos*. The people of this neighbourhood are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of oars, whence the city next to the lake was called *Copæ* from the *Greek* word κώπη.

(H) *Coronæa*, a city of *Bœotia*, ſtood on the river *Cephiſus*, where it diſcharges itſelf into the lake *Copias*, not far from mount *Helicon* (17). It is famous on account of the victory which *Ageſilaus* gained there over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. The city of *Acræphia* ſtood between the ſprings of the *Iſmenus* and the *Aſopus*.

(15) *Pauſan. in Bœot.* (16) *Strabo l.* xiii. (17) *Strabo l.* ix

a the *Athenians* and *Achæans*, whoſe mediation was of ſuch weight with *Flaminius*, that he immediately ordered the ſiege of *Coronæa* to be raiſed, and remitted four hundred and ſeventy talents of the fine he had laid upon the treacherous cities of *Bœotia*. He inſiſted only on their delivering up to him the murderers, who were accordingly apprehended and carried to the *Roman* camp, where they were brought to condign puniſhment. This mixture of mildneſs and ſeverity was highly extolled and applauded by the *Bœotians*, who ever afterwards continued faithful to the *Romans*. But as ſome of their leading men joined *Perſes* king of *Macedon* in his wars againſt the *Romans*, the whole country was on that ſcore treated with great ſeverity, *Rome* being at that time under no apprehenſion of an invaſion from *Antiochus*, as ſhe b was when *Flaminius* ſuffered himſelf to be ſo eaſily appeaſed. At the diſſolution of the *Achæan* league *Bœotia* with the reſt of *Greece* was reduced to a *Roman* province [q].

Acarnania lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, was a free ſtate, and governed by a prætor, a general aſſembly, and other ſubordinate magiſtrates of the ſame nature and authority as thoſe of the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. The *Acarnanians* were above all the other *Greeks* addicted to the kings of *Macedon*, and chiefly to *Philip*, the father of *Perſes*. They alone adhered to him after the famous battle of *Cynocephalæ*, valuing themſelves upon an inviolable fidelity in the obſervation of treaties. However, *Lucius Flaminius*, brother to *Titus Flaminius*, took upon him to bring them over to the *Romans*, and deprive *Philip* of this his only ſupport. With this view c he engaged the chief men of the nation to meet him in the iſland of *Corcyra*, whither they reſorted according to their appointment; but the reſult of this conference was to appoint another in the city of *Leucas*, the capital of *Acarnania* (I). In this ſecond interview the leading men of the nation, after warm diſputes, drew up the plan of a confederacy with the *Romans*, and were inclined to deſert *Philip*. But ſome, who had been bribed by the king, leaving the aſſembly with indignation, filled all the city with their complaints; the people joined them, and, as they were generally inclined to the princes of *Macedon*, who had often protected them againſt the *Ætolians*, the whole city was in an uproar. During this general commotion, *Philip* ſent *Echedemus* and *Androcles*, two *Acarnanians* greatly eſteemed in their own d country, and ſteady friends to *Macedon*. Theſe declaimed with great virulency againſt their ſlaviſh countrymen, who, without any regard to the faith of treaties, were betraying the intereſt of their country, in order to deliver up the whole nation to the mercy of an imperious republic. The people, already prepoſſeſſed againſt the *Romans*, backed the remonſtrances of the two deputies, and openly proteſted, that they would not enter into any engagements prejudicial to the intereſt of *Philip*. Thus the decree, which had been drawn up in favour of the *Romans*, was unanimouſly rejected in the aſſembly, and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, who were the authors of it, declared enemies to their country, and guilty of the blackeſt treachery. *Zeuxidas*, their prætor, was depoſed, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had pro- e poſed the affair in the aſſembly. However, upon more mature deliberation, the ſentence paſt againſt theſe three was diſannulled, and they reſtored to their former honours. But at the ſame time their alliance with the king of *Macedon* was renewed, and the treaty, made by ſome private men with the *Romans*, rejected with indignation. *Lucius*, who had in the beginning of the tumult retired from *Leucas*, reſolved to reduce the *Acarnanians* by force; and accordingly having made the neceſſary preparations, he ſailed from *Corcyra* with a deſign to lay ſiege to *Leucas*. He thought that the very ſight of the *Roman* troops would frighten the citizens into a compliance with his requeſt; but he was diſappointed; the *Leucadians* appeared on the walls, and prepared to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Whereupon the *Roman* general began f his

Acarnania.

[q] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 7.

(I) *Leucas* was the capital of *Acarnania*, where the general aſſembly of the *Acarnanians* uſed to meet. The city gave its name to the whole iſland, which was called *Leucadia*, but is now known by the name of *Santa Maura*. It lies in the *Ionian* ſea, and is now divided from the continent by a ſtrait, which is not above fifty paces over. The *Carthaginians* are ſaid to have ſettled a colony here, and to have formed this ſtrait or canal; for *Leucadia* was formerly a peninſula, being joined to *Acarnania* by a neck of land. Near this city ſtood in ancient times a ſtately temple conſecrated to *Apollo*, and the famous rock, whence deſpairing lovers leaped into the ſea. During the feaſt of *Apollo* the *Leucadians* yearly threw down from the top of this rock a criminal, who had been ſentenced to die, imagining, that the gods would load the criminal with all the evils that threatened the city. They faſtened a great many birds and feathers to his body, believing they would make his fall leſs violent. If he happened not to be killed by the fall, his life was ſpared, but he was baniſhed for ever.

his approaches, being resolved to take the place by storm. *Leucadia*, or the terri- a
tory of *Leucas*, was at that time a peninsula, being joined to the western part of *Acarnania* by a neck of land, about five hundred paces in length and a hundred and twenty in breadth; in after-ages, this isthmus being dug through, *Leucadia* became an island. *Lucius* having viewed the situation of the place, resolved to attack it on that side which was washed by the sea, and on that account the least fortified; the water being very low near the walls, the earth was easily removed, and the wall without much trouble undermined, and thrown down. But the besieged made such a vigorous resistance, that the *Romans* were repulsed in three successive attacks, which obliged the general to allow them some rest; and in the mean time the *Leucadians* raised a new wall stronger than the former. The siege would have been pro- b
tracted to a great length, had not some *Italian* exiles, who were well acquainted with the place, brought a great many *Romans* privately into the city. These, uniting themselves into one body, marched strait to the market-place, and while the inhabitants were engaged with them there, the rest of the army scaled the walls, and marched in good order to the relief of their companions. The *Acarnanians* were surrounded, and those who refused to submit put to the sword. The reduction of the capital struck such terror into the whole nation, that they deserted *Philip*, and submitted to the *Romans*, under whose protection they lived, according to their own laws, till the destruction of *Corinth*, when *Acarnania* became part of the province of *Achaia*[r]. c

Epirus

Epirus was bounded on the east by *Ætolia*, on the west by the *Adriatic*, on the north by *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, and on the south by the *Ionian* sea. This country was anciently governed by its own princes, in which state it made no small figure, as we shall see in a more proper place. *Deidamia*, great grand-daughter to the famous *Pyrrhus*, having no issue, gave the *Epirots* their liberty, who formed themselves into a republic, which was governed by magistrates annually elected in a general assembly of the whole nation. Their neighbourhood to *Macedon* obliged them to be continually on their guard against those princes, who made frequent incursions into their country, took and pillaged their cities, and forced them to contribute, as if they had been their subjects, to all the charges of the wars they carried d
on with the other states of *Greece*. The *Romans*, after having conquered *Philip*, restored them to their ancient liberty; but they, forgetful of this favour, took up arms against their friends and benefactors and joined *Perses*, which so provoked the *Roman* senate, that they dispatched peremptory orders to *Paulus Æmilius*, after the reduction of *Macedon*, commanding him to plunder the cities of this ungrateful people, and level them with the ground. This decree drew tears from the eyes of *Æmilius*, but he could not decline the execution of it. He therefore set out at the head of his victorious army, and arriving on the confines of *Epirus*, sent small bodies of troops into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garisons, that the *Epirots* might enjoy the same liberty which *Rome* had granted to e
Macedon. The *Romans* were received in all the cities of *Epirus* with great demonstrations of joy; for *Æmilius* had not communicated his orders to any one for fear of terrifying the *Epirots*, who would not have failed to defend themselves and their country with their usual bravery. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* sent orders to the ten chiefs, who were dispersed in the different provinces, and governed all *Epirus*, enjoining them to bring to his camp all the gold and silver they had in their respective districts. The chiefs with great reluctance complied with his order, and by this means what was most valuable in *Epirus* was saved out of the hands of the greedy soldiers, and delivered to the quæstors to be laid up in the public treasury. All the rest was given up as a prey to the soldiery. Though the consular troops were f
cantoned in different places, the execution was made the same day and hour, the *Roman* soldiers falling every where with incredible fury on the houses, which were abandoned to their mercy. The whole booty was sold, and of the money raised by the sale each foot soldier had two hundred denarii, that is 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* and each of the horse the double of this sum. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and sold to the best bidder for the benefit of the republic. Nor did the vengeance of *Rome* stop here; all the cities of *Epirus*, to the number of seventy, were dismantled, and the chief men of the country carried to *Rome*, where they

[r] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 4.

a they were tried, and moſt of them condemned to perpetual impriſonment [s]. After this fatal blow *Epirus* never recovered its ancient ſplendor. Upon the diſſolution of the *Achæan* league, it was made part of the province of *Macedon*; but when *Macedon* became a dioceſe, *Epirus* was made a province of itſelf, called the province of *Old Epirus*, to diſtinguiſh it from *New Epirus*, another province lying to the eaſt of it. On the diviſion of the empire, it fell to the emperors of the eaſt, and continued under them till the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Latins*, when *Michael Angelus*, a prince nearly related to the *Greek* emperor, ſeized on *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, of which he declared himſelf deſpote or prince, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Theodorus*, who took ſeveral towns from the *Latins*, and ſo far
b enlarged his dominions, that diſdaining the title of deſpote, he aſſumed that of emperor, and was crowned by *Demetrius* archbiſhop of *Bulgaria*. *Charles*, the laſt prince of this family, dying without lawful iſſue, bequeathed *Epirus* and *Acarnania* to his natural ſons, who were driven out, as we have related above, by *Amurath* the ſecond. Great part of *Epirus* was afterwards held by the noble family of the *Caſtriots*, who, though they were maſters of all *Albania*, yet ſtiled themſelves princes of *Epirus*. Upon the death of the famous *George Caſtriot*, *Epirus* fell to the *Venetians*, who were ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of it by the *Turks*, in whoſe hands it ſtill continues, being now known by the name of *Albania*, which comprehends the *Albania* of the ancients, all *Epirus*, and that part of *Dalmatia* which is ſubject to
c the *Turks*.

THUS we have ſeen, through a ſeries of many ages, the riſe, progreſs, declenſion, and laſtly the final ruin, of the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*. The firſt form of government introduced among them was monarchical, which, as *Plato* obſerves, is formed upon the model of paternal authority, and of that gentle and moderate dominion, which fathers exerciſe over their families. But as power, when lodged in one perſon, becomes often haughty, unjuſt, and oppreſſive, eſpecially if it is hereditary, the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, in proceſs of time, began to be weary of a kingly government, and to put the adminiſtration of public affairs into many hands; ſo that monarchy every where, except in *Macedon*, gave way to a republican
d government, which was diverſified into as many various forms as there had been different kingdoms, according to the different genius and peculiar character of each people. However, they all had liberty for their fundamental principle, but this liberty was prevented from degenerating into licentiouſneſs by wiſe laws, which awed the people, and kept them to their duty. As every individual, at leaſt in the early times of *Greece*, was capable of attaining the chief honours of his republic, he conſidered his country as his inheritance. The children were taught from their infancy to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more ſtrictly appertained than to their parents, and not as private perſons, who regard nothing but their own intereſt, and have no ſenſe of the misfortunes of the ſtate, but as
e they affect themſelves. They ſtudied above all things to maintain among the citizens and members of the ſtate a great equality, without pride, luxury, or oſtentation. Magiſtrates, who had bore a great ſway during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. Thoſe who had commanded armies one year, ſerved perhaps the very next as ſubalterns, and were not aſhamed to perform the moſt common functions, either in the armies or fleets. The principles, which prevailed in all the ſtates of *Greece*, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, diſregard of ſelf-intereſt, concern for the public good, deſire of glory, love for their country, and above all ſuch a zeal for liberty as no danger could intimidate. So long as they adhered to theſe principles, they
f were invincible; we have ſeen them not only making head with a handful of men, againſt the innumerable armies of the *Perſians*, but putting them to flight, and obliging the moſt powerful monarch then upon earth to ſubmit to conditions of peace, as ſhameful to the conquered as they were glorious to the conquerors. But aſſoon as luxury and the love of riches prevailed among them, they began to degenerate, and in a ſhort time became a quite different people. The *Perſians* ſoon perceived this alteration, and, by bribing thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the government, found means to make them turn their arms againſt themſelves. Theſe inteſtine diviſions, carefully fomented by the *Perſians*, ſo weakened them, that *Philip* of

[s] LIV. l. xlv. c. 33, 34. [t] PLATO, l. iii. de Legibus, p. 680.

of *Macedon* and his ſon *Alexander* met with no great oppoſition in reducing a a people, that had for ſo many ages maintained their liberty, againſt the whole power of the *Perſian* monarchy. They made ſeveral attempts to reinſtate themſelves in their antient condition; but theſe efforts were ill-concerted, and only ſerved to increaſe their ſlavery. They were therefore at laſt obliged to have recourſe to the *Romans*, who after having gained them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling paſſion, and made uſe of them to deſtroy the *Macedonian* power, at laſt turned their arms againſt thoſe they were come to aſſiſt, and reduced to ſlavery the nations which they pretended to deliver. *Greece*, thus deprived of its antient power, ſtill retained another ſovereignty, to which the *Romans* themſelves could not help b paying homage. *Athens* continued to be the ſchool of polite arts, and the center of refined taſte in all the productions of the mind. *Rome*, haughty as ſhe was, acknowledged this glorious empire, and ſent her moſt illuſtrious citizens to be finiſhed and refined in *Greece*. *Cicero*, already the admiration of the bar, did not think it below him to become the diſciple of the great maſters *Greece* then produced. The emperors themſelves, who were by more weighty affairs prevented from going into *Greece*, brought *Greece* in a manner home to themſelves, by receiving into their palaces the moſt celebrated philoſophers, for the education of their children and their own improvement. Thus by a new kind of victory *Greece* triumphed over *Rome*, and made the conquerors of the world ſubmit to her laws.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the GRECIAN States *in* ASIA MINOR.

The Hiſtory of IONIA.

Name and diviſion of Ionia.

IONIA, ſo called from the *Ionians*, who inhabited this part of *Aſia Minor*, a was bounded on the north by *Ætolia*, on the weſt by the *Ægean* and *Icarian* ſeas, on the ſouth by *Caria*, on the eaſt by *Lydia* and part of *Caria*. It lies between the 37th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very ſmall extent in longitude, which we ſhall not pretend to determine, there being a great diſagreement among authors, as to the boundaries of the inland country.

Cities of Ionia.

THE moſt remarkable cities of *Ionia* were, *Phocæa*, now *Foggia*, built, according to *Vellerius* [a], by the *Ionians*, according to *Pauſanias* [b], by the *Phocenſes* of *Greece*, and according to *Strabo* [c] by the *Athenians*. Some writers tell us, that while the foundations of this city were laying there appeared near the ſhore a great ſhole of ſea-calves, whence it was called *Phocæa*, the word *Phoca* ſignifying b in *Greek* a ſea-calf. *Ptolemy*, who makes the river *Hermus* the boundary between *Æolia* and *Ionia*, places *Phocæa* in *Æolis*, but all other geographers [d] reckon it among the cities of *Ionia*. It ſtood on the ſea-coaſt between *Cuma* to the north, and *Smyrna* to the ſouth, not far from the *Hermus*, and was in former times one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities of all *Aſia*, but is now a poor beggarly village, though the ſee of a biſhop. The *Phocæans* were, as *Herodotus* [e] informs us, expert mariners, and the firſt among the *Greeks* that undertook long voyages, which they performed in gallies of fifty oars. As they applied themſelves to trade and navigation they became acquainted pretty early with the coaſts and iſlands of *Europe*, where they are ſaid to have founded ſeveral cities, namely *Velia* in *Italy*, c *Alalia* or rather *Aleria* in *Corſica*, *Marſeilles* in *Gaul* [f], *&c.* Neither were they unacquainted with *Spain*; for *Herodotus* tells us [g], that in the time of *Cyrus the Great*, the *Phocæans* arriving at *Sarteſſus* a city in the bay of *Cadiz*, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs by *Arganthonius* king of that country, who hearing that they were under no ſmall apprehenſion of the growing power of *Cyrus*, invited them to leave *Ionia*, and ſettle in what part of his kingdom they pleaſed. The

Phocæa.

Phocæans

[a] VELLERIUS. l. 1. [b] PAUSAN. l. 7. [c] STRAB. l. 14. [d] POMP. MELA. l. 1. c. 17 PLIN. l. 5. c. 29. STRAB. l 14. HERODOT. l. 1. c. 142. [e] HERODOT. l. 1. [f] Idem ibid. MARCELLIN. l 15. JUSTIN. l. 43. [g] Idem ibid.

a *Phocæans* could not be prevailed upon to forſake their country; but accepted of a large ſum of money, which that prince generouſly preſented them with to defray the expence of building a ſtrong wall round their city. The wall they built on their return, but it ſtood them in no ſtead againſt the mighty power of *Cyrus*, whoſe general *Harpagus* inveſting the city, with a numerous army, ſoon reduced it to the utmoſt extremities. The *Phocæans*, having no hopes of any ſuccour, began to capitulate, but the conditions, offered by *Harpagus*, ſeeming ſomewhat hard, they begged he would allow them three days to deliberate, and in the mean time withdraw his forces, *Harpagus*, though not ignorant of their deſign, complyed with their requeſt, and the *Phocæans* taking advantage of this condeſcenſion put their wives,
b children, and all their moſt valuable effects on board ſeveral veſſels which they had ready equipt, and conveyed them ſafe to the iſland of *Chios*, leaving the *Perſians* in poſſeſſion of empty walls. Their deſign was to purchaſe the *Œneſſian* iſlands, which belonged to the *Chians*, and ſettle there: but the *Chians* not caring to have them ſo near, leſt they ſhould engroſs all the trade to themſelves as they were a ſea-faring people, they put to ſea again, and having taken *Phocæa* their native country by ſurprize, put all the *Perſians* they found in it to the ſword. As they were well appriſed that the *Perſians* would reſent ſuch inhuman proceedings, they re-imbarked with all expedition, ſteering their courſe towards *Cyrnus* now *Corſica*, where twenty years before they had built the city of *Alaria* or *Calaris*. Before they left *Phocæa*
c the ſecond time they uttered moſt dreadful imprecations againſt ſuch as ſhould ſtay behind, binding themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to return till a red-hot ball of iron, which on that occaſion they threw into the ſea, ſhould appear again unextinguiſhed. However, above half the fleet broke through all theſe engagements, and returned ſoon to *Phocæa*, the *Perſians*, who were deſirous the city ſhould be re-peopled, offering a general pardon to ſuch as had been concerned in the maſſacre. The remaining part arrived ſafe at *Alaria*, where they continued five years, infeſting the neighbouring ſeas with piracies, and ravaging the coaſts of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Carthage*. Hereupon the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians* entering into an alliance againſt them, fitted out a fleet of 120 ſail, with a deſign to drive them from
d *Cyrnus*. The *Phocæans*, not at all diſmayed at the ſight of ſo powerful a fleet, engaged them in the ſea of *Sardinia* with half their number, and after a bloody engagement put them to flight. But the victory coſt them dear, forty of their ſhips being ſunk, and moſt of the reſt quite diſabled (A). Whereupon not finding themſelves in a condition to ſtand a ſecond ſhock, (and the enemies were preparing to attack them anew) they reſolved to abandon the iſland, and retire with their wives and children to *Rhegium*; which they did accordingly, but ſoon left that place, and ſettled in *Œnotria*, now *Ponza*, a ſmall iſland in the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, overagainſt *Velia* in *Lucania*, which their anceſtors had founded. Thoſe who returned home lived in ſubjection either to the *Perſians* or tyrants of their own. Among
e the latter we find mention made [h] of *Laodamas*, who attended *Darius Hyſtaſpis* in his expedition againſt the *Scythians*, and of *Dionyſius*, who joining *Ariſtagoras*, tyrant of *Miletus* and chief author of the *Ionian* rebellion, retired after the defeat of his country-men firſt to *Phœnicia*, where he made an immenſe booty, ſeizing on all the ſhips he met with trading to that country. From *Phœnicia* he ſailed with immenſe riches to *Sicily*, where he committed great depredations on the *Carthaginians* and *Tuſcans*; but is ſaid never to have moleſted the *Greeks* [i]. In the *Roman* times the city of *Phocæa* ſided with *Antiochus the Great*; whereupon it was beſieged, taken, and plundered by the *Roman* general, but allowed to live according to its own laws.

In

[h] Herodot. l. 4. & 6. [i] Idem ibid.

(A) *Herodotus* tells us, that ſuch of the *Phocæans* as had loſt their ſhips in the engagement fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* and *Tyrrhenians*, who attacked them as they came aſhore in their ſmall boats, and put them all to death. As this happened in the territory of *Argilla* in *Tuſcia*, both the inhabitants and cattle of that diſtrict were ſeized with a dreadful diſtemper, which obliged the *Argyllians* to have recourſe to the oracle of *Delphos*, being deſirous to atone for the crime they had committed in what manner the god of that place ſhould direct. The oracle enjoined them to commemorate yearly the death of the *Phocæans*, with great magnificence and gymnaſtic combats; which they did accordingly, beginning as ſoon as their deputies returned from *Delphos*, and were immediately delivered from the raging diſtemper. Our author adds, that they continued even in his time the ſame combats, and performed all the other rites which the oracle had preſcribed on that occaſion (1).

(1) *Herodot. l.* 1.

In the war, which *Ariſtonicus*, brother to *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, ſtirred up a againſt the *Romans*, they aſſiſted the former to the utmoſt of their power, which ſo diſpleaſed the ſenate, that they commanded the town to be demoliſhed, and the whole race of the *Phocæans* utterly rooted out. This ſevere ſentence had been put in execution had not the *Maſſilienſes*, a *Phocæan* colony, interpoſed, and with much ado aſſwaged the anger of the ſenate [k]. *Pompey* declared *Phocæa* a free city, and reſtored the inhabitants to all the priviileges they had ever enjoyed; whence under the firſt emperors it was reckoned one of the moſt flouriſhing cities of all *Aſia Minor*. This is all we have been able to gather from the antients, touching the particular hiſtory of *Phocæa*.

Smyrna. *Smyrna*, called by the *Turks Iſmyr*, is ſituated on the iſthmus of the *Ionian* penin- b
ſula, at the bottom of a bay, to which it gives name, and is reckoned one of the largeſt and richeſt cities of the *Levant*. *Smyrna* was not at firſt one of the twelve cities of the *Ionian* league, ſo often mentioned by the antients, but was in proceſs of time admitted into that confederacy by means of the *Epheſians*, who lived, as *Strabo* [l] informs us, for many years in the ſame diſtrict with the *Smyrnæans*; and hence it is, that *Epheſus* is ſometimes called *Smyrna*. *Velleius Paterculus* [m] reckons it among the cities of *Æolis*, wherein he agrees with *Herodotus* [n], who tells us, that *Smyrna* was built by the *Æolians*, but afterwards deſtroyed by the *Ionians*, who claimed the ground on which the city ſtood, and all the neighbouring country. Be that as it will, it muſt have been ſoon after rebuilt; for the ſame *Herodotus*, or c
whoever elſe is the author of *Homer*'s life, deſcribes it as a famous empory in that poet's time, whither merchant's reſorted from all parts. *Pliny* [o] is of opinion, that it was founded by an *Amazon* named *Smyrna*; and adds, that it was many ages after rebuilt and embelliſhed by *Alexander*. What he ſays of the *Amazon* is commonly looked upon as quite fabulous, though the preſent inhabitants pretend, that it borrowed its name of an *Amazon*, who, coming into *Aſia* at the head of a female army, poſſeſſed herſelf of this city. Neither was it rebuilt by *Alexander*, for *Strabo*, a writer far more exact, informs us [p], that *Smyrna* four hundred years after it had been deſtroyed by the *Lydians*, during which time the *Smyrnæans* lived in villages, was begun to be rebuilt by *Antigonus*, but that *Lyſimachus* put the laſt d
hand to the work. This new city was built, according to the ſame writer, twenty furlongs diſtance from the place where the old city ſtood; between the caſtle on the ſhore and the preſent city, as our beſt modern travellers conjecture [q] from the many ruins of edifices, that are ſtill to be ſeen in that place (B). This new city, as it was moſt conveniently ſituated for trade, became in a ſhort time one of the moſt populous and wealthy of all *Aſia*, as is plain from ſeveral inſcriptions, in which it is ſtiled *The metropolis*, *The firſt and chief city of* Aſia, *The ornament of* Ionia, *&c.* [r]. But nothing can give us a greater idea of the magnificence of antient *Smyrna*, than the deſcription of it we read in *Strabo* [s]. "It is at preſent, ſays he, the fineſt
"city in *Aſia*. One part of it is built on a hill, but the fineſt edifices ſtand on a e
"plain not far from the ſea, over-againſt the temple of *Cybele*. The ſtreets are
"the moſt beautiful that can be, ſtrait, wide, and paved with fine ſtone. It has
"many ſtately buildings, magnificent porticoes, majeſtic temples, a public library,
"and a convenient harbour, which may be ſhut up at pleaſure." There are ſtill to be ſeen many veſtigies of the antient grandeur of *Smyrna*, namely of a marble theatre, which was reckoned the fineſt in *Aſia*, of a circus, of baths, temples, *&c.* for the deſcription of which we refer our readers to *Le Bruyn*, *Tournefort*, *Spon*, and other modern travellers. Neither the circus, nor the theatre were built, it ſeems, in *Strabo*'s time, elſe he would have mentioned them among the other edifices that f
embelliſhed

[k] Liv. Decad. 4. l. 7. & ſeg. Justin. l. 37. [l] Strabo l. 14. ſub init. [m] Vell. Patercul. l. 1. c. 4. [n] Herodot. l. 1. c. 149. [o] Plin. l. 5. c. 29. [p] Strabo. l. 14. p. 444. [q] Spon. Le Bruyn. Tournefort. Voyage au Levant, &c. [r] Vide Marmor. Oxon. apud Prideaux. [s] Strabo. l. 14.

(B) A modern traveller (2) tells us, that many valuable pieces of antiquity have been found there, and mentions four antient ſtatues that were dug up in that place, while he was at *Conſtantinople*, and are ſtill to be ſeen at *Verſailles*. Our author adds, that in 1671. an urn was diſcovered in the ſame place with this inſcription, Marcus Fabius, *the ſon of* Marcus Fabius, *of the* Galerian *family, ſirnamed* Junius, *one and twenty years old*. Upon opening the urn they diſcovered the bodies both of the father and ſon lying together in their armour which was ſtill entire.

(2) *Le Bruyn voyage au Levant, &c.*

a embellished the city. The walls of *Smyrna* were washed by the *Meles*, a river of great note in the republic of letters, for *Homer* is said to have been born near its banks; whence, as the name of his father was unknown, he was called *Melesigena*. Some writers add [t], that he composed his inimitable poem in a cave near the spring of this river (C). Under the *Roman* emperors the city of *Smyrna* was at the height of its grandeur, and ever courted by them, as it was the finest harbour in *Asia*, and distinguished with titles, exemptions, and privileges above all the cities of *Asia*, *Ephesus* alone excepted. *Tiberius* shewed on all occasions a great esteem for the *Smyrnæans*, and *Marcus Aurelius* rebuilt their city, after it had been almost quite ruined by an earthquake, and the succeeding emperors heaped such favours on them as raised no
b small jealousy among the other *Greeks* of *Asia*. The *Smyrnæans* on the other hand continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, and are said to have been the first in *Asia* that honoured *Rome*, under the title of *Rome the Goddess*, with a temple, priests, and sacrifices; which they did while *Carthage* was at the highest pitch of its glory, and *Asia* in great part possessed by powerful princes, who had not yet experienced the *Roman* valour.

As to the present city, it is situated on the shore at the foot of a hill which commands the port, and may be justly stiled the centre of trade to the *Levant*. Its convenient harbour and situation have saved it from undergoing the same fate which most cities in *Asia*, though formerly of great note, have suffered. The great cities of *Sardis*
c so famous in the *Greek* history, of *Pergamus*, the capital of a rich kingdom, of *Ephesus*, the metropolis of all *Asia*, are at present but small villages: *Thyatira*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, *&c.* are known only by some antient inscriptions; whereas *Smyrna*, tho' often destroyed by earthquakes (D), is still one of the richest and most populous cities in the east, being resorted to by all the trading nations of *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*. They reckon in the city fifteen thousand *Turks*, ten thousand *Greeks*, eighteen hundred *Jews*, two hundred *Armenians*, and as many *Franks*. Its territory is very fertile and pleasant, abounding chiefly in vines and olive-trees; but the air is not reckoned very wholesome. *Smyrna* was one of the seven churches mentioned in the *revelations*, and is the only one that still remains in any reputation.

d As for the particular history of the *Smyrnæans*; their city at first belonged to the *Æolians*, as we have hinted above, but was taken from them by the *Ionians* in the following manner. A great many of the inhabitants of *Colophon*, an *Ionian* city, being driven out on account of a sedition they had raised at home, fled to the *Smyrnæans*, who received them with great kindness, which they requited with the utmost ingratitude. For not long after, while the inhabitants were performing certain religious ceremonies in honour of *Bacchus* without the walls, they shut the gates, and seized on the city. This alarmed all the *Æolians*, who hastened to the assistance of their countrymen with what forces they could raise; but the *Colophonians* being supported by the other cities of *Ionia*, both parties came
e to an agreement, whereby it was stipulated, that the *Ionians* should restore to the *Smyrnæans* all their effects, and the *Æolians* on their part should quit their claim to the city. The *Smyrnæans* consenting to these conditions were distributed among the other eleven *Ionian* cities, and allowed to enjoy the same privileges. The *Colophonians* continued in possession of *Smyrna*, which was thenceforth reckoned among the twelve *Ionian* cities [u]. It was afterwards taken by *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*, and continued subject to the *Lydians* till the time of *Cyrus*, by whose general *Harpagus* it was brought under the *Persian* yoke, with the other cities of *Ionia*. The *Smyrnæans*, according to the character *Aristides* gives them [w], followed their pleasures, and live in great luxury, but, what seldom happens, were at the

[t] Pausan. Achaic. c. 5. [u] Herodot. l. 1. [w] Aristid. in Smyrnæ Encomio.

(C) To this alluded *Statius* (3) when he said in commending *Lucan* born near the *Bætis*, that the *Bætis* would be one day more famous than the *Meles* itself, *Graio nobilior Melete Bætis*; and *Tibullus* (4), when he stiled *Homer*'s poem *Meletæas Chartas*.

(D) The *Greeks* of the country count six dreadful Earthquakes, which destroyed the greatest part of the town; and they have a tradition, that it is to be utterly ruined by the seventh, and never after rebuilt (5).

(3) *Stat. 2. Syl. carm. 7. vers.* 34. (4) *Tibull. l.* 4. *Eleg.* 1. *vers.* 200. (5) *Le Bruyn. ubi supra.*

the ſame time ready to exert themſelves, when called upon, and behaved with great a gallantry (E).

Clazomenæ. *Clazomenæ*, now *Vourla* as is commonly believed, was one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, and of great note in the flouriſhing times of *Greece*. The ancient city, as *Pauſanias* [x] informs us, ſtood on the continent, and was by the *Ionians* fortified at a vaſt expence, in order to put a ſtop to the *Perſian* conqueſts. But the inhabitants were ſo terrified after the defeat of *Cræſus* and ſurrender of *Sardis*, that they abandoned the city on the continent, and withdrew with all their effects to one of the neighbouring iſlands, where they built the city of *Clazomenæ*, ſo often mentioned in the *Roman* hiſtory. *Alexander* joined it to the continent by a cauſe-way two hundred and fifty paces long [y]; whence *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and moſt of the b antient geographers count it among the cities on the continent. The *Romans* always treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs, knowing of what importance their city was for carrying on their conqueſts in *Aſia*; for they not only declared them a free people, but moreover put them in poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Drymuſa*, and often quarelled with the princes of *Aſia* on their account [z]. *Auguſtus* repaired and embelliſhed their city with many ſtately buildings, whence on ſome medals he is ſtiled the founder of *Clazomenæ* (E), though this city was without all doubt founded by the *Ionians*, and from the very beginning one of the *Ionian* confederacy. Some antiquaries take *Clazomenæ* for the antient city of *Grynium*, which gave the epithet of *Grynæus* to *Apollo*; for there was in antient times a famous temple of *Apollo* in the c neighbourhood of *Clazomenæ*; *Cybele* likewiſe was one of their chief deities, and alſo *Diana*, as we gather from ſeveral antient medals and inſcriptions. The *Clazomenians* held out againſt the *Lydians*, after moſt of the other cities of *Ionia* were reduced by *Alyattes*, who beſieged, but could not maſter *Clazomenæ*. The *Perſians* got poſſeſſion of it in the time of *Cyrus*, who carried all before him, and thought it of ſuch conſequence, that they could not be induced to part with it at the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. *Alexander* reinſtated them in their antient liberty and privileges, which were rather enlarged than diminiſhed by the *Romans*, whom they aſſiſted on all occaſions with great fidelity.

Erithræ. *Erithræ*, one of the twelve *Ionian* cities, is placed by ſome on the ſhore over- d againſt the iſland of *Chios*, but by *Strabo* [a] on the peninſula, at the foot of mount *Mimas*, over-againſt the iſlands called by the antients *Hippi*. *Erithræ* was the ſeat of *Herophile*, one of the *Sybils*, thence called the *Erithræan* [b]. It had a ſpacious harbour called *Cyſſus*, and a temple of *Hercules*, which was reckoned one of the moſt ſtately edifices of all *Aſia*. *Erithræ* ſided on all occaſions with the *Romans*, who rewarded their fidelity with ample privileges, and conſiderably enlarged their territory [c].

Teos. *Teos*, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the *Ionian* peninſula, was likewiſe one of the twelve cities. *Anacreon* was born here, and alſo *Hecatæus* the hiſtorian. The e inhabitants, abandoning in *Anacreon*'s time their native country, where they were grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Perſians*, retired to *Thrace*, and ſettled in the city of *Abdera* [d], which *Timeſius* of *Clazomenæ* had founded (F). They were the only among the *Ionians*, as *Herodotus* obſerves [e], who preferred baniſhment to ſlavery, and are therefore greatly commended by that writer. Some of them returned afterwards to their antient habitation, for in the *Roman* times the city of *Teos* was of ſome note, and well peopled [f]. *Auguſtus* in ſeveral medals is called the founder, which title he may have deſerved by repairing and embelliſhing that, as he did moſt other

[x] Pausan. Achaiac. c. 3. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Liv. l. 38. c. 39. [a] Strabo l. 14. p. 443. [b] Pausan. in Phoc. c. 12. [c] Liv. l. 35. c. 39. [d] Strabo l. 14. p. 443. [e] Herodot. l. 1. c. 168. [f] Liv. l. 37. c. 27.

(E) This gave riſe to the proverb Σμυρναῖος τρόπος mentioned by *Ariſtides*, and apply'd to ſuch as live luxurioufly, but at the ſame time are brave and couragious.

(E) Mr. *Tournefort* makes mention of a medal in the king of *Pruſſia*'s cabinet, with the head of *Auguſtus*, and the inſcription, *Founder of Clazomenæ*. Another is to be ſeen in the *French* king's cabinet, with the head of *Auguſtus*, and on the reverſe ΘΕΑ ΛΙΒΙΑ *the Goddeſs Livia*, round the head of *Auguſtus* is wrote ΚΛΑΖΟΜ.

(F) And hence the ſaying Ἄβδηρα καλὴ Τηΐων ἀποικία, *Abdera a fine colony of the* Teians, ſignifying, that brave men will chuſe to live any where, rather than ſuffer oppreſſion and ſervitude (6). To this ſaying ſome think *Tully* alludes in his epiſtles to *Atticus* (7).

(6) *Vide Eraſ. Chiliad.*

(7) *Cic. ad Attic. l. 7. & 4.*

a other cities of *Aſia*. *Pliny* [g] counts *Teos* among the iſlands, wherein he is contradicted by all the ancient geographers. The ſmall towns of *Eræ* and *Myonneſus*, between *Teos* and *Lebedus*, were formerly ſubject to the *Teians*, who enjoyed a large territory, extending from their city to the neighbourhood of *Lebedus*.

Lebedus, counted by *Mela*, *Strabo*, and *Herodotus* among the twelve *Ionian* cities, ſtood on the iſthmus of the *Ionian* peninſula over-againſt *Smyrna*, and was famous in ancient times for the ſports that were there yearly performed in honour of *Bacchus*. Lebedus.

e *Lyſimachus* utterly ruined the city, and transferred the inhabitants to *Epheſus* [h]. Upon his death they left *Epheſus* and rebuilt *Lebedus*, which, however, never afterwards made any figure, being a village rather than a city [i].

b *Colophon*, now *Altoboſco*, or as others will have it *Belvedere*, was one of the chief cities of the *Ionian* league, ſeated on the coaſt, and not an inland city, as *Pliny* [k] calls it. It was deſtroyed by *Lyſimachus*, and the inhabitants ſent to people *Epheſus*; but after his death rebuilt in a more convenient ſituation. The *Colophonians* were ſo ſkilled in horſemanſhip, that thoſe they ſided with were always ſure of the victory, which gave riſe to the trite proverb [l] (G). *Colophon* was the birth-place of *Nicander*, and one of the ſeven cities that claimed *Homer*, who lived there ſome time, as *Herodotus* informs us in the life of that great poet [m]. The ancients mention a famous grove and temple of *Apollo Clarius* in the neighbourhood of this city [n]. Whence that fabulous deity borrowed the epithet of *Clarius* is uncertain, ſome pretending that his Colophon

c temple ſtood in a ſmall town near *Colophon* called *Claros*, and others maintaining that he was ſo called from a mountain bearing that name. The ſmall town of *Notium* on the ſame coaſt often mentioned by *Livy* belonged to the *Colophonians*, and was by the *Romans* allowed to enjoy the ſame privileges as *Colophon* itſelf [o].

Epheſus, called by the preſent inhabitants *Aiaſaloue*, was in former times the metropolis of all *Aſia*. *Stephanus* gives it the title of *Epiphaneſtate*, or *moſt illuſtrious*, *Pliny* ſtiles it the ornament of *Aſia*, and *Strabo* the greateſt and moſt frequented empory of that continent. How different was the ancient *Epheſus* from the modern, which is but a ſorry village inhabited by thirty or forty *Greek* families, who are not capable, as *Spon* obſerves, to underſtand the epiſtle St. *Paul* wrote to them! Epheſus.

d The ancient city ſtood about fifty miles ſouth of *Smyrna* near the mouth of the river *Cayſter* and the ſhore of the *Icarian* ſea, which is a bay of the *Ægean*; but as it has been ſo often deſtroyed and rebuilt, 'tis no eaſy matter to determine the preciſe place; moſt of our modern travellers are of opinion that the ancient city ſtood more to the ſouth than the preſent, which they argue from the ruins that ſtill remain. *Epheſus* was in ancient times known by the names of *Alopes*, *Ortygia*, *Morges*, *Smyrna Trachæa*, *Samornion*, and *Ptela* [p]; it was called *Epheſus*, according to *Heraclides* [q], from the *Greek* word *Epheſis*, ſignifying *permiſſion*, becauſe *Hercules*, ſays he, permitted the *Amazons* to live and build a city in that place; others tell us that *Epheſus* was the name of the *Amazon* that founded the

e city, for *Pliny* [r], *Juſtin* [s], and *Oroſius* [t] unanimouſly affirm, that it was built by an *Amazon*, while others beſtow this honour upon *Androclus*, ſon of *Codrus*, king of *Athens*, who was the chief of the *Ionians* that ſettled in *Aſia*. But in matters of ſo early a date, it is impoſſible to come at the truth, and therefore not worth our while to dwell on ſuch fruitleſs enquiries. What we know for certain is, that the city, which in the *Roman* times was the metropolis of all *Aſia*, acknowledged *Lyſimachus* for its founder; for that prince having cauſed the ancient city to be entirely demoliſhed, rebuilt at a vaſt expence a new one in a place more convenient and nearer the temple. *Strabo* tells us, that, as the inhabitants ſhewed a great reluctance to quit their ancient habitations, *Lyſimachus* cauſed all the drains, that con-

f veyed the water into the neighbouring fens and the *Cayſter*, to be privately ſtopt up; whereby the city being on the firſt violent rains in great part laid under water, and many of the inhabitants drowned, they were glad to abandon the ancient, and retire to the new city. This new *Epheſus* was greatly damaged by an earthquake in the reign of *Tiberius*, but by that emperor repaired and embelliſhed with ſeveral ſtately

[g] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [h] Pausan. Attic. c. 9. [i] Vide Horatium, l. i. epiſt. 11. [k] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [l] Strabo l. xiv. p. 442. [m] Herodot. vita Homeri, c. 8, [n] Plin. l. v. c. 29. Strab. l. xiv. c. 442. [o] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 39. [p] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [q] Heraclid. de Polit. [r] Plin. ubi ſupra. [s] Justin. l. ii. [t] Orosius, l. i. c. 15.

(G) Τὸν κολοφῶνα ἐπιθεῖναι, *Colophonem addere*, that is to put the laſt hand to a work, to end it with ſucceſs.

ſtately buildings, of which there are now but few ruins to be ſeen, and ſcarce any a
thing worthy of ancient *Epheſus*. The aqueduct, part of which is ſtill ſtanding,
is generally believed to have been the work of the *Greek* emperors; the pillars,
which ſupport the arches, are of fine marble, and higher or lower as the level of
the water required. This aqueduct ſerved to convey water into the city from the
ſpring of *Halitee* mentioned by *Pauſanias*. The gate, now called by the inhabitants,
for what reaſon we know not, *the gate of perſecution*, is remarkable for three
baſs-reliefs on the mould of an exquiſite taſte. The port, of which ſo many medals
have been ſtruck, is at preſent but an open road, and not much frequented. The
Cayſter was formerly navigable, and afforded a ſafe place for ſhips to ride in, but b
is now almoſt choaked up with ſand.

The temple of Diana.

But the chief ornament of *Epheſus* was the ſo much celebrated temple of *Diana*,
built at the common charge of all the ſtates in *Aſia*, and for its ſtructure, ſize, and
furniture accounted among the wonders of the world. This great edifice was ſituate
at the foot of a mountain, and at the head of a marſh, which place they choſe, if
we believe *Pliny*, as leſs ſubject to earthquakes. This doubled the charges, for they
were obliged to be at a vaſt expence in making drains to convey the water that came
down the hill, into the moraſs and the *Cayſter*. *Philo Byzantius* tells us, that in
this work they uſed ſuch a quantity of ſtone, as almoſt emptied all the quarries in
the country; and theſe drains or vaults are what the preſent inhabitants take for
a labyrinth. To ſecure the foundation of the conduits or ſewers, which were to c
bear a building of ſuch a prodigious weight, they laid beds of charcoal, ſays *Pliny*,
well rammed, and upon them others of wool. Two hundred and twenty years,
Pliny ſays four hundred [p], were ſpent in building this wonderful temple by all *Aſia*.
It was four hundred and twenty-five foot in length, and two hundred in breadth,
ſupported by a hundred and twenty-ſeven marble pillars ſeventy foot high, of which
twenty-ſeven were moſt curiouſly carved, and the reſt poliſhed. Theſe pillars were
the works of ſo many kings, and the baſs-reliefs of one were done by *Scopas* the
moſt famous ſculptor of antiquity; the altar was almoſt wholly the work of *Praxi-*
teles. *Cheiromocrates*, who built the city of *Alexandria*, and offered to form mount
Athos into a ſtatue of *Alexander*, was the architect employed on this occaſion. The d
temple enjoyed the privilege of an aſylum, which at firſt extended to a furlong,
was afterwards enlarged by *Mithridates* to a bow-ſhot, and doubled by *Marc Anthony*,
ſo that it took in part of the city; but *Tiberius*, to put a ſtop to the many abuſes
and diſorders that attend privileges of this kind, recalled them all, and declared
that no man guilty of any wicked or diſhoneſt action ſhould eſcape juſtice, though
he fled to the altar itſelf (H). A great many medals are to be ſeen with the heads
of divers emperors, and on the reverſe the temple with a frontiſpiece of two, four,
ſix, and even of eight pillars.

The prieſts, who officiated in this temple, were had in great eſteem, and truſted
with the care of ſacred virgins or prieſteſſes, but not till they were made eunuchs. e
They were called *Eſtiatores* and *Eſſenæ*, had a peculiar diet, and were not allowed
by their conſtitutions to go into any private houſe. They were maintained with the
profits accruing from the lake *Selinuſius*, and another that fell into it, which muſt
have been very conſiderable, ſince they erected a golden ſtatue to one *Artemidorus*,
who being ſent to *Rome* recovered them, after they had been ſeized by the farmers
of the public revenues [q]. All the *Ionians* reſorted yearly to *Epheſus* with their
wives and children, where they ſolemnized the feſtival of *Diana* with great pomp
and magnificence [r], making on that occaſion rich offerings to the goddeſs, and not
forgetting her prieſts. The *Aſiarchæ* mentioned by St. *Luke* [s] were, according to
Beza [t], thoſe prieſts, whoſe peculiar province it was to regulate the public ſports f
that

[p] Plin. l. xvi. c. c. 40. [q] Strab. ubi ſupra. [r] Thucyd. l. iii. [s] Luke Act. 19. [t] Annot. ad Acta.

(H) Pope *Pius* II, in relating this obſerves, that the many ſanctuaries of *Rome*, open to ruffians, and all offenders without diſtinctions have changed that city, otherwiſe quiet, into a den of thieves (8). Thus he wrote before he was raiſed to the papal chair; but that dignity inſpired him, it ſeems, with different ſentiments, for he was the whole time of his pontificate a moſt ſtrenuous aſſerter of what they call the *Eccleſiaſtical immunity*.

(8) *Pius ſecundus in Aſia.*

a that were annually performed at *Epheſus* in honour of *Diana*; they were maintained with the gatherings that were made during the ſports, for all *Aſia* flocked to ſee them. *The great* Diana *of the* Epheſians, as ſhe was ſtiled by her blind adorers [u], was, according to *Pliny* [w], a ſmall ſtatue of ebony, made by one *Canetia*, though commonly believed to have been ſent down from heaven by *Jupiter*. This ſtatue was at firſt placed in a niche, which, as we are told, the *Amazons* cauſed to be made in the trunk of an elm. Such was the firſt riſe of the veneration that was paid to *Diana* in this place. In proceſs of time, the veneration for the goddeſs daily encreaſing among the inhabitants of *Aſia*, a moſt ſtately and magnificent temple was built near the place where the elm ſtood, and the ſtatue of the goddeſs placed in it.

b This was the firſt temple, but not quite ſo ſumptuous as that which we have deſcribed, though reckoned as well as the ſecond among the wonders of the world. The ſecond was ſtill remaining in *Pliny*'s time, and in *Strabo*'s, and is ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed in the reign of *Conſtantine*, purſuant to the edict by which that emperor commanded all the temples of the heathens to be thrown down and demoliſhed; the former was burnt, the ſame day that *Alexander* was born, by one *Eroſtratus*, who owned on the rack that the only thing which had prompted him to deſtroy ſo excellent a work was the deſire of tranſmitting his name to future ages. Whereupon the common council of *Aſia* made a decree forbidding any one to name him; but this prohibition ſerved only to make his name more memorable, ſuch a remarka-

c ble extravagance, or rather madneſs, being taken notice of by all the hiſtorians who have wrote of thoſe times. *Alexander* offered to rebuild the temple at his own expence, provided the *Epheſians* would agree to put his name on the front; but they rejected his offer in ſuch manner as was no-ways taken amiſs by that vain prince, telling him, *that it was not fit one god ſhould build a temple to another* [x]. The pillars and other materials that had been ſaved out of the flames were ſold, and alſo the jewels of the *Epheſian* women, who on that occaſion willingly parted with them, and the ſum raiſed from thence ſerved for the carrying on of the work till other contributions came in, which in a ſhort time amounted to an immenſe treaſure. And this is the temple which *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other *Roman* writers ſpeak of. It ſtood between

d the city and the port, and was built, or rather finiſhed, as *Livy* [y] tells us, in the reign of king *Servius*. Of this wonderful ſtructure there is nothing at preſent remaining but ſome ruins, and a few broken pillars.

THE *Ionians* firſt ſettled at *Epheſus*, under the conduct of *Androclus*, who drove out the *Carians* and *Leleges*, by whom thoſe places were poſſeſſed at his arrival. The city, whether built by him, as *Strabo* affirms, or by one *Cræſus*, or *Epheſus*, long before the *Ionic* migration, as others maintain, became ſoon the metropolis of *Ionia*. It was at firſt governed by *Androclus* and his deſcendants, who aſſumed the royal title, and exerciſed regal authority over the new colony; whence even in *Strabo*'s time the poſterity of *Androclus* were ſtiled kings, and allowed to wear a ſcarlet robe, a ſceptre, and all the enſigns of the royal dignity. In proceſs of time a new

c form of government was introduced, and a ſenate eſtabliſhed, but when, or on what occaſion, this change happened, we know not. This kind of government continued till the time of *Pythagoras*, who lived before *Cyrus the Great*, and was one of the moſt cruel and inhuman tyrants we read of in hiſtory; for having driven out the ſenate, and taken all the power into his own hands, he filled the city with blood and rapines, not ſparing even thoſe who fled to the temple of *Diana* for ſhelter [z]. *Pythagoras* was ſucceeded by *Pindarus*, who bore the ſame ſway in the city, but treated the citizens with more humanity. In his time *Epheſus* being beſieged by *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, he adviſed the inhabitants to devote their city to *Diana*, and faſten the wall by a rope to the pillars of her temple. They followed his advice, and were, in regard of the goddeſs, not only treated with great kindneſs by *Cræſus*,

f but reſtored to their former liberty [a]. *Pindarus* being obliged to reſign his power, retired to *Peloponneſus*. He was, according to *Ælian* [b], grandſon to *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, and *Cræſus*'s nephew. The other tyrants of *Epheſus*, mentioned in hiſtory, are *Athenagoras*, *Comas*, *Ariſtarchus*, and *Hegeſias*, of which the laſt was driven out by *Alexander*, who, coming to *Epheſus* after having defeated the *Perſians* on the banks of the *Granicus*, beſtowed upon *Diana* all the tributes which the *Epheſians* had paid

to

[u] Act. 19. 17. 18. [w] PLIN. l. xix, c. 4. [x] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [y] LIV. l. i. c. 45. [z] SUIDAS.
[a] HERODOT. l. i. POLYÆN. l. vii. ÆLIAN. V. H. l. iii. c. 26. [b] ÆLIAN. ubi ſupra.

to the *Perſians*, and eſtabliſhed a democracy in the city. In the war between *Mithri-* a
dates and the *Romans* they ſided with the former, and by his direction maſſacred all the *Romans* that reſided in their city; for which they were ſeverely fined and reduced almoſt to beggary by *Sylla*, but afterwards treated kindly, and ſuffered to live according to their own laws, as is plain from ſeveral ancient inſcriptions and medals (I). The *Epheſians* were mightily given to ſuperſtition, ſorcery, and curious arts, as the ſcripture ſtiles them[c], whence came the proverb *Epheſian letters*, ſignifying all ſorts of ſpells or charms (K).

Priene. *Priene* was one of the ancient cities of *Ionia*, and the birth-place of *Bias* one of the ſeven wiſe men. *Ptolemy* places it at a great diſtance from the ſea, but all other geographers count it among the maritime towns of *Ionia*. b

Miletus. *Miletus*, now *Palatſchia*, was formerly a city of great note, being ſtiled, by *Pliny*[d] and *Pomponius Mela*[e], the firſt city and metropolis of all *Ionia*. The ſame *Pliny*[f] mentions the antient and new *Miletus*, the former he calls *Lelegeis*, *Pithyuſa*, and *Anactoria*, and *Strabo* tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of *Crete*[g]. The latter was founded, according to *Strabo*[h], by *Neleus* the ſon of *Codrus* king of *Athens*, when he firſt ſettled on that part of *Aſia*. This great city ſtood on the ſouth ſide of the river *Mæander* near the ſea-coaſt. The inhabitants applied themſelves very early to navigation, having founded, according to *Pliny*[i] eighty, according to *Seneca*[k] three hundred and eighty, colonies in different parts of the world. The city itſelf was no leſs famous for a temple and oracle of *Apollo* ſirnamed *Didymæus*, c
than for the wealth and number of its citizens. This temple was burnt by *Xerxes*, but rebuilt by the *Mileſians* to ſuch an immenſe ſize, that it was accounted the greateſt in the world, being equal in compaſs, as *Strabo* atteſts[l], to a village; whence it remained uncovered, but was ſurrounded with a thick grove, in which the prieſts dwelt who ſerved the temple. *Pliny* places this temple and grove at a hundred and fifty-eight furlongs diſtance from the city, but *Strabo* ſays that it ſtood near the walls[m]. Our modern travellers tell us, that there are ſtill large ruins of the temple to be ſeen, but that the town is reduced to a few ſhepherds cottages. Near *Miletus* ſtood mount *Lathmus*, where the moon, as the poets feigned, made her private viſits to *Endymion*. *Thales*, one of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*, and d
the firſt that foretold an eclipſe of the ſun, was born in this city and thence ſurnamed the *Mileſian*, to diſtinguiſh him from a famous *Lyric* poet bearing the ſame name.

Miletus was in a moſt flouriſhing condition in the time of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and accounted the ornament of *Ionia*, as *Herodotus* informs us[n], though it had been ſtrangely afflicted with domeſtic troubles for two generations before, and almoſt reduced to the laſt extremities. Their differences were at laſt compoſed, as the ſame writer informs us[o], by the *Parians*, whom they had choſen from among all the *Greeks* for that purpoſe. Theſe arriving at *Miletus*, and obſerving that the fields round the city lay in great part uncultivated, told the *Mileſians*, that they de- e
ſigned to ſurvey their whole country; which they did accordingly, writing down the name of the owner where-ever they ſaw in that deſolate country any portion of land well cultivated. After they had thus viewed the whole territory, and found but a very ſmall part of it well kept, they returned to the city, and having called an aſſembly, put the government into the hands of thoſe whoſe lands they had found in good condition; not doubting but they would adminiſter the public affairs with the ſame care which they had taken of their own. They ſtrictly enjoined the reſt

[a] Act. xix. 19. [d] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [e] Mela. l. i. c. 17. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Strab. l. xii & xiv. [h] Strab. ubi ſupra. [i] Plin. ibid. [k] Seneca de Conſol. ad Albinam. [l] Strab. ubi ſupra. [m] Plin. & Strab. ubi ſupra. [n] Herodot. l. v. [o] Idem. ibid.

(I) Among others we find one of *Veſpaſian* with this remarkable inſcription ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ.

(K) By the *Epheſian letters* were meant certain obſcure words, and incoherent ſentences, which ſuperſtitious bigots uſed to write on their girdles, and even imprint on their feet, and other parts of their bodies. To this purpoſe *Suidas* tells us, that a famous wreſtler of *Miletus*, having for a long time ſtruggled with an *Epheſian* without being able to conquer him, obſerved at laſt that his adverſary, who had already got the better of thirty robuſt and expert wreſtlers, was armed with the *Epheſian* letters, which he was no ſooner deprived of, than he fell to the ground, owning himſelf conquered (9).

(9) *Vide Eraſmi Chil.*

a reſt of the *Mileſians*, who till that time had been rent into parties and factions, to obey the magiſtrates they had appointed, and in this manner reformed the ſtate of the city [p], which thenceforth daily increaſed in wealth and power. In the time of *Pſammiticus* king of *Egypt* a colony of *Mileſians* ſettled in that country, and built a wall, as *Strabo* tells us, called by the *Egyptians* the *Mileſian* wall [q]. We may judge of the wealth, power, and flouriſhing condition of *Miletus* in thoſe days, from the long and expenſive war which they maintained againſt *Gyges*, *Ardyes*, *Sadyattes*, and *Halyattes* kings of *Lydia*, without being aſſiſted by any of the *Ionians* except the *Chians*, whom they had ſupported againſt the *Erythræans*. In what manner this war was carried on, and how *Halyattes* was at laſt obliged to ſue for peace, we have
b already related in the hiſtory of *Lydia* [r]. After the defeat of *Cræſus* and taking of *Sardis*, all the *Ionians* ſent embaſſadors to *Cyrus*, offering to ſubmit to him on the ſame terms which had been granted them by *Cræſus*; but that prince, rejecting the propoſals of the others, admitted the *Mileſians* alone on the foot of their former agreement with the *Lydians*. By this indulgence of *Cyrus*, *Miletus* flouriſhed above all the cities of *Ionia*, till it fell into the hands of *Hiſtiæus* and *Ariſtagoras*, who brought ruin not only on their own country, but on all *Ionia*; for *Miletus* was beſieged, taken, and laid in aſhes by the *Perſians*, whom they had provoked, and the inhabitants transferred firſt to *Suſa*, and thence to *Ampæ*, a city on the *red ſea*, not far from the mouth of the *Tigris*. The *Athenians* were ſo grieved at their
c misfortune, that they mourned and ſhed tears when they firſt heard it, no otherwiſe than if the like calamity had happened to *Athens* itſelf; and ſome time after one *Phrynicus*, a dramatic poet, having wrote a tragedy on the deſtruction of *Miletus*, the whole theatre burſt out into tears when it was exhibited, and the magiſtrate fined the author in a thouſand drachmas for renewing the memory of a misfortune, which they looked upon as their own, ordering at the ſame time that the piece ſhould never more be acted [s]. The *Perſians* having thus utterly ruined *Miletus*, and tranſplanted the inhabitants, the lands about the town and level country they reſerved for themſelves, but beſtowed the hilly and leſs fruitful parts on the *Carians* of *Pedieis*. This misfortune befel *Miletus* ſix years after the revolt of *Ariſtagoras*
d in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and had been long before foretold, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus* (L). However, the *Mileſians* were ſuffered afterwards to return and rebuild their city, which they did in a different place from that of the former, as we conjecture from the prediction of *Thales* related by *Plutarch* [t]; for that philoſopher deſired his body might be buried in an abandoned and ſolitary place at ſome diſtance from the city, ſaying, that it would one day become the market-place of the *Mileſians*. The inhabitants never afterwards recovered their former power; for we find them eight years before the *Peloponneſian* war contending with the *Samians* for the ſovereignty of *Priene*, and obliged to call in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance, for which piece of ſervice they ſided with them in the
e *Peloponneſian* war, till they were perſuaded by *Alcibiades*, then in baniſhment, to join the *Lacedæmonians* [u]. In the time of *Cyrus* the younger they attempted to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and join that prince againſt his brother *Artaxerxes*; but *Tiſſaphernes*, governor of that province, having timely notice of their deſign, put ſome of the chief conſpirators to death, baniſhed others, and reduced the city to a miſerable ſtate of ſlavery. At the famous peace of *Antalcidas* it was given up to the *Perſians*, and remained ſubject to them till the time of *Alexander*, who reſtored them to their ancient liberty, notwithſtanding they had ſhut their gates againſt him, and did not ſubmit till reduced to the laſt extremities [w]. By the *Romans* they were treated very kindly, and ſuffered to enjoy their liberty, eſpecially under the emperors.

THE

[p] Idem. ibid. [q] STRAB. l. xvii. [r] Vol. II. [s] HERODOT. l. vi. [t] PLUTARCH. in Solon. [u] THUCYD. l. i. iv. viii. [w] STRAB. l. xiv. & PLUT. in Alexandro.

(L) That author tells us (10), that the *Argians* having conſulted the oracle touching the fate of their city, received a double anſwer, partly concerning themſelves, and partly the *Mileſians*; the anſwer relating to the *Mileſians* was uttered in the following terms; "*Miletus*, ſource of evils, thy ſtores "and wealth ſhall ſerve to feaſt and inrich a mul"titude; men with long hair ſhall ſit and have "their feet waſhed by thy virgins; *Didyma* ſhall "ſee her altars transferred to another place." What the oracle is ſaid to have foretold was fulfilled; for the greater part of the men were put to the ſword by the *Perſians*, who wore long hair; the women and children were made ſlaves, and the temple in *Didyma*, with the grove and oracle, reduced to aſhes.

(10) *Herodot. l.* vi.

THE *Milesians*, like the other states of *Ionia*, when free from a foreign yoke, a were often reduced to a miserable state of slavery by tyrants of their own, who governed them with an arbitrary sway, and made them feel all the evils of a foreign subjection. The first, who usurped this power over their fellow-citizens, were *Thoas* and *Damasenor*, who, as *Plutarch* informs us [x], filled the city with blood and slaughter, and spared none but such as submitted to their usurped authority. These being destroyed, or driven out, *Thrasybulus* usurped the sovereignty, which he maintained to his death. In his time and by his means an end was put to the war, which had been for many years carried on between the *Lydians* and *Milesians*, as we have related at length in the history of *Lydia* [y]. He was so famous for his prudence in the administration of public affairs, that most of the petty tyrants of *Greece* courted his friendship, and governed themselves in their unjust usurpations by his advice. b Among these *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth* is said to have dispatched a messenger to him, to inquire what methods he had pursued in so settling his authority among the *Milesians*, that none of the citizens entertained any thoughts of shaking off the yoke which he had imposed upon them. *Thrasybulus*, unwilling to send an answer either in writing or by word of mouth, took the slave into a corn-field, and there, as it were by way of amusement, struck off all the ears of corn that overtopped the rest. Then he sent back the messenger without any answer. *Periander* understood the hint, put all those to death whose overgrown power gave him any umbrage, and thereby enjoyed, without disturbance, the authority he had usurped [z]. Upon the death of *Thrasybulus* several other tyrants rose up, mentioned by *Herodotus* [a], *Plutarch* [b], and other writers [c]. Among these the most famous in history c are *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*, who in attempting to shake off the yoke of the *Persian* kings, by whom they were supported, brought utter destruction upon all the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*, as we have related at length in the history of *Persia* [d]. In the time of *Antiochus* II. king of *Syria*, we read of one *Timarchus* reigning in *Miletus*, and practising great cruelties on the citizens, till he was driven out by that prince, who was on that account honoured by the *Milesians* with the surname of *Theos* or *God* [e]. *Miletus* gave birth to the celebrated philosophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, and *Thales*. The islands of *Chios* and *Samos* were likewise inhabited by the *Ionians*, and belonged to their confederacy; but we shall have occasion to speak of them in the following chapter, containing the history of the *Greek* islands.

Description of Æolis.

Æolis, so called from the *Æolians*, who settled in this part of *Asia*, extended, d according to *Strabo* [f], from the promontory *Lectus* to the river *Hermus*, and contained the following cities, *Cyme*, *Larissa*, *Neontichos*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notion*, *Ægiræssa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*, and in more ancient times *Smyrna*, which, as we have related above, was taken from the *Æolians* by the *Ionians*. These are the eleven ancient cities of *Æolis* mentioned by *Herodotus* [g]. *Cyme* stood on the sea-coast, and was the last of the maritime cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*. *Larissa* belongs properly to *Troas*, and is placed by *Strabo* [h] between *Achæum* and *Colonæ*. In former times *Æolis* comprehended all *Troas*, and extended along the coast from *Ionia* to the *Propontis*. *Neontichos*, or *Neon-Tichos* is mentioned by *Thucydides* [i] as situate in the country of the *Apodoti*, who were a peculiar tribe of *Æolians* inhabiting the sea-coast [k]. *Tenus*, called also *Temnos*, is placed by *Pliny* at the mouth of e the *Hermus*, but by all other geographers in the inland parts of *Æolis*. *Cylla* was a colony of the *Æolians* on the sea-coast of *Mysia*. *Notium* stood on the sea-side about two miles from *Colophon* [l], and was in after-ages subject to the *Colophonians*. Authors do not agree about the precise situation of *Ægiræssa*, some placing it on the coast, and others at a great distance from the sea. *Pitane* was a considerable town not far from the mouth of the *Caicus* [m]. The inhabitants of this city are said to have had the art of making bricks that floated, like wood, upon the water. *Ægæa* or *Ægæ*, bordered on the territory of *Syme*, and is counted by *Strabo* [n] among the mediterranean cities of *Æolis*. *Myrina*, the most ancient city of all *Æolis*, stood on the coast, and had a very safe and capacious harbour. It was in after-ages called *Sebastopolis* in honour of *Augustus*. To these *Pliny*, *Strabo*, f and

[x] PLUT. in Prolem. [y] Hist. Univer. p. 334. [z] ARISTOT. Politic. l. iii. c. 10. POLYÆN. l. vi. ZONAR. tom. 2. FRONTINUS, l. ii. c. 15; [a] HERODOT. l. iv. v. vi. [b] PLUT. in Sympos. [c] POLYÆN. l. i. TZETZES Chiliad. 3. & 9. PROBUS in Miltiad. [d] Vide p. 107, 108, 109. [e] APPIAN. in Syriac. Prolog. in Trogum, l. xxvi. [f] STRAB. l. xiii. [g] HERODOT. l. i. c. 149. [h] STRAB. l. xiii. [i] HERODOT. l. i. [k] THUCYD. l. viii. [l] Idem, l. iii. [m] LIV. l. xxxvii. [n] STRAB. l. xiii. [o] Idem, ibid.

a and *Pomponius Mela*, add *Grynium* and *Elæa*; the former was about forty furlongs diſtant from *Myrina*, and famous for a temple and grove conſecrated to *Apollo*, whence the ſurname of *Grynæus* is often given by the poets to that deity [o]; the latter, which was the port of *Pergamus*, and the birth-place of *Zeno* the philoſopher, ſtood near the mouth of the *Caicus* [p]. *Cyme*, or as others write it, *Cuma*, was the metropolis of all *Æolis*.

Doris, properly ſo called, was that large promontory of *Caria*, which runs into the ſea over-againſt the iſland of *Telos*. The chief cities of *Doris* were, *Halicarnaſſus*, formerly the capital of *Caria*, and famous for the *Mauſoleum* or tomb built by queen *Artemiſia*, in honour of her huſband *Mauſolus*, which was of ſo noble a b ſtructure, that the ancients looked upon it as one of the wonders of the world. This city gave birth to the two celebrated hiſtorians, *Herodotus* and *Dionyſius*, and to the poets *Heraclitus* and *Callimachus*. It ſtood between the *Cemaric* and *Jaſian* bays, and was reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt cities of *Aſia* [q]. It is now a heap of ruins, and known by the name of *Neſi*. *Cnidus* ſtood on the ſea called *Triopium* [r], having on the north the *Ceramic*, or as others call it the *Ceraunian*, bay, and on the ſouth the *Rhodian ſea*. This city was formerly famous for the *Venus* of *Praxiteles*; and as *Venus* was the tutelary goddeſs of the place, ſhe is thence often ſtiled by the poets; the *Cnidian* goddeſs [s]. *Lindus*, *Jaliſſus* and *Camrus*, were likewiſe cities of the *Dorians*, as *Herodotus* informs us, but we find nothing relating to them c worth mentioning [t].

Doris.

THAT the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*, who ſettled in *Aſia Minor*, were *Greek* nations, is not to be doubted. Profane writers give us the following account of their origin, and firſt ſettling on the coaſt of *Aſia*. *Deucalion*, ſay they, who reigned in *Theſſaly*, and is famous for the flood that happened in his time, had by his wife *Pyrrha* two ſons, *Helenus* and *Amphictyon*. *Helenus*, who is ſuppoſed to have given the name of *Helenes* to the *Greeks*, had three ſons, *Æolus*, *Dorus* and *Xuthus*. *Æolus*, who was the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and, beſides *Theſſaly*, had for his ſhare *Locris* and *Bœotia*. Many of his deſcendants went into *Peloponneſus* with *Pelops* the ſon of *Tantalus* king of *Phrygia*, and ſettled in *Laconia*. The country d in the neighbourhood of mount *Parnaſſus* fell to *Dorus*, and was from him called *Doris*. *Xuthus* being obliged by his brothers to quit his native country, for appropriating part of his father's effects to himſelf without their knowledge, retired to *Attica*, where he married the daughter of *Erectheus* king of *Athens*, by whom he had two ſons, *Achæus* and *Ion*.

Origin of the Ionians, Dorians *and* Æolians.

AN involuntary murder committed by *Achæus*, obliged him to retire to *Peloponneſus*, which was then called *Ægialea* or *Ægialos*; but the country, where he ſettled, ever after bore the name of *Achaia*. Some writers tell us, that he afterwards left *Achaia*, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom of *Theſſaly*. *Ion* commanded the *Athenian* forces againſt *Eumolpus* the *Thracian*, who had invaded *Attica*, and ſo e diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that occaſion, that the *Athenians* intruſted him with the government of their city, and were from that time called alſo *Ionians*. Though in proceſs of time they thought fit to lay aſide this name, yet it was not altogether out of uſe in the time of *Theſeus*, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the *Iſthmus*, to ſhew the bounds of the *Athenians* on one ſide, and the *Peloponneſians* on the other; on the eaſt ſide of the pillar was this inſcription; *This is not* Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia, and on the ſouth ſide; *this is not* Ionia, *but* Peloponneſus [t]. In the time that *Ion* governed *Athens* the citizens increaſed to ſuch a degree, that their country, being not only unfruitful, but confined within narrow bounds, was no longer able to furniſh them with neceſſary proviſions. This forced them to contrive ſome means f to diſburden it, and therefore they ſent colonies to ſettle in *Peloponneſus*, and theſe gave the name of *Ionia* to that part which they poſſeſſed. Thus all the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus*, though compoſed of different nations, were blended under the general names of *Achæans* and *Ionians* [u].

ABOUT fourſcore years after the taking of *Troy* the *Heraclidæ*, or deſcendants of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus* with a deſign to recover that country, which of right belonged to them. They were conducted in this enterprize by three chief leaders, the

[o] Vide Virgil. eclog. 6. & l. 4. Æneid. verſ. 345. [p] STRABO l. 13. [q] ARRIAN. l. 1. expedit. Alexandr. [r] HORAT. l. 3. ode 28. [s] HERODOT. l. 1. [t] PLUT. in Theſ. [u] PAUSAN. init. Lacon. & Eliac. [t] ERATOST. apud CLEM. ALEX. ſtrom. Apoll. l. 2.

the ſons of *Ariſtomachus*, namely *Temenus*, *Creſphontes*, and *Ariſtodemus*; the laſt a dying before the reduction of the country, his two ſons *Euryſthenes* and *Procles* ſuc- ceeded him. The expedition proved ſucceſsful, and the *Heraclidæ*, having recovered the poſſeſſion of their ancient dominions, divided them among themſelves; in which diviſion *Argos* fell to *Temenus*, *Meſſenia* to *Creſphontes*, and *Laconia* to the two ſons of *Ariſtodemus* [w].

SUCH of the *Achæans* as were deſcended from *Æolus*, and had inhabited *Laconia*, being driven from thence by the *Dorians*, who attended the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, ſettled in that part of *Aſia Minor*, which from them took the name of *Æolis*, and built there *Smyrna* with eleven other cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was afterwards ſeized by the *Ionians*. From *Æolis* they ſent colonies to the iſland of *Leſbos*, and there founded ſeveral cities. The *Achæans* of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*, being expelled by the *Heraclidæ*, ſeized upon that part of *Peloponneſus*, which was held by the *Ionians*. The latter at firſt returned to *Athens*, their original country, and ſoon after departed from thence under the conduct of *Nileus* and *Androcles*, the two ſons of *Codrus*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the weſtern coaſt of *Aſia Minor*, lying between *Caria* and *Lydia*, which from them was named *Ionia*. There they built the cities, which we have deſcribed above [x].

THE power of the *Athenians*, who were then governed by *Codrus*, increaſing daily, the *Heraclidæ* thought proper to oppoſe their progreſs, but were defeated in a general engagement. Notwithſtanding this overthrow they maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of *Megaris*, where they built the city of *Megara*, placing there the *Dorians*, who had aſſiſted them, in the room of the *Ionians* whom they had driven out [y]. Of theſe *Dorians* ſome continued in *Megara* after the death of *Codrus*, others paſſed over into *Crete*; but the greateſt part, being perpetually haraſſed by the *Athenians*, abandoning their country, ſettled in that part of *Aſia Minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and built there *Halicarnaſſus*, *Cnidus*, and the other cities mentioned above [z]. The *Ionic* migration is ſaid by all chronologers, except *Euſebius* and his followers, to have happened an hundred and forty years after the taking of *Troy*, and ſixty after the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, that is, about ſeven hundred and ninety four before the *Chriſtian æra*. The *Æolic* migration preceded the *Ionic* about fifty-two years, and that of the *Dorians* was poſterior to the *Ionic* near ſeventy.

THIS is the account, which profane writers give us of theſe migrations; but their authority in matters of ſo remote a date is not much to be depended on. There were ſcarce any records in thoſe rude and illiterate ages, even among the *Greeks*; whence they have obſcured their origin with idle tales, and poetical fictions, there being ſcarce any thing related by their hiſtorians concerning their origin that deſerves credit, or carries in it the leaſt appearance of truth. Others, perhaps upon better grounds, take the *Ionians* to be deſcended from *Javan*, the fourth ſon of *Japheth*; and indeed the *Greek* tranſlators of the holy ſcripture inſtead of *Javan* read *Jaon*, and thoſe who are by other writers called *Iones*, are by *Homer* named *Iaones*. Now *Javan* and *Jaon* found ſo like each other, that one may conclude they were the ſame. This opinion receives no ſmall confirmation from holy writ, where the name of *Javan* is uſed for *Greece* (M). *Javan* is ſaid to have come into *Greece* after the confuſion of *Babel*, and to have ſettled in *Attica*, whence the *Attics* were named *Iaones* and *Iones*. This name the inhabitants of *Attica*, as we have obſerved above, laid aſide, but theſe who paſſed into *Aſia* retained the ſame appellation. According to this opinion the *Ionians* were a colony from *Attica*; but *Hecatæus*, as quoted by *Strabo* [a], tells us, that the *Athenians* or *Iones* of *Greece* were a colony of

[w] STRABO l. 8. 383, &c. PAUSAN. l. 7. p. 396, &c. in Achaic. [y] STRABO ubi ſupra. p. 393. [a] STRABO l. 13.

[x] ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſtor. l. 1. c. 5. PAUSAN. [z] Idem ibid. p. 653. PAUSAN. Achaiac. p. 206. Ælian. l. 8 Var. c. 5.

(M) Two inſtances we have in *Daniel*: *And when I am gone forth, behold the prince of* Grecia *ſhall come* (11). And again, *He ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of* Grecia (12). Where though the vulgar tranſlators do not render it *Javan*, yet that is the word in the original. And in *Iſaiah*; *And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to the nations in the ſea, in* Italy *and in* Greece. Where the *Tigurine* verſion and that of *Geneva* retain the *Hebrew* words, uſing the names of *Tubal* and *Javan*, inſtead of *Italy* and *Greece*.

(11) *Daniel c.* x. *ver.* 20. (12) *Idem c.* xi. *v.* 2.

of thoſe in *Aſia*. As the parts of *Aſia* poſſeſſed by the *Greeks* lye directly in the way from the valley of *Shinaar* into *Greece*, it is not without foundation, that ſome have believed *Javan* to have firſt ſettled in *Aſia*, and from thence, not having room enough on the coaſt, to have ſent colonies into *Greece*, at that time uninhabited, under the conduct of his eldeſt ſon *Eliſha*, who founded, according to them, the city of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*. From *Eliſha* *Joſephus* ſuppoſes the *Æolians* to be deſcended, and therefore calls them *Eliſæi* [b].

Their Government.

THE *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Dorians* were at firſt governed by kings, and divided into many petty kingdoms, the monarchical form of goverment prevailing, at the time of their migration, all over *Greece*. Beſides, *Herodotus* tells us in expreſs
b terms, that ſome of the *Ionians* choſe only *Lycian* kings of the race of *Glaucus*, others ſuch only as were ſprung from *Codrus*, and that ſome indifferently raiſed to the throne princes of either of theſe families [c]. But the actions and very names of their kings are buried in oblivion. Monarchy gave way to a republican government, which was ſettled in almoſt all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia Minor*, each of them being governed by their own laws, and no-ways dependent on one another. However, in moſt of theſe ſtates ſome private citizens, without any right to the throne, either by birth or election, endeavoured to advance themſelves to it by cabal, treachery, and violence, ſacrificing to their own ſecurity all thoſe, whom merit, rank, zeal for liberty, or love of their country rendered obnoxious to them. It was
c this cruel and inhuman treatment that rendered theſe uſurpers ſo odious to the people, and furniſhed ſuch ample matter for the declamations of orators, and the tragical repreſentations of the theatre.

THE *Ionians*, on their arrival in *Aſia*, divided themſelves into twelve ſmall ſtates or cantons, having been thus divided, while they inhabited *Peloponneſus*, as were afterwards the *Achæans* who drove them out. Of theſe twelve ſtates conſiſted the *Ionian* confederacy, ſo often mentioned by the ancients. The chief and moſt powerful city of the whole confederacy was *Miletus*. To thoſe we have already deſcribed *Thucydides* adds the cities of the iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Imbros* [d], and *Velleius* [e] thoſe of *Delos*, *Paros*, *Andros*, *Tenos*, which were all, according to that writer,
d peopled by the *Ionians*. Some of the cities we have mentioned were built by the *Ionians*, others they poſſeſſed themſelves of after driving out the antient proprietors. As they brought no women with them out of *Greece*, they forced thoſe of *Caria* away from their parents, putting to death ſuch of their relations as oppoſed them; in revenge of which violence and cruelty the *Carian* women bound themſelves by an oath, which they tranſmitted as ſacred to their daughters, never to take any repaſt with their huſbands, or call them by their names [f]. The *Ionians* being thus eſtabliſhed in the moſt fruitful and pleaſant part of all *Aſia*, their number ſoon increaſed, new adventurers joining them from other countries of *Greece*; the *Abantes* from *Eubœa*, who had nothing in common with the *Ionians*, were no inconſiderable
e part of this colony; the *Mynian Orchomenians*, the *Cadmæans*, *Dryopians*, and *Moloſſians*, with the *Pelaſgians* of *Arcadia*, the *Dorians*, *Epidaurians*, and many others of the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, were, as *Herodotus* informs us [g], intermixed with the *Athenians*, who were ſent by the *Prytanæan* council. The latter, who were true and genuine *Ionians*, as deriving their original from *Athens*, built a temple, which from themſelves they called the *Pan-Ionium* (N). The privileges of this place they communicated to no other *Ionians*; neither did the others, as we read in *Herodotus* [g], ever deſire to be admitted, except the *Smyrnæans*, moſt of them being of the name of *Ionians*, that people having ſoon degenerated from the virtue of their anceſtors, and given themſelves up to all manner of vice. The *Pan-Ionium* was a ſacred place
f on the promontory of *Mycale*, dedicated by the *Ionian* confederacy to *Neptune*, ſirnamed *Heliconius*. Here the *Ionians* met to perform ſolemn exerciſes in honour of that deity, and to hold their general aſſemblies. This feſtival was peculiar to the

[b] JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. 1. [c] HERODOT. l. 1. [d] THUCYD. l. 7. [e] VELLEI. l. 1.
[f] HERODOT. l. 1. [g] Idem, ibid.

(N) The temple was called *Pan-Ionium*, from the concourſe of people that flocked thither, from all the cities of *Ionia*. A feſtival was kept here by all the *Ionians* in honour of *Neptune*, ſirnamed *Heliconius*, from *Helice*, a city of *Achaia*, which afterwards periſhed by an earthquake. One thing was remarkable in this ſacrifice, *viz.* that if the bull offered happened to bellow, it was accounted a good omen, becauſe that ſound was thought to be acceptable to *Neptune*.

the *Athenian Ionians*; but the *Apaturian* ſolemnity (O) was common to all thoſe of a the *Ionian* name, except the *Epheſians* and *Colophonians*, who were excluded under pretence of a murder committed in their cities [h].

The *Dorians*, on their arrival in *Aſia*, formed themſelves into ſix independent ſtates or ſmall republics, which were confined within the narrow bounds of ſo many cities; theſe were *Lindus*, *Jalyſus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, *Cnidus*, and *Halicarnaſſus*. Other cities in that tract, which was from them called *Doris*, belonged to their confede- racy; but the inhabitants of theſe alone, as true and genuine *Dorians*, were admit- ted into their temple at *Triope*, where they exhibited ſolemn games in honour of *Apollo Triopius*. The prizes were tripods of braſs, which the victors were obliged to conſecrate to *Apollo*, and leave in the temple on an altar of gold. When *Aga- ſicles* of *Halicarnaſſus* won the prize, he tranſgreſſed this cuſtom, and carried the b tripos to his own houſe: Wherefore the city of *Halicarnaſſus* was ever afterwards excluded from the *Dorian* confederacy; ſo that the *Dorians* were from that time known by the name of the five cities [i].

The *Æolians* were divided, like the *Ionians* and *Dorians*, into ſeveral ſmall ſtates or cantons, independent of each other, but united in one common confederacy or league. They poſſeſſed at firſt twelve cities; but *Smyrna*, as we have related above, was taken from them by the *Ionians* of *Colophon*. Their country was of greater extent than that of the *Ionians*, but far inferior to it in all other reſpects, *Ionia* being, in the opinion of *Herodotus* [k], the moſt fruitful and agreeable region of all *Aſia*. The c *Dorians*, beſides the cities which belonged to them on the continent, poſſeſſed five in the iſland of *Leſbos*, one in *Tenedos*, and another in the *hundred iſlands*, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of in a more proper place. Thus the *Greek* ſtates in *Aſia* were governed much after the ſame manner as thoſe in *Europe*, forming three different confederacies, of which the cities were governed by their own laws, and the three different confederacies by their reſpective general aſſemblies or diets.

Their religion, laws, &c.

The religion and laws of the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia* were much the ſame with thoſe of *Greece*. Their principal deities were *Ceres*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Neptune*. The *Ionians*, who came from *Athens*, celebrated, every fifth year, the myſteries of *Ceres Eleuſina*, which we have already deſcribed [l]. The *Mileſians* worſhipped d *Apollo Didymæus* as their tutelary god, whence he was likewiſe called *Apollo Mile- ſius*. Near the city of *Miletus* was a famous oracle of *Apollo*, called the oracle of *Apollo Didymæus*, and alſo the oracle of the *Branchidæ*; the former denomination it had from *Apollo* or the *ſun*, who was ſirnamed *Didymæus*, as *Macrobius* informs us [m], from the double light imparted by him to mankind; the one directly from his own body, and the other by reflection from the moon; the latter appellation was given both to the oracle and to *Apollo* himſelf, who was called *Branchides*, from one *Branchus* the reputed ſon of *Macareus*, but begotten, as was believed, by *Apollo* (P). This oracle was, as we are aſſured by *Herodotus*, very antient, and the beſt

[h] Herodot. ibid. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] p. 731. [m] Arnob. l. 1.

(O) This feſtival was firſt inſtituted at *Athens*, and from thence derived to the *Aſiatic Ionians*. It was ſo called from the *Greek* word ἀπάτη ſignifying *deceit*, having been firſt inſtituted in memory of a ſtratagem, by which *Melanthius* king of *Athens* overcame *Xanthus* king of *Bœotia*. For a contro- verſy ariſing between the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* about a piece of ground lying on the confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, *Xanthus* propoſed, that an end ſhould be put to the diſpute by a ſingle combat be- tween himſelf and the *Athenian* king. *Thymætes*, at that time king of *Athens*, declined the fight, and was depoſed. In his room was choſen one *Melan- thius* a *Meſſenian*, who, having accepted the chal- lenge, met his enemy at the appointed place. But before they began the fight, *Melanthius* pretending to ſee one behind *Xanthus*, habited in a black goat's ſkin, cried out, that the articles were violated. Up- on this *Xanthus* looking back was treacherouſly ſlain by his adverſary. In memory of this ſucceſs *Jupiter* was ſirnamed Απατήνως, that is *deceiver*. Others tells us, that the *Apaturian* feſtival was ſo called from the *Greek* word ἀπατόρια, becauſe upon that ſolemnity children accompanied their fathers, to have their names entered into the public regiſter. Some are of opinion, that the *Apaturian* feſtival had its name from the *Greek* word ἀπάτορες, that is, *without fathers*, in a civil ſenſe, it not being till that ſolemnity publicly recorded, to whom they belonged. The *Apaturia* was celebrated in the month *Pyanepſian*, and laſted three days (14).

(P) *Varro* tells us, that the mother of *Branchus*, being with child, dreamed, that the ſun entering into her mouth penetrated to her womb; and that from thence the child was called *Branchus* from βρογχὸς, *the throat*, through which the god paſſed. *Bran- chus* received, when he grew up, a crown and ſcepter from *Apollo*, and began to propheſy, but ſoon diſappeared. Whereupon a magnificent temple was dedicated to him and *Apollo Phileſius*, ſo called from

(14) *Athenæus l.* 4.

a beſt of all the *Grecian* oracles, except that of *Delphos* [m]. In the time of the *Perſian* war the temple was burnt down to the ground, being betrayed to the *Babarians* by the *Branchidæ*, or prieſts, who had care of it. *Xerxes* in requital of their ſervice allowed them to ſettle, and build a city, in a remote part of *Aſia*, where they thought themſelves out of the reach of their angry countrymen. But for all this, their treachery did not eſcape condign puniſhment; for *Alexander*, having conquered *Darius* and poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Aſia*, utterly demoliſhed their city, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, revenging on the children the treachery of their forefathers [n].

An annual feaſt was celebrated by the *Ionians* in honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to appeaſe whoſe wrath for an inceſt committed in her temple, men and women uſed
b to walk bare-footed to it. This ſolemnity was inſtituted by the *Athenians*, who till after the *Trojan* war uſed annually to ſacrifice to the angry goddeſs a male and a female child.

Trade.

Their trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions. Their country was ſtocked with many uſeful commodities, and abounded in all things neceſſary for life. They had a ſafe coaſt, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a conſiderable trade. Beſides, we know that they were very powerful by ſea, maintained great fleets, and planted colonies, not only in the neighbouring
c iſlands, but even in *Gaul*, and beyond the pillars of *Hercules*.

Character.

They ſoon degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors, and became a moſt ſuperſtitious, effeminate, and voluptuous people; inſomuch, that the *Ionians*, in the time of *Herodotus*, were looked upon as quite unfit for any military ſervice [o]. They are ſaid to have been the firſt who introduced the uſe of perfumes and garlands at banquets, and alſo of ſweet-meats or deſerts [p]. *Maximus Tyrius*, ſpeaking of the different affections and inclinations of the various *Greek* nations and colonies, tells us, that the *Crotoniates* loved the *Olympic* ſports, the *Spartiates* fine armour, the *Cretans* hunting, the *Sybarites* pompous dreſs, and the *Ionians* laſcivious dances [q]. The *Æolians* and *Dorians*, being planted in a leſs fruitful country, were not ſo ſoon de-
d bauched by the ſoft climate of *Aſia*; they were accounted no-ways inferior to the *European Greeks*, till they were ſubdued by the *Perſians*. But having loſt their liberty, they gave themſelves up to idleneſs, and in a ſhort time became quite unfit for action, and no leſs effeminate than the other *Aſiatics*.

Their hiſtory. Year of the flood, 2441. Before Chriſt 562.

The *Greek* colonies ſettled in *Aſia* enjoyed their liberties, and lived according to their own laws, from the time of their migration to the reign of *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, to whoſe ſuperior power they were forced to ſubmit, after having baffled all the attempts of his predeceſſors. They paid him a yearly tribute, furniſhed him with ſhips and mariners in time of war, and ſent their reſpective quotas of land-forces when required; but at the ſame time were free from all oppreſſion, and ſuffered to
e enjoy a profound tranquility under his mild government [r]. This made them oppoſe *Cyrus* when he firſt invaded *Lydia*, and reject the advantagious propoſals of that prince. But, after the defeat of *Cræſus* and taking of *Sardis*, they ſent embaſſadors to the conqueror, offering to ſubmit to him upon the ſame terms which had been formerly granted to them by *Cræſus*. *Cyrus* having heard them with attention, returned an anſwer in the following apologue: A piper ſeeing numerous ſholes of fiſh in the ſea, and imagining he might entice them aſhore by his muſic, began to play; but finding his hopes diſappointed, he threw a net into the water, and drew a great many of them to the land. When he ſaw the fiſh leaping on the ground, ſince you would not dance, ſaid he, to my pipe before, you may now forbear dancing

[m] Herodot. l. i. [n] Strab. l. xiv. [o] Herodot. l. i. [p] Valer. Max. l. ii. Rer. memorabil. [q] Maxim. Tyrius in Differt. Quis ſit philoſophiæ finis. [r] Herodot. l. i.

from φιλεῖν *to kiſs*, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have imparted the ſpirit of prophecy to *Branchus* by a kiſs. This temple was burnt by the *Perſians*, but afterwards rebuilt with ſuch magnificence, that it ſurpaſſed all the other *Greek* temples in bigneſs, being raiſed to ſuch a bulk, that they were forced to let it remain uncovered, for it was no leſs than five furlongs in compaſs (15)

5 *Strab. l.* xiv.

ing at all. With this answer the *Greek* embassadors returned home, and having communicated it to their countrymen, they resolved in a general assembly to fortify their cities against any sudden attack, and send embassadors to sollicit succours from the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pythermus*, a *Phocæan*, was sent in the name of all the *Greeks* in *Asia*; but the *Spartans* could by no means be prevailed upon to lend them any assistance. However, they dispatched by sea some of their chief men to observe the motions of *Cyrus*, and interpose their good offices with him in behalf of their countrymen. These, putting in at *Phocæa*, sent *Lacrines*, the most considerable person among them, to *Sardis*, with instructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, that if he committed any hostilities against the *Grecian* cities, the republic of *Lacedæmon* would resent them as offered to herself. *Cyrus*, hearing them speak in this stile, inquired of the *Greeks* about him, who the *Lacedæmonians* were, and what number of men they could bring into the field? Being informed of these particulars, he answered the deputy, that he was no-ways afraid of a people, who in the midst of their cities had a place of public resort, where they met to impose on each other by mutual oaths; and that if the gods preserved his life, they should have sufficient cause to be concerned for their own calamities, instead of troubling themselves about those of the *Asiatics*. These words were levelled at the *Greeks* in general, who had in their cities large squares, where they met to trade, a custom unknown to the *Persians* [s].

Year of the World 2459. *Before Christ* 544.

Cyrus, having dismissed the *Lacedæmonian* embassador with this answer, left *Sardis*, and, setting out for *Ecbatan*, charged *Mazares* one of his lieutenants with the reduction of *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*. *Mazares*, pursuant to his commission entering *Ionia*, took and destroyed the city of *Priene*, laid waste the fertile plains that were watered by the *Mæander*, and advancing to *Magnesia*, laid that city likewise in ashes. From *Magnesia* he marched to *Phocæa*, but before he made any attempts upon that important place, he fell sick and died. Upon his death *Harpagus*, being appointed to command the army in *Ionia*, laid close siege to *Phocæa*. The *Phocæans*, detesting slavery, chose rather to abandon their native country, than submit to the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly, having put their wives, children, and all their most valuable effects on board their vessels, they set sail for the island of *Chios*, leaving the *Persians* in possession of an empty city. The example of the *Phocæans* was followed by the *Teians*, who, after *Harpagus* had made himself master of their walls, went on board their ships, and conveyed themselves and their families to *Thrace*, where they settled in the city of *Abdera*, which had been founded by the *Greeks* of the *Ionian* confederacy, under the conduct of *Timesius*, a native of *Clazomenæ*. The other cities of *Ionia* were all reduced by *Harpagus*, and likewise the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and all the inhabitants of the upper *Asia*, except the *Milesians*, who, distrusting their own strength and that of the *Ionians*, had made a separate peace with *Cyrus*, and by a timely submission obtained the same terms, which had been formerly granted them by *Crœsus*. The rapidity of these conquests struck the islanders with such terror, that they all submitted of their own accord. Thus all the *Greek* states, both in the islands and on the continent of *Asia*, were a second time conquered, and forced to live, under the *Persian* monarchs, in a state of greater subjection and dependency than they had ever proved before [t]. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, they made an attempt towards the recovery of their ancient liberty, and maintained a war against the whole power of the *Persian* monarchy, for the space of six years; but were again, in spite of their utmost efforts, brought under subjection, and punished with great severity by the haughty conqueror, for endeavouring to ascertain the rights which they had been unjustly deprived of. But of this war, and the many calamities which it drew upon the *Greek* states in *Asia Minor*, we have already given a particular and distinct account in the history of *Persia* [u], to which we refer the reader.

The *Ionians* assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Athens* with an hundred ships; but as the king had undertaken this war for no other end but to be revenged on the *Athenians* for having sent some ships to the assistance of the *Ionians* when they attempted to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Themistocles*, who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, imagined, that the *Ionians* served in this expedition against their will, and might there-

[s] Idem, ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] p. 107, 108, 109, 110.

a therefore be eaſily prevailed upon to deſert the *Perſians*, and join their ancient allies and countrymen. But as no opportunity offered of conferring with them, or ſending meſſengers, he ſailed in perſon to the place where they uſed to take in freſh water, and there engraved on the rocks the following words: "Men of *Ionia*, "you are guilty of a heinous crime in fighting againſt your fathers, and helping to "enſlave *Greece*. Reſolve therefore to come over to us; or if you cannot do that, "withdraw your forces from the enemy, and perſuade the *Carians* to imitate your "example. But if both theſe ways are impracticable, and you find yourſelves "under an abſolute neceſſity of continuing in the *Perſian* fleet, favour us at leaſt "when we come to an engagement; and remember, that you are not only deſcended
b "from us, but are the original cauſe of the *Barbarians* enmity againſt us." *Themiſtocles* had in ſo doing a double view; he believed that this invitation, if not diſcovered to the king, would induce the *Ionians* to come over to the *Greeks*; and on the other hand, if it ſhould come to the king's ears, he hoped it would make him diſtruſt the *Ionians*, and diſmiſs them. The *Ionians* coming aſhore the next day, as uſual, read on the rocks the invitation of *Themiſtocles*, and reſolved to comply with it; purſuant to which reſolution when the two fleets engaged, the *Ionians* inſtead of falling upon the *Athenians* tacked about and made to ſea. Their flight, which was ſoon followed by that of the *Phœnicians*, contributed not a little to the famous victory gained by the *Athenians* at *Salamis* [w]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the *Ionians*
c by means of a certain *Samian* gave private notice to the *Athenians* of all that paſſed in the enemy's fleet, aſſuring them, that aſſoon as the battle was joined they would deſert the *Barbarians* [x]. This, according to our author, ſo encouraged the *Greeks*, before diſheartened, that they attacked the *Perſian* fleet, contrary to their former determinations, and gained that victory which is ſo famous in hiſtory [y].

THE ſame ſtratagem was uſed by *Leotychides*, commander of the *Greek* fleet, before the battle of *Mycale*. The *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Æolians*, and the inhabitants of the iſlands made no ſmall part of the *Perſian* army, which was drawn up along the ſhore in order to prevent the *Greeks* from making a deſcent into the country. *Leotychides* therefore, ſtanding in to the ſhore as near as he could, ordered a herald
d to ſpeak thus to the *Ionians* in his name: \"Men of *Ionia*, hearken with attention to "my words, for the *Perſians* will not underſtand the advice I give you; when the "battle begins, every one of you ought in the firſt place to remember liberty; "and the next, that the word agreed upon is *Hebe*, if any of you hear me not, "let thoſe who hear inform him." Theſe words had ſuch an effect on the *Greeks*, that in the heat of the engagement they deſerted the *Perſians*, and joined their countrymen, which occaſioned the total overthrow of the *Perſian* army. Before the engagement the *Perſian* generals had appointed the *Mileſians* to guard the paſſes leading to the eminences of *Mycale*, that they might have a ſafe retreat in caſe they were put to flight, and guides to conduct them over the mountains, the *Mileſians*
e being well acquainted with the country. But they, acting quite contrary to their orders, brought back by other ways to the enemy ſuch as fled; by which means few *Perſians* eſcaped the general ſlaughter of that day [z]. Thus the *Aſiatic Greeks* revolted a ſecond time from the *Perſians*, and their behaviour on this occaſion was ſo pleaſing to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they were for tranſplanting them out of *Aſia* into *Greece*. For they were well appriſed, that if the *Ionians* continued in *Aſia*, they would be in perpetual alarms from an enemy that far excelled them in ſtrength, and was near to them; whereas their friends, who were at a great diſtance, could not be aſſiſtant to them ſo opportunely, and at ſuch ſeaſons, as their neceſſity might require. The *Peloponneſians* propoſed to drive thoſe nations out of *Greece*, which
f had ſided with the *Perſians*, and to beſtow their territories and eſtates on the *Ionians*. Upon theſe promiſes the *Ionians* and *Æolians* were preparing to convey themſelves and their effects over into *Europe*. But the *Athenians* perſuaded them to remain in *Aſia*, faithfully promiſing to aſſiſt them on all occaſions to the utmoſt of their power. The *Athenians* were afraid that if the *Ionians* ſhould ſettle in *Europe*, by the common concurrence of the *Greeks*, they would not for the future own *Athens* as their metropolis, and place of their original. The *Peloponneſians* readily yielded to the *Athenians*, and the *Ionians* upon ſecond thoughts determined not to remove out of *Aſia* [a], but

[w] HERODOT. l. viii. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. c. 1. p. 251. [y] Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. ii.
[z] HERODOT. l. ix. [a] HERODOT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. c. 4. p. 261.

but upon the concluſion of the peace between the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, which happened in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, one of the articles, ſworn to by both parties, was, that all the *Greek* ſtates of *Aſia* ſhould be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws [b]. a

The *Ionians*, being thus delivered from the *Perſian* yoke, entered into an alliance with the *Athenians*, who came by degrees to treat them as ſubjects rather than allies, obliging them to contribute all the charges of the *Peloponneſian* war, no otherwiſe than if they had been their vaſſals. Nay, *Euphemus*, who was ſent in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war to draw the *Camarinæans* into an alliance with *Athens*, owned that the *Athenians* had ſubjected both the *Ionians* and iſlanders, for having joined, ſaid he, the *Perſians* againſt their mother city [c]. This was but a poor pretence, b
ſince the victory which the *Athenians* gained at *Salamis*, was in great meaſure owing to the *Ionians* and other *Greeks*, who ſerved on board the *Perſian* fleet, as we have ſeen above. In the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, we find them again ſubject to the *Perſians*, and governed by *Tiſſaphernes*, from whom they revolted to *Cyrus* the younger. Upon the death of *Cyrus* they ſent embaſſadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, imploring their aſſiſtance and protection againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, who was returning to his government at the head of a numerous army, with a deſign to puniſh them for their revolt. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Perſians*, and ſent firſt *Thimbro*, after him *Dercyllidas*, and laſtly *Ageſilaus* c
their king, to invade the *Perſian* provinces in *Aſia*, where they made great conqueſts, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by diſtributing large ſums among the leading men in *Greece*, found means to rekindle the war there, which obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall their king, and conclude a peace with the *Perſians* equally diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to the *Grecian* name. For one of the articles was, that all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould be ſubject to the king of *Perſia*, and beſides the iſlands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomenæ*. Thus were all the *Greeks* ſettled in *Aſia*, with the utmoſt injuſtice and baſeneſs, given up to the *Perſians* [d], whoſe yoke they bore till they were delivered by *Alexander*, who reſtored all the *Greeks* in *Aſia* to the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges [e]. d
After the death of *Alexander*, as they had neither ſtrength nor courage to defend themſelves, they fell under the power of the kings of *Syria*, and continued ſubject to them till the *Romans*, after having delivered *Greece* from the oppreſſions of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, obliged *Antiochus* III. ſurnamed *the great*, to grant the ſame liberty to the *Greek* colonies in *Aſia*, which they had procured for the *Greek* ſtates in *Europe* [f]. Being thus again reinſtated in their ancient rights, moſt of the free cities entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and enjoyed ſuch liberty as the *Romans* uſed to grant, till they were again brought under ſubjection by the famous *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, whom they joined againſt the *Romans*, partly out of fear, and partly out of hatred to *Rome*. By his order they maſſacred, without diſtinction, all the e
Romans and *Italians*, whom either trade or the ſweetneſs of the climate had drawn into *Aſia*. On this occaſion the *Epheſians* diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, not ſuffering even their famous temple of *Diana* to be an aſylum to ſuch *Romans* as fled to it. However, their ready compliance with the cruel and inhuman orders of *Mithridates* did not exempt them from the moſt tyrannical oppreſſion. No wonder then, that upon *Sylla*'s arrival in *Aſia* they abandoned *Mithridates*, and declared for the *Romans*, as they had formerly deſerted the *Romans* to ſide with *Mithridates*. *Epheſus* was the firſt that revolted, and the example of that metropolis was ſoon followed by *Smyrna*, *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Trallis*, *Hypæpene* and *Meſopolis*. The revolt of theſe cities made the king change his conduct. In hopes of keep- f
ing the *Greek* cities ſteady in his intereſt, and ſupporting his faction on the coaſts of *Aſia*, he reſtored all the *Greeks* to the full enjoyment of their liberties, declaring that even the ſlaves ſhould have their ſhare of this univerſal freedom [g]. But they did not long enjoy the liberty, which the king out of a ſelfiſh policy beſtowed upon them. *Sylla*, having routed the ſeveral armies of *Mithridates*, and reduced all the *Leſſer Aſia*, revenged on the *Aſiatics* the death of ſo many thouſand *Romans*, whom

[b] Diodor. ibid. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. [c] Thucydid l. vi. [d] Xenoph. αναβασ. l. i. Diodor. l. xiv. Plut. in Ageſilao. [e] Herodot. l. xvii. c. 2. Arrian. l. iii. [f] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 16. [g] Appian. in Mithridat.

a whom they had inhumanly murdered, by depriving them of their liberty, and laying ſuch heavy taxes and fines on their cities, as reduced them to beggary. The city of *Epheſus* was treated with moſt ſeverity, *Sylla* having ſuffered his ſoldiers to live there at diſcretion, and obliged the inhabitants to pay every officer fifty drachmas, and every ſoldier ſixteen denarii a day. The whole ſum, which the revolted cities of *Aſia* paid *Sylla*, amounted to twenty thouſand talents, that is, 3875000 l. ſterling, for the raiſing of which they were forced to ſell not only their moveables, but even great part of their lands [h]. This was the moſt fatal blow *Aſia* ever received, nor did the inhabitants ever after recover their ancient ſplendor, notwithſtanding the favour ſhewn them by many of the emperors, under whoſe
b protection they enjoyed, for many years at leaſt, ſome ſhew of liberty.

[h] Idem ibid. & PLUT. in Sylla.

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